Printed for the use of the Foreign Office. November 1852.

CONFIDENTIAL. 261

F.O.
424

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

THE RELATIONS

BETWEEN

THE PORTE

AND

THE PASHA OF EGYPT.

1850—1852.

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Correspondence respecting the Relations between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt.

1850—1852.

No. 1.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received October* 14.)

(Private and Confidential.)

My dear Lord, *Dunmore Park, Falkirk, October* 9, 1850.

I INCLOSE for your information a confidential letter which I have this day received from Mr. Walne, our Consul in Cairo; you will see from it that the intrigues and difficulties which I hinted at in my last letter are a-foot.

I am not aware what steps Sir Stratford Canning has taken on this matter, nor whether you have given him any instructions concerning it, but I feel it my duty to mention, that however defective Abbas Pasha may be in administrative talent, it is my opinion that in the wholesome dread that he has of English power and of French hostility, it is our best policy to support him rather than Artin Bey, who is trying to oust him, and who, whatever may be his abilities or professions, is a Frenchman in heart as well as in nationality. The information contained in Mr. Walne's letter, confirmed by a private autograph note in Turkish that I have from Abbas, shows that he is willing and desirous to throw himself, so far as he can, on English protection.

The railroad from Cairo to Alexandria would, in my opinion, be far more beneficial to our Indian communication and to Egypt itself, than a railroad across the Suez Desert.

It is not vanity that prompts me to add, that my personal influence with Abbas is greater than that of any other European, and greater than I should expect it to be with any other Pasha who might succeed him.

If you wish to talk over this subject with me, and to explain to me your views and instructions, one line to that effect shall bring me up to town by railroad immediately.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Consul Walne to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(Private and Confidential.)

My dear Sir, *Cairo, September* 20, 1850.

ABBAS PASHA arrived at the Hasweh at sunset on the 18th; and late in the evening Mustapha Bey came up to my tents to say that His Highness particularly wished to see me. On riding down to the Palace, I

found that the Pasha desired a private conversation, and sending away interpreters and attendants of every kind, he talked with me in Arabic for two hours. By his own appointment I have just had with him another discussion of similar length, in which I have had the assistance of Mr. Richards. The substance of both interviews I will endeavour to condense in this letter.

The Pasha explained that when he came into power he found every administration of the country directly or indirectly in the hands of the French; that having by little and little reduced their power, gradually displacing the principal French officers employed by his grandfather, he had brought upon himself the continual attacks of the French Consuls-General, as well as of individuals of that nation; that not only had he been abused and written against, but that, as he had reason to suppose, intrigues had recently been set on foot at Constantinople, with the object of actually driving him from the Pashalic of Egypt, and of replacing him by another member of the family supposed to be most favourable to French interests; that Achmet Bey, the person alluded to, did not openly show himself, but there was no doubt that he was cognisant of, and probably a party to what was passing. For himself it had from the first been his anxious desire to be always on the best possible terms with, and to serve to his utmost, the Government of England; and in return he had hoped to have the support of its Cabinet, and consequently of its Representative at the Porte. It was said, however, that Artin Bey had succeeded in impressing Sir Stratford Canning with ideas unfavourable to him; and as that cunning knave had run away from Egypt, and would no doubt direct his steps to Constantinople, he (the Pasha) would take it as a great favour if you would inform Lord Palmerston of Artin Bey's real character, and induce his Lordship to give immediately a hint to the Ambassador upon the subject, and guard him against listening too readily to the insinuations of a smooth-tongued rogue, whose demerits were known to all the Europeans in Egypt, and to none better than yourself. He further added that nothing could give him so much satisfaction as to hear that you intended taking Constantinople on your way to Egypt; that Hassan Pasha was about to proceed there on a confidential mission, and would have instructions to communicate with you on all matters; and that he relied on your friendship for putting him right both with the English Government and the Ambassador, and, by the "dahi" of the latter, improving and maintaining his relations with the Sultan, whose obedient servant he professed himself at all times to be.

The Pasha entered at length into Transit matters. He said he had always clearly understood that the British Government attached the greatest importance to this high road to India. He had done everything in his power to put the transit administration on a good footing; but he feared the circumstance of his having declined immediately to make the railroad to Suez had given some offence, which he was anxious to remove. Putting out of the question financial and physical difficulties, at the time the proposal was made by Sir John Pirie the opposition of the French was so great that he could not resist it. If ever the question were again mooted in the same form, he should be subject to their attacks, and have every possible difficulty thrown in his way; and, after reflecting well on the matter, he had come to the following conclusions, which I was fully authorized to write to you for the purpose of being communicated confidentially to Lord Palmerston.

Taking into consideration the means of the Treasury and the chances of profitable return, with a view, moreover, of conciliating the interests of the English with those of other nations, and the actual necessities of Egyptian commerce, the Pasha is prepared to make a regular and efficient railway between Alexandria and Cairo. Under the sanction of competent engineers he will raise embankments sufficiently broad to receive two lines of rail, but on which at first only one line (with the requisite arrangements for trains passing each other at certain places) will be laid down. This rail, whilst serving for the internal trading traffic of Egypt, would in reality quicken the speed of the overland transit more than a similar road between Cairo and Suez; but His Highness

proposes, when the single line has been laid down between Alexandria and Cairo, to carry a single tramroad from the latter place to Suez, so that in due time there may be one almost continued line of communication by rail from one port to the other; the only difference being that on the flatter and paying part of the road locomotives would be employed, whilst on the less frequented and hilly part the carriages would be drawn by horses.

The Pasha having mentioned that it was his intention to request the Government to procure for him two engineers to carry out the proposed plan, I took the opportunity of telling His Highness that I thought the best earnest of his intentions would be to write to you by this mail, to ask for one civil engineer, who might make preliminary surveys. He must first, he said, distinctly understand the intentions of the British Government. He was not going to make railways for his own accommodation, or because the Egyptian Treasury has any surplus funds to employ in such operations; but because our Government had expressed a wish to that effect, and for the purpose of improving the overland communication, and so facilitating the intercourse between England and its Indian possessions. In return he hoped and expected to have the support of Her Majesty's Government at Constantinople, and its protection in case of need against the obvious designs of the French on Egypt. If he could have the support and protection he required, and his position were secured by the well-known power of British influence, he would not only make the railways in question, but in general do everything that, consistently with his subordinate position in reference to the Porte, might be agreeable to the views of Her Majesty's Government. In short, he would distinctly pledge himself to make the railways as above, but on condition of having the "dahi" of the English. If their friendship were promised, come what may he should feel confident of not being deserted.

His Highness asked me if our Government would readily supply him with a well-informed ship-builder, as he was at a loss for one to direct the ordinary work of his arsenal; and as I took care not to discourage him in his application, he has addressed you a letter on the subject, which I inclose.

I distinctly explained to His Highness that the Consul of Alexandria having been left in charge of the Consulate-General, I could not myself undertake to write on these subjects directly to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; but that if he preferred my being the private channel of his intentions and wishes, I should have no objection to writing to you confidentially what he had told me, and that you would doubtless mention to Lord Palmerston the substance of my letter. Any discussions that might arise, could, on your return to Egypt, assume a more official form. He said that it was to me, as an old and tried friend, that he wished to unburthen himself; that it was to me alone, in your absence, that he would intrust any communication of the kind. I mention this circumstance, that, should any observation be made, you may be able to explain to his Lordship that I have not been voluntarily meddling in other people's affairs. It is of course but natural that Abbas Pasha in his troubles should refer to his next neighbour and old acquaintance, rather than to the Acting Consul-General, who is 120 miles off, and scarcely known to him.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ALFRED S. WALNE.

No. 2.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 275. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, October 21, 1850.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency a copy of a private and confidential letter from Mr. Murray, inclosing a letter from Mr. Consul Walne, giving an account of what passed in two interviews which he had with Abbas Pasha.

With reference to the statement contained in these papers, I have to instruct your Excellency to use every exertion to persuade the Turkish Government from displacing Abbas Pasha, and from appointing Saïd Pasha or any other person in his room.

Abbas Pasha may no doubt have many of those faults which belong to the Turkish character; but as far as regards British interests, he is probably better than any other ruler who could be appointed for Egypt, inasmuch as he is friendly to Great Britain, and not inclined to become a tool for the promotion of ambitious and encroaching views on the part of France with respect to Egypt.

As regards the interest of the Sultan, Abbas Pasha seems to possess strong recommendations, because he appears to act upon the principle of making himself a real subordinate of the Sultan, and of clinging to his Sovereign for support, instead of aiming at becoming independent, and relying on foreign aid to make him so. The Sultan, therefore, if he were to remove Abbas Pasha, would do an unfriendly act towards Great Britain, and an unwise one towards himself.

As to Artin Bey, he has long been known to be an artful intriguer and an instrument in the hands of France.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 3.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 1.)

(No. 309.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 19, 1850.*

I HAVE this moment received a visit from Artin Bey, who arrived here several days ago from Beyrout. His retirement from the service of Abbas Pasha appears to be definitive, and his language is that of a man who has escaped from vexations and perils which he is by no means inclined to encounter a second time. He gives a most unpromising description of the government, personal character, and political sentiments of the Viceroy, who according to him is opposed to the Sultan's reforms, and even inclined to hail with pleasure the accession of Prince Azeez to his brother's throne. His immediate objects appear to be a permission for his family to join him from Egypt, and his appointment to some office under the Sultan's immediate Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 4.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 290.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 13, 1850.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 309, of the 19th ultimo, reporting the arrival from Egypt of Artin Bey. It is to be hoped that the Porte will not give ear to Artin Bey, who is well known to be an artful intriguer; who has long been one of the chief instruments of French influence; and whose flight from Egypt is understood to have been occasioned by discoveries made of defaults in his accounts.

Abbas Pasha may undoubtedly have many of the failings and vices which are still too prevalent among Turks and other Mahomedans; but he is probably not more faulty in this respect than any other Turk would be who could be appointed in his room; and as regards his political tendencies, it seems pretty certain that he is more loyally disposed towards

the Sultan and more friendly in his inclinations towards England, than any other member of Mehemet Ali's family who could be substituted for him in the Government of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 5.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 17.)

(Private and Confidential.)
My dear Lord, *Alexandria, February 6, 1851.*

JUST at the moment of the steamer's departure I send you these few lines to inform you of what I have gathered concerning our political status since my arrival. My information I have gathered from various sources; and although it has necessarily been collected hastily, I believe it will be found accurate in the main. The Viceroy, in causing me to be received with unusual honours and sending his own steamer, sent me down a pressing message to come up to him immediately, for that the only hope which he has of escaping from the intrigues by which he is surrounded is in the support of the English Government. His greatest difficulty is that his confidential agents write to him from Constantinople that Artin Bey, Sami Pasha, and the rest of those who are labouring to effect the ruin of himself and his family, enjoy the countenance and favour of Sir Stratford Canning, while their machinations are carefully abetted by the French, who know Artin Bey to be their creature, and are very angry with Abbas for dismissing him, as well as for the leaning that he has shown of late for English interests.

I should have been led to suppose that this report of the state of things at Her Majesty's Embassy was erroneous, or exaggerated on the part of the Viceroy's agents, had it not been confirmed to me in private conversations with several of my colleagues, whose advices from their respective Missions are of the same tendency.

Your Lordship may easily imagine what a delicate subject this is for me to touch upon in writing to you; but I have thought it my duty to name it in a private letter, as your last communication to myself was an assurance of a steady support of the cause of Abbas at Constantinople, so long as he continued faithful to the Treaties and to the requisitions of his position.

In the short time I have now been here I have been able to satisfy myself of the great improvements in all commercial regulations effected since we got rid of Artin Bey: the country is flourishing; the people quiet; and the tribute paid, with a large yearly addition in the shape of presents. Abbas is far from being a wise or a virtuous ruler, but he is far from being as bad or foolish as he is represented at Constantinople; and he is the best for us, independent of his rights secured by treaty. I have no doubt I shall persuade him frankly to accept the Tanzimat, so far as they do not extend to deprive him of the rights granted to him in the Firman of 1841, and guaranteed by the European Powers; and in this line of conduct I trust he will have your Lordship's effective support.

Pray excuse this hasty note, for the steamer is waiting to take it, and I have not even time to read it over.

Ever, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 6.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 45.)

Foreign Office, February 20, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are informed from Egypt, that Abbas Pasha is fearful of serious injury from the intrigues of Artin Bey, Sami Pasha, and others of his enemies at Constantinople, assisted by the influence of France now hostile to him on account of his having broken through the trammels with which French Agents had encompassed his two predecessors.

Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that British interests in connexion with Egypt are more likely to be protected and cared for by Abbas Pasha than by any other person who might be placed in his stead in the event of his being removed; and I have therefore to instruct your Excellency to support Abbas Pasha as far as you can properly do so against the endeavours which may be made to displace him.

Your Excellency will however not understand this instruction as implying that you are to support Abbas Pasha in resisting the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 7.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 1.)

Foreign Office, February 20, 1851.

Sir,

WITH reference to your private and confidential letter of the 6th instant, I have to inform you that Sir Stratford Canning will be instructed to support Abbas Pasha, as far as he can properly do so, against the endeavours which may be made by Artin Bey, Sami Pasha, and others of his enemies at Constantinople, to displace him; but Sir Stratford Canning will not support Abbas Pasha in resisting the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 8.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 4.)

(No. 2.)

Cairo, February 17, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have lately addressed to Her Majesty's Embassy at the Porte, and I beg respectfully to call your Lordship's serious attention to its contents, as the political status in Egypt is certainly in a more critical condition than I have known it since my residence in these parts. I have little to add to the information contained in the inclosure, excepting my firm conviction that if your Lordship wishes to prevent Abbas Pasha from being overthrown by the plots now at work against him both here and at Constantinople, the support given to him by Her Majesty's Government must be speedy and decisive; for there can be no doubt that all the influence of France is now combined with the secret views of the Grand Vizier to effect his fall; the former, because they think that Said (the next lineal successor) would be governed by them, and devoted to their interests; the latter, not only because Reshid Pasha has a dislike to the present Viceroy, but also because his ultimate object probably is to get rid, if possible, of the hereditary Government

vested in Mehemet Ali's family, and to have the revenues and patronage of Egypt immediately dependent upon the Sublime Porte. It is for Her Majesty's Government to determine whether either of the above schemes is compatible with the important and vital interests of Great Britain in Egypt.

My previous despatches will serve to convince your Lordship that I have never been an admirer of the character or administration of our present Viceroy; still I must do him the justice to say that so far as England is concerned we cannot complain of him. He has improved and is improving every branch of our Anglo-Indian transit; and though cajoled and solicited by France, he is up to the present moment steady and sincere in preferring our friendship and support. But he is so alarmed at the menacing intrigues which are now being carried on against him, that unless your Lordship's reply to this despatch authorizes me to assure him that Her Majesty's Government will afford him energetic support in maintaining the rights secured to him by France and by treaty, I cannot say how soon he may be tempted to throw himself into the arms of our rival, who is ready to promise him all that he asks, in order to obtain a more widely-extended and influential footing here.

I have carefully perused the Turkish Tanzimat since I had the honour of seeing your Lordship, and I can assure you that it is impossible for this Viceroy or any other to govern this country, with the Sennaar and Soudan, with the limited powers entrusted to him by that code. I have also perused the code issued by Abbas since he assumed the reins of Government, and it seems to me at least as just and humane as the other, while it has many provisions specially adapted to the local circumstances of Egypt. It is true that by the Turkish Code, corporal punishment is limited to 79 blows, but as the instrument is not designated, the regulation itself is only an idle counterfeit, for it is perfectly well known that with the Russian knout death can be inflicted in 3 or 4 blows; and the Egyptian cowhide, if knotted or hardened for the purpose, might be made to cut the skin and flesh from the culprit in 20 or 30 stripes. It is the general opinion here that the only object of the Porte in proposing to extend the Tanzimat to Egypt, is the humiliation of Abbas Pasha; for in Kurdistan and some other provinces of the Turkish Empire they have not been introduced at all, and in those in which they have been introduced, and which are at a considerable distance from Constantinople, they have been productive of great confusion, inconvenience, and mischief.

The Viceroy declares to me that if he is relieved by the friendly offices of Her Majesty's Government from the vexatious intrigues which are being carried on against him, and which harass his mind and weaken his authority, he will show his gratitude not in words but in substantial benefit to our commerce and Indian communications. Meantime His Highness has desired me to communicate at once with Sir R. Stephenson, to obtain the advice and assistance of that distinguished engineer in making the preliminary arrangements for commencing the railroad from Alexandria to Cairo with the least possible delay.

His Highness has also requested me to endeavour to procure him a confidential and trustworthy English secretary, capable of writing in and translating from the French language; this last commission I shall not execute until I have your Lordship's authority for doing so.

I have just received information which leads me to believe that owing to some recent change in the family intrigues, young Mehemet Ali Bey will now of his own accord decline to go to Constantinople, excusing himself on account of the illness of his mother; if this be the case, one of the immediate causes of the Viceroy's annoyance will be removed without the necessity for Sir Stratford Canning's friendly offices; but I shall feel most anxious until I receive your Lordship's instructions for my guidance, and until I know whether Her Majesty's Government intend to grant or refuse the support which the Viceroy requires at their hands.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

(Secret and Confidential)

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

Sir, *Cairo, February* 14, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on returning to my post from England a few days ago, I found myself assailed by so many rumours on points of the highest importance to this country and to our own, that I thought it my duty not to write to you until I had enquired more fully into these matters; this will explain my having omitted to write by the mail which left Cairo on the 10th.

I cannot conceal from myself nor from your Excellency, that political interests in Egypt are at this moment in a more critical state than they have been in since I came to this part of the world; and I am of opinion also that the issue of the present crisis depends mainly upon the course of conduct which your Excellency, with the instructions of Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary, may pursue at Constantinople. At this moment, as regards Egypt itself, our position is most favourable: the Viceroy seeks our support with the sincerity of a man who feels that his existence depends upon it; his communications with me are those of entire and unreserved confidence; he not only promises, but he does everything that we ask for the improvement of our Anglo-Indian communications; and I am confident that he will not, like his predecessors, throw himself upon French "protection," unless we refuse to support him in those claims, the justice of which he invites your Excellency and the British Government to examine and pronounce upon.

Without pretending to enter upon the questions of general international policy at Constantinople, I would refer to one particular which may cause some difficulty to your Excellency in the treatment of the Egyptian question. I allude to the fact of the intimate relations which have so long existed and still exist between your Excellency and the Grand Vizier, arising from the effectual support that you have afforded him against the machinations of those who have endeavoured to effect his downfall and to re-establish the retrograde policy of the old régime in Turkey.

These relations, from which essential benefit has arisen to the interests of the British and all liberal European Governments, must incline your Excellency to forward the measures of the Vizier in this as well as in other dependencies of the Turkish Empire, and I have been told by those who ought to be well informed, that the Minister has a strong personal dislike to the Viceroy, and would gladly effect his humiliation, if not his fall from power. If this be so I sincerely regret it, for I think I can show you valid reasons which should induce us at present to give an efficient support at this juncture to Abbas Pasha.

I hope your Excellency will not believe that I have been cajoled or misled by the Viceroy's flattering attentions and confidential communications to myself; I judge him as impartially and severely as heretofore. I find much to blame and reprehend in his conduct in respect to his personal expenditure and caprices, and on these subjects I have spoken my mind to him freely, I trust not without beneficial effect; on the other hand I am bound in justice to say that whether we look to British interests in Egypt or to the condition of the mass of the native population, this country has not been in so fair and favourable a state as it now is, during the last twenty years. I would beg you to remember that the accounts of Egypt received at Constantinople, both by the Embassy and the Grand Vizier, are furnished mainly by the bitter enemies of the Viceroy, who studiously conceal the good and exaggerate the evil that he has done. Among these the most active, the most plausible, and the most able, is Artin Bey, who is naturally vexed at having been thwarted in his schemes of amassing a large fortune by monopolizing the greater part of the profits of Egyptian commerce in the hands of his own family, and also at having been found guilty of peculation to an extent which is not

yet ascertained, owing to the astute subtlety with which his accounts were made up.

I have before had occasion to warn your Excellency against the intrigues of this man, who, whatever he may profess to you, has only two objects steadily in view: the 1st, his own interests; 2nd, those of France. It is well known here, not only that he is a Frenchman at heart, but also that he has papers of naturalization, which enable him whenever he may require it either in Egypt or Turkey to claim protection as a French subject. I can assure your Excellency that since his departure British merchants have begun to enjoy a fair share of the profits of Egyptian commerce, from which they were before excluded by his monopolizing schemes. As Minister of Commerce he sold Government produce of all kinds how and when he pleased; and as he had made one of his relatives Government Broker, and another he had set up as banker at Alexandria, it was as comfortable a family compact of monopoly as could well be imagined. Now the Bureau of Foreign Affairs and Commerce are separated, and the Minister of the latter Department sells the Government produce by public auction, and receives the tenders of merchants for Government supplies in open divan. I do not say that the present system is free from defect in all its branches, but it is an indisputable fact that a great improvement has taken place, and that the change has been hailed with satisfaction by all the merchants, excepting the privileged few who shared the spoil with the ex-Minister of Commerce.

I proceed now to explain the particulars in which the Viceroy solicits the support of Her Majesty's Government, and in return for which support he is prepared to promote British interests in Egypt to the utmost extent of his ability; this object I can best attain by relating to you the substance of a confidential conversation that I held with him yesterday for three hours without the presence of an interpreter or any third party.

His Highness began by observing to me that whatever faults he might have committed in his administration, his worst enemies could not accuse him of one action evincing the slightest disloyalty to the Sultan, or a desire to infringe or evade the stipulations of European treaties; that he had hitherto not only paid the Egyptian tribute with regularity, but had made considerable presents in addition to gratify his Sovereign Master. No sooner had the large steam-frigate, the "Sharkieh," which had been built at an enormous cost in England, arrived in Egypt, than he presented it to the Sultan; and he had incurred the serious displeasure of the French Government in his well-intended but ill-advised endeavour to promote the political interests of the Sublime Porte at Tunis; he assured me that he had the highest personal respect for his Sovereign, and was ready to prove his devotion by any sacrifice demanded of him that should be consistent with the safety of the province intrusted to his hereditary administration, and with the rights conferred on him by the Imperial Firman and guaranteed by the European Powers.

He expressed his regret that he had not been able to secure the favour and good opinion of the Grand Vizier, who being now surrounded by four or five persons bent upon humiliating him, could not avoid being unfavourably impressed of his conduct by the malicious and garbled reports presented to him respecting all his, the Viceroy's, motives and actions.

His Highness then entered upon the two subjects which at present afford him the greatest uneasiness:—

1st, the introduction of the Turkish Tanzimat into Egypt; and,

2ndly, the summoning a junior member of his family, Mehemet Ali Bey (youngest son of the old Pasha), to Constantinople.

With regard to the first of these I told His Highness that although not familiar with their details, I had spoken to Lord Palmerston concerning them just before I left London, and his Lordship had observed to me that as this code of regulations had been approved by the friendly Allied Powers of the Sublime Porte, and was considered to operate beneficially in those provinces where it had been introduced, and moreover as the firman conferring the hereditary government of Egypt on Mehemet Ali and his family stipulated that the laws of the Turkish Empire should be

current in this province, Her Majesty's Government could not with consistency urge the Sublime Porte to except Egypt from the operation of the Tanzimat.

In reply to this His Highness referred me to the firman in which the above-named stipulation is expressly modified by a clause providing that the regulations to be enforced should be applicable and suitable to the circumstances and condition of Egypt.

His Highness then went through the Tanzimat with me from beginning to end in the original Turkish, explaining to me in Arabic such phrases as I had not completely understood; and he said to me at the conclusion:—

"Now, Sir, I appeal to you as a gentleman who has some knowledge of the condition and population of this country, whether the introduction of these Tanzimat as a code, is possible, consistently with security of life and property. Whether within six months of their promulgation one single English traveller could go up to the Cataracts and return without being robbed; and whether your Indian mails with their boxes of letters, specie, and valuable goods, could cross the Desert of Suez without a guard of two or three hundred men?

"I appeal to Sir Stratford Canning and to Lord Palmerston, as upright and enlightened Ministers, whether I can be compelled to accept these Tanzimat as a whole, without forfeiting all the hereditary rights and privileges conferred on my grandfather by the Sublime Porte, and guaranteed to him and his family by the Allied Powers."

With respect to His Highness' first appeal to myself, I am bound to say that I cannot deny its truth; one single regulation in that code, namely, that one which would forbid the Governor of this country, even under circumstances of insurrection, and rebellion, and assassination, to make an immediate example, by the infliction of capital punishment, without sending to Constantinople for the signature of the Sultan, would be sufficient to throw this whole country into anarchy and confusion. We are not here as in Turkey in Europe, where the vicinity of European Powers and a large admixture of Christian population sufficient in number to protect themselves may render the execution of such regulations feasible; but here, leaving Alexandria out of the question, the Christian population is so scant as to be comparatively a zero. The Turks capable of bearing arms are only a few thousand in presence of three millions of Arab population, ignorant, fanatic, and only to be kept in check by the promptitude with which for many years past any attempt at violence or insurrection has been punished. No sooner would it be known among them that the power of inflicting capital punishment no longer resided in the Governor of this country, than the consequences predicted by the Viceroy would inevitably follow.

Such is my conviction, and such is that of every intelligent European resident with whom I have conversed on the subject.

With respect to His Highness' appeal to Lord Palmerston in reference to his own rights and privileges as guaranteed to him by firman and by treaty His Highness conceives his position to be this: that so long as he pays the stipulated tribute to the Sublime Porte, and loyally serves, and if necessary, aids his Sovereign by all the means in his power, and faithfully observes the stipulations of treaties with the European Powers, and maintains the people intrusted to his government in tranquillity and welfare, in doing these things he performs the duties required of him from without, and he is entitled to the rights and privileges of Hereditary Governor of Egypt, among which must necessarily be included the regulation of the internal police, collection of revenue, and other branches of economic administration, according to the system which he finds most adapted to the local circumstances of the province which he governs.

This is His Highness' view of his own position, and I beg your Excellency to bear it in mind, as I shall have occasion to refer to this topic again.

In reading over the Tanzimat to me, His Highness pointed out to me several paragraphs entirely abolishing his rights of internal administration, and referring some of them immediately to the Sublime Porte; among

others, Article 6 of Chapter III, which, in distributing the administrative functions of all provinces into three departments, takes the whole administrative power out of his hands, and leaves him a merely titular Governor, as all the real power would be in the hands of the Defterdar, or officer appointed to collect the revenues and pay them into the public Treasury.

These are, as nearly as I can translate them, His Highness' observations, and they are sufficiently clear to render it unnecessary for me to add any comment of my own; he feels and resents very strongly the humiliation proposed to be inflicted upon him, and the injury done to what he views as his just rights, in the promulgation of these Tanzimat *in toto* in Egypt; he desires that your Excellency should weigh his observations, and if you find them just and reasonable, give them the support of your influence at the Sublime Porte.

When His Highness had concluded this portion of his statement I felt anxious to know what secret encouragement France had offered to the Viceroy to induce him to throw himself on her protection, in the event of his finding himself injured or humiliated by the terms imposed upon him at Constantinople.

In reply to my inquiry on this subject, he said to me, "She offers me every encouragement; assures me that she alone is willing and able to support me, and urges me to throw myself on her friendship. I do not wish to do so; I prefer the cordial friendship of England; and if she will give it to me in maintaining my just claims, I will in return do all in my power to serve and forward her interests so far as they are compatible with my loyal allegiance to the Sultan."

I observed, "Sir, these promises on the part of France are probably vague, unauthorized phrases, meant to mislead your Highness. You are aware of several causes of offence that you have given her, and more especially the last in getting rid of your ex-Minister."

He replied, "Mr. Consul-General, they are not vague or unauthorized, but serious offers, which it depends upon your Government and your Minister at the Porte, whether I accept or reject. In order to convince you of my sincerity, and to prove to you that it is my first wish to have the friendship of England, read this paper."

So saying he placed in my hand an original confidential despatch from the French Minister at the Sublime Porte to the French Agent and Consul-General here; it was written in Turkish, but an accurate French translation was on the margin; it bore date Constantinople, January 18, 1851, and had been placed in the Viceroy's hands a few days before my visit.

His Highness could not give it to me to take home and copy, as he thought it likely that the French Consul-General might ask for it at any moment, but I took an extract with my pencil, which I subjoin for your Excellency's information; the early part of the despatch was evidently written in reply to one from the Consul-General, in which he had stated that there was some coldness between himself and the Viceroy, owing to the offence taken by France at his intervention in respect to Tunis. The despatch assures His Highness that these former misunderstandings may be forgotten; it proceeds to say:—

"Nous agissons dans le véritable intérêt de la France, comme vous l'avez parfaitement expliqué à Son Altesse le Vicerοi. S'il n'est pas sous l'influence de fâcheuses préventions qu'on cherche à lui inspirer à l'égard de la France, il doit reconnaître que nous n'avons aucun intérêt de lui nuire auprès de la Sublime Porte; que bien loin de là, nous le soutenons pour faire maintenir et prévaloir contre d'autres prétentions cachant des vues ambitieuses, tous les principes qui par l'influence de la France ont assuré l'hérédité à la famille de Méhémet Ali, et lui ont laissé une certaine indépendance pour l'administration intérieure de l'Egypte."

The despatch proceeds to urge His Highness to accept the friendship and counsels of France; and in the last sentence the Minister positively denies being on intimate terms with Artin Bey, and assures His Highness that he has seen that person only once since his arrival at Constantinople.

I suppose it is unnecessary for me to point out to your Excellency

who are the parties referred to as " enchant des vues ambitieuses ;" neither is it less clear that in this very question of the Tanzimat, France offers, if he will throw himself on her protection, to support him in his resistance to their being imposed on Egypt.

Whatever may be the merits or demerits of Abbas Pasha as a man or as a Governor, your Excellency will at least admit that in showing me this confidential despatch, His Highness has evinced the sincerity of his desire of maintaining a cordial friendship with England.

I come now to the second vexation of which the Viceroy complains, namely, the summoning of young Mehemet Ali Bey to Constantinople.

Had this occurred at a period less critical to the Viceroy's interests, and had it been nothing but an invitation, without any suspicious circumstances attending it, His Highness would have acceded to it without difficulty; but now that he believes (or as he tells me is assured) that several members of his family, and among them this youth, are in secret and constant correspondence with those at Constantinople who are planning his humiliation, you cannot be surprised at his being unwilling to allow them to go there to foment further intrigues against him. The Viceroy appealed to me, asking whether he had acted cruelly or tyrannically towards the other members of his family; on this head I could not accuse him, as his fault has been, that by the caprices and follies of his own expenditure, he has encouraged theirs; and they have shaken off the salutary dread which they had of the old Pasha and his son Ibrahim; he has twice paid Said Pasha's debts, and has given a sum not less than 350,000*l*. among the different members of the family since he came to power. It is true that in spite of this lavish generosity he has alienated several of them by various annoyances and vexations, nevertheless he cannot thereby have forfeited his rights as head of the family and Governor of the country.

Perhaps your Excellency may think that the Viceroy's suspicions of intended intrigue in summoning young Mehemet Ali to Constantinople are purely imaginary, and doubtless you would be told so at the Sublime Porte.

I will give you such information for your guidance on this point as I am able to furnish. The youth himself I know, and he is perhaps the worst specimen of the old Pasha's family: weak, sensual, vain, and false. Some time ago the present French Commander-in-chief, Solyman Pasha, recommended to the Viceroy as a French instructor to young Mehemet Ali, in the place of one lately deceased, a certain M. Faynard; the Viceroy consented and allowed him a pay of 15*l*. a-month. Why Solyman Pasha recommended this individual it is hard to conceive, as he came here under a cloud, reports being current concerning him that he had absconded with some money, or swindled, or some similar act of dishonesty; the truth of these charges has not yet been ascertained, but letters have been written to Paris to procure the required information; it is clear, however, that they were believed in some quarters, as several of the more respectable French residents here would not associate with him.

After that this person had been some time with Mehemet Ali Bey, his former patron, Solyman Pasha, called on the Viceroy to inform him that M. Faynard was compelled to resign his appointment, owing to the state of his own or his wife's health, which obliged him to return to France. The Viceroy accepted his resignation, and at Solyman Pasha's request, good-naturedly gave him a month's pay in advance, and paid his passage to France. No sooner was he arrived at Marseilles than he left his wife there and embarked for Constantinople (according, of course, to plans pre-arranged between him and his pupil), and now he re-appears in Egypt, bearing an invitation or summons from the Sublime Porte to Mehemet Ali Bey, for which services M. Faynard has received from this promising youth, a promise of 6 purses a-month for a term of years, and a present of 200 purses on leaving his employment. I do not know whether the Viceroy is aware of the circumstances referring to M. Faynard, as he never mentioned the name of that individual to me; but as I gathered the above particulars from one of the most respectable French residents here who had no object in deceiving me, I presume that they are in the main correct.

Briefly to sum up and recapitulate the purport of what I have written at length, the Viceroy solicits your Excellency's friendly aid to relieve him from the two immediate humiliations with which he is threatened:

1st. The infliction on Egypt of a code of regulations, some of which are totally inconsistent with the security and government of the country, and others of them incompatible with the hereditary rights and privileges accorded to him by the Firman and guaranteed by the European Powers.

2ndly. That you will use your influence in deterring the Sublime Porte from insisting on summoning Mehemet Ali Bey or other junior member of his family to Constantinople.

With respect to the first of these, His Highness desires me to mention to your Excellency that he has with his Council drawn up a code of internal regulations applicable to Egypt; that he invites Lord Palmerston and your Excellency to examine them by the side of the Tanzimat, and to pronounce whether they are not as humane, as civilized, as liberal, and just as the Turkish Code; he desires me to remind you that a certain difference of laws in different provinces of the same empire is no new or strange thing, as it exists at this moment in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and he adds that he is willing and anxious that you should go over his regulations seriatim with the Grand Vizier, and that he is perfectly ready to accept any modifications or improvements that can be suggested.

His Highness concluded the conversation by saying to me:—" I have now told you the two particulars in which I wish the support of the British Government, and in return for which friendly services I am ready to promote her interests by all the means in my power. France is soliciting me—I am soliciting you—you may act as you think best, but do not afterwards blame me if you refuse me your support, that in self-defence I turn towards France. It shall not be done in secret, for all the newspapers in India and Europe shall publish to the world the fact that while maintaining my devoted loyalty to my own Sovereign, I offered to you my cordial friendship first, and that it was only when you refused to support me in my just claims, that I threw myself upon the protection of France."

Thus ended this extraordinary conversation, and having giving its purport to your Excellency at so great a length, I will not trouble you with much comment upon it.

I shall send a copy of this despatch to Lord Palmerston, and I hope in conformity with his Lordship's views you will be enabled speedily to send me some information which will allay the anxiety and satisfy the wishes of the Viceroy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 9.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 2.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 7, 1851.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 2, of the 17th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a despatch which you addressed to Sir Stratford Canning on the 14th ultimo, giving an account of a conversation which you had had with Abbas Pasha, and of the anxiety felt by the Pasha in consequence of the intrigues of his enemies at Constantinople. The Pasha, it appears, is anxious for the support of England against these intrigues, and also for the interposition of the British Government to avert the introduction of the Turkish Tanzimat into Egypt.

With regard to the general question as to the support which Abbas Pasha wishes to obtain at Constantinople from Her Majesty's Government, you may assure the Pasha that Her Majesty's Government are very desirous of complying with his wishes; and that ever since they have been informed that intrigues were carrying on at Constantinople against him, they have instructed Sir Stratford Canning to give him all the

support which, as British Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning could properly afford.

Her Majesty's Government, however, have hitherto been led to think that there could be no good reason why the code of laws and regulations called the Tanzimat, which has worked well in those parts of the Turkish Empire to which it has been applied, should not answer equally well in Egypt; but nevertheless that is a question which well deserves examination; and if the Pasha of Egypt can show that there are regulations in the Tanzimat which are not well adapted to the present condition of Egypt, and that he himself has framed a different code which would answer the same ends of justice without being attended with the same local inconveniences, it cannot be supposed that the Porte would insist upon the enforcement of the Tanzimat instead of agreeing to the establishment of the proposed Egyptian regulations.

The best course which you could pursue would be to send to Sir Stratford Canning a copy of the Tanzimat with the detailed objections made to its several regulations by Abbas Pasha, and also a copy of the regulations which the Pasha proposes as a substitute for the Tanzimat; and you will also send to me copies of all those papers. Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople will then be able to judge of the value of the objections made by Abbas Pasha to the Tanzimat and of the merit of his own proposals; and there would be every disposition on the part of Her Majesty's Government and of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to give every support in their power to the well-founded objections and to the reasonable proposals of Abbas Pasha.

I shall transmit a copy of this despatch to Sir Stratford Canning.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 10.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 64.)

Foreign Office, March 7, 1851.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Mr. Murray, in which he transmitted to me a copy of his despatch to your Excellency of the 14th ultimo, respecting the anxiety occasioned to Abbas Pasha by the intrigues of his enemies at Constantinople.

I also inclose a copy of a despatch* which I have addressed to Mr. Murray in reply, and I have to instruct your Excellency to guide yourself in regard to the matters in question, in accordance with what is stated in my despatch to Mr. Murray with respect to the wishes and feelings of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 11.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 65.)

Foreign Office, March 7, 1851.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 64, of this day's date, I have to call your Excellency's attention to the wording of that part of the Firman of investiture granted by the Porte to Mehemet Ali in the year 1841, which bears upon the question of the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt.

The extract of that firman which I inclose is made from the copy, in French, transmitted to this Office in Viscount Ponsonby's despatch No. 169, of the 22nd of May, 1841. The terms, however, used in the French

* No. 9.

translation are, as is most frequently the case with regard to translations in French from Turkish, exceedingly vague and little intelligible; and it would be well for your Excellency to have the original Turkish translated accurately into English.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 11.

Extract from the Firman of 1841.

LES principes fondés sur les lois de la sûreté de la vie, de la sûreté de la propriété, et de la conservation de l'honneur, principes consacrés par les ordonnances salutaires de mon Hatti-Shérif de Gulhané, tous les traités conclus et à conclure entre ma Sublime Porte et les Puissances amies, seront complètement mis à exécution dans la Province de l'Égypte aussi; et tous les règlemens faits et à faire par ma Sublime Porte seront aussi mis en pratique en Egypte, en les conciliant le mieux qu'on pourra avec les circonstances locales et les principes de la justice et de l'équité.

No. 12.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 54.)

Constantinople, February 20, 1851.

My Lord,

HAVING your instructions relative to Egypt in view, I have more than once of late conversed privately with the Grand Vizier on the subject of that country and its present ruler. It must be admitted that His Highness' sentiments towards Abbas Pasha are far from being favourable. He professes to have a bad opinion of the Viceroy's capacity and disposition. He does not accuse him of disloyalty, but of misgovernment. He suspects the Pasha of meaning to keep the Charter of Gulhané out of Egypt, in order to have ample range for the exercise of his arbitrary and capricious inclinations. He told me the last time we conversed upon the subject, that Abbas had contracted habits of intimate communication with the Russian Consul; that Russia might be suspected of wishing to make him a thorn in the Sultan's side; and that the latest accounts from Egypt stated that he was increasing his forces by land and by sea.

I endeavoured to moderate the acrimony of the Vizier's sentiments and to guard his Highness against the designs of interested informants. I took occasion to intimate that any attempt to remove the Viceroy from his Government by force would not be viewed with satisfaction in England; and that the success of any such attempt would be more likely to complicate than to improve the affairs of Egypt.

The Grand Vizier concluded by assuring me that the Porte did not intend to accomplish the ruin or even the removal of Abbas Pasha, but only to restrain him, by the formation of a suitable Council, from wasting the resources and vexing the inhabitants of Egypt. He gave me distinctly to understand that although he conceived the introduction of the Tanzimat Hüriyé into that province to be essential to its prosperity, there was no intention of forcing its reception of the new code, which gradually and quietly, as opportunities offered, would be extended over the whole empire, and also into Egypt as a part of it.

Upon the whole I am inclined to believe that Abbas Pasha has little to apprehend from the Porte, so long as he conducts his Government with a reasonable degree of prudence and justice. Any decided appearance of a separate understanding between the Viceroy and Her Majesty's Government would no doubt be a cause of jealousy here; but if British influence were employed with success to remove his Highness' mistrust of Reshid Pasha, and to reconcile him to the gradual admission of the

Sultan's general system of administration, it might not be impossible to obtain all the influence which your Lordship may think desirable in Egypt, without hazarding a serious diminution of our still more important influence here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 13.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 70.)

Foreign Office, March 13, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 54, of the 20th of February, reporting what has passed in your late conversations with the Grand Vizier in regard to the affairs of Egypt; and I have to state to you in reply, that Her Majesty's Government have received no information which leads them to think that Egypt is worse governed by Abbas Pasha than it was by either of his two predecessors. On the contrary there seems to be reason to think that Abbas Pasha's administration is less oppressive to the people and less wasteful to the resources of the country than was that either of Mehemet Ali or of Ibrahim Pasha. But that which is quite certain is, that Abbas Pasha far surpasses either of his predecessors in loyalty towards the Sultan and in friendliness towards British interests; and therefore while on the one hand it would be extreme impolicy on the part of the Sultan to endeavour to remove Abbas Pasha, or so to act in regard to him as to change his present feelings towards the Porte; on the other hand it would be very unwise in Her Majesty's Government not to give to Abbas Pasha every support at Constantinople which British influence can properly afford him.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 14.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 6.)

Cairo, March 5, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information, copies of despatches of the 15th and 28th February last which I addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, and

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 1.)

Cairo, February 15, 1851.

Sir,

SINCE I had the honour of writing to you my despatch of yesterday, I received a message from the Viceroy to the effect that he wished to see me this morning, and that he had again detained the steamer until this afternoon. On arriving at the Palace I found His Highness much distressed and annoyed, and I learnt from him that yesterday evening a secret meeting of members of his family had taken place, not so secret, however, but that he had found means to ascertain its purport and object. It appears that several of them, in concert doubtless with sundry parties at Constantinople, have agreed to unite all their efforts to procure the fall of the Viceroy and to obtain the elevation of Said Pasha to the Viceroyalty. All of them have either been educated in France or by French

instructors here. They accuse Abbas of leaning too much to England; and it is his belief that it is their intention to present a memorial to the Sublime Porte declaratory of their want of confidence in him and their disapproval of his measures. Your Excellency may therefore be prepared for the exhibition of such a document as a motive for humiliating or even deposing the Viceroy.

That these steps are concerted with parties at Constantinople there can be little doubt, from the fact that the arch-intriguer Artin Bey actually offered to Said Pasha to use his best influence at the Porte to get him nominated Viceroy, if he would cordially join the party of France and of those who were endeavouring to set aside Abbas. I had this information from a person who told me that he had it from the lips of Said himself, who added, "I have the offer of Artin Bey in writing, but I have sent him no answer to it." This seems hardly credible, when we remember that two years since Said Pasha loaded Artin Bey with every epithet of abuse in open Divan, calling him scoundrel and traitor, and telling him that he hoped to see him hanged as he deserved! Such is the ebb and flow of the tide of friendship and enmity among intriguers.

When the Viceroy mentioned to me this wide-spread disaffection among his relatives, I asked him whether he had not given them some serious cause for it, in inflicting upon them vexations and annoyances such as he was himself subjected to in the time of the old Pasha. This he altogether denied having done, and offered to call any or all of them before me, and to ask them in my presence to name any one act of tyranny or injustice that he had been guilty of towards them. Of course I declined so delicate an office as that of arbitrator in His Highness' family differences, but I asked him whether he had not used Kiamil Pasha harshly in divorcing him from his wife (the Princess Zeinab) and causing him to leave Egypt. He replied, "I know this accusation is current; you shall judge for yourself whether it is correct. Thank God you can read Turkish." He then called his private secretary and desired him to bring certain letters from his closet; showing me one, he said, "Whose seal is that?" I replied, "That of the Princess Zeinab." "It is so," he replied, "and it is her own handwriting too." We then went through the letter, which was written to her husband, Kiamil Pasha, in which she told him, that for reasons known to him they could never live together again; that their doing so troubled the peace and harmony of the whole family; that she was resolved to be divorced from him, and that she made him a present of the money settled in marriage.

"Are you convinced now," said his Highness, "that I did not tyrannically cause the divorce of Kiamil Pasha; and can you deny that I behaved liberally to him in giving to him on his departure, the large fortune which he now enjoys at Constantinople, and employs to effect my ruin?"

I trouble your Excellency with all these apparently trivial details, because I think that a crisis is at hand in the fortunes of this family, and I feel it to be my duty to give you all the information in my power which may enable you to form an opinion as to the course which you may think it advisable to follow. The Viceroy seems to believe it probable that the Porte may send an officer to convey young Mehemet Ali to Constantinople, in spite of a respectful letter of remonstrance that he has written, requesting that the youth may be allowed to remain a year or two longer to complete his education. His Highness desires me to say that he will consider it as a great proof of your Excellency's friendship, if you will exert your influence to prevent this demand from being pressed upon him, as it is one with which he cannot comply without forfeiting the privileges of his position and involving himself and his family in further troubles and intrigues.

I should feel much obliged if your Excellency would send back whatever advice or instruction you wish to impart to me, by the Egyptian steamer which conveys these despatches.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 2.)

Cairo, February 23, 1851.

Sir,

ALTHOUGH I have had occasion to trouble your Excellency at so much length already in the preceding despatches, I cannot permit this steamer to take its final departure without telling you of the changes which the last two or three days have brought with them. I now find I was misinformed when I told you that young Mehemet Ali Bey had written to the Porte, declining to obey the invitation to go thither; he was afraid to do that, as it might have been considered contumacious; but he wrote to M. Faynard in the sense I mentioned to you, requesting him to forward his excuses. The latter, however, wrote back to tell him that before the arrival of his letter the original letter accepting the invitation had already been forwarded by the Austrian steamer. Thus the matter now stands, and the youth still declares his wish not to go, and the Viceroy *his* not to send him; therefore your Excellency's good offices in this matter may still be required.

The Viceroy has now resolved to send an officer of rank to the Porte with the steamer conveying these despatches. The officer in question is Kiani Pasha.

I remember once mentioning him to you as the person who on the Viceroy's first accession showed so much activity and ability in the improvements made in the transit of our Indian goods and passengers. He is not a popular man here, for he courts no one, and is of a somewhat rough and unbending character; but in talent he certainly is inferior to no Turk now in Egypt; and the selection of him for his present difficult mission does credit both to him and the Viceroy; to him, because it shows the confidence reposed in his honesty, as he has been long out of favour; and to the Viceroy, because he has overcome a strong personal prejudice in doing justice to the merit of a man whom he has for the last year and a half kept at a distance from his person.

I am not aware that Kiani Pasha has any particular leaning either to French or English interests in Egypt; but as he is a most able and enlightened man, and speaks French perfectly, I hope your Excellency will see him once *tête-à-tête*, in order that you may form a fair opinion both as to himself and the representations he may have to make to you. He will probably take with him a copy of the amended Egyptian Code promulgated by Abbas; and if you read it you will perceive how many regulations in it are specially applicable to this country, and are not found in the Turkish Tanzimat; and I presume you will find Kiani Bey prepared to state on the part of the Viceroy, that all such provisions of the Tanzimat as may be applicable to Egypt, and do not violate the privileges secured to him in the Firman of 1841, His Highness is prepared to accept and adopt.

It is only just to the administration of Abbas to state that my colleague the Consul-General of Austria (a quiet, prudent, well-informed man), who has served twelve years in other provinces of the Turkish Empire, told me only yesterday, that in none of them where the Tanzimat are in force had he ever seen so much security for life and property as we enjoy in Egypt.

If after what I have written your Excellency is disposed to accede to the request of the Viceroy and to give him the support of your influence at the Porte, there is no time to be lost; for if done at once *we* shall get the whole credit for it, and secure a footing of advantage here that will not easily be shaken; if we delay, the opportunity will be lost, and even if the objects desired by the Viceroy are ultimately attained, he will not feel indebted peculiarly to England for them. My reason for this statement is that I am aware of a paper which is now in course of preparation, setting forth all the leading events and features of Abbas' administration since his accession to power, as also the present condition, tranquillity, and prosperity of the country. A copy of this will be sent to

the Consuls-General of the principal European Powers, who will forward it to their respective Embassies, together with a note deprecating the introduction of such sudden changes as would be threatened by the promulgation of the Turkish Tanzimat in Egypt. I have reason to believe that the greater part of my colleagues are prepared to take this step; and should the documents in question reach Constantinople before your Excellency had taken any measures in favour of Abbas, it is obvious that his sense of obligation to England would be materially diminished.

I have been informed that in order to strengthen the family cabal against Abbas at the Porte, Nazlee Khanum, the eldest daughter of Mehemet Ali, is about to proceed to Constantinople; she is now as notorious for her malice and intrigues as she formerly was for her debaucheries; and as she has abundance of money and jewels at her command, her means of mischief-making will be considerable. The causes of her spite against Abbas are not difficult to fathom; before his accession she was *the* great lady of Egypt, all the other princesses paying her their respect and homage; now these first honours are paid to the mother of the Viceroy, and the Nazlee Khanum considers herself neglected and insulted accordingly.

I have now performed my duty in putting your Excellency in possession of all the circumstances of the Egyptian question, to the best of my ability.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 15.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received March* 26.)

(No. 67.)

Constantinople, March 6, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE had some further conversation in private with the Grand Vizier on the subject of Egypt and the present Viceroy's administration. His Highness repeated the assurances which he had given me on a former occasion. The Porte, he affirmed, was not disposed to seek a quarrel with Abbas Pasha, nor to insist upon its right of introducing the system of reform at once and completely into Egypt. He complained at the same time of the Pasha's objectionable proceedings in several important respects: first, that he was increasing his forces by land and sea without the Sultan's consent, and without any apparent necessity; secondly, that the increase of his army was inconsistent with the conditions presented by the Sultan's Firman, which had conferred the hereditary administration of Egypt on Mehemet Ali's family; thirdly, that he continued to prevent the wife of Kiamil Pasha from joining her husband at Constantinople; fourthly, that he imposed undue restraints upon other members of his family. The Grand Vizier added that the Sultan's only wishes with respect to Egypt were to obtain a practical security for the lives, the properties, and the honour of his subjects in that important province; to enforce a proper attention to the provisions of his Firman; and to obtain more particularly for those distinguished ladies who had appealed to him, that liberty of action to which their rank and irreproachable character entitled them.

In stating these points for my information, the Grand Vizier, whether sincerely or not, took up his ground so well that I could only approve his declared intention of respecting Abbas Pasha's privileges, and remind him of the unpleasant consequences which might ensue from any endeavour on his part to change the succession without sufficient reasons, or to open a door for the revival of that foreign influence in Egypt which had already proved so obnoxious to Her Majesty's Government and dangerous to the Porte itself.

Though I cannot undertake to answer for the Porte's sincerity in this matter, I am bound to do justice to the language of its principal repre-

sentative; nor can I wonder, if the facts be correctly stated, that the Sultan should think it necessary to bring the Viceroy of Egypt to a clear understanding as to his duties under the existing Firman. My own communications from Egypt say nothing of the Viceroy's armaments, but, on the contrary, are more favourable to his character and ability than the impressions which are entertained of him here. I find, however, that the French Minister has been informed by his Consul in Egypt that four ships of the line are preparing for service at Alexandria, and that considerable levies are in course of being added to the army.

However this may be, the Grand Vizier informed me that a steam-frigate would shortly be dispatched to Alexandria with important communications from the Sultan to the Viceroy, who would be called upon to allow Kiamil Pasha's wife and another lady of his family to gratify their wish of coming to Constantinople. He stated his intention of giving me fuller information of the intended proceedings before the departure of the frigate; and he accepted with readiness or rather anticipated my offer to employ my good offices for removing any causes of dissatisfaction between the Sultan and the Viceroy, provided I were satisfied that His Majesty's intentions and those of his Government were such as his (the Grand Vizier's) assurances entitled me to expect.

If there be no deep-laid intrigue in these matters I may be able to render some service in the sense desired by your Lordship. At all events it will be my duty to watch the course of the Porte's proceedings with attention, and to prevent, as far as it depends upon me, any further departure on either side from the line of conciliation and mutual justice.

With this view I purpose to take an early opportunity of communicating officially with Aali Pasha respecting the differences in question; and the more so as I am informed by one of my colleagues that Abbas Pasha has recently given some intimation of his fears to the Consuls of the leading European Powers, exclusive of France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—I have omitted to mention that besides Nazlee Khanum, the late Mehemet Ali's eldest daughter, the Sultan's intended application to Abbas Pasha will include the old Viceroy's youngest son, Aali, who, as Reshid informed me, wishes to come here.

S. C.

No. 16.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 79.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, March 8, 1851.*

SINCE I had the honour of addressing your Lordship on the 6th instant I have received a batch of interesting despatches from Mr. Murray, the report of whose return to Cairo was thus confirmed to me. This correspondence has reached me at a moment when there is the fairest prospect of my being able to use the information contained in it with advantage to the public service.

The continued illness of the Grand Vizier obliges me, however, to postpone for two or three days such proceedings as it may be found advisable to take with reference to the matters in discussion between the Sultan and his Viceroy. I can only hope to have it in my power to report more fully upon the subject by the next messenger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 17.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 84.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 7, 1851.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 67, of the 5th of March, reporting a conversation with the Grand Vizier, in which that Minister enumerated the causes of dissatisfaction which the Sultan had against Abbas Pasha; and I have to acquaint you that I have instructed Mr. Murray to inform you whether the Pasha is making any addition to his army, and to what extent that army exceeds the amount fixed by the Firman of 1841; and also to explain to you any reasons which the Pasha may have to give as to his conduct towards the persons mentioned by the Grand Vizier.

I have at the same time to instruct your Excellency to press upon the Porte the inconsistency of its conduct in regard to Egypt. Some years ago there was in Egypt a Pasha full of ambitious projects, aiming at independence, and closely connected with France, by whose aid and for whose interests he seemed likely to sever his connexion with the Sultan, and to wrest from the Turkish Empire, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and part of Asia Minor. The Porte, after several defeats in pitched battles, was obliged to implore the help of its European friends to avert the great danger with which it was threatened. The Powers to which the Porte appealed did grant the help which was asked for; and England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, combining together, overawed France, subdued Egypt, and saved Turkey.

But no sooner has a state of things been established in Egypt which is the very reverse of that which existed in 1839 and 1840; no sooner has the Sultan got in that province a vassal obedient, submissive, and loyal, clinging with allegiance to his rightful Sovereign, and having no connexion with or tendency towards France, devoid of all ambitious views or military propensities, and content with his subordinate condition; no sooner does this happen than the Ministers of the Sultan, with a weakness of mind equal to the former military weakness which they had displayed, become the dupes of foreign and domestic intriguers, and are on the point of allowing themselves to be led into a course of action calculated to bring back again into Egypt those very influences which were formerly the causes of so many dangers and disasters. The Turkish Government seems in regard to these affairs of Egypt to have profited but little by its past experience.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 18.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 5.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 7, 1851.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith the copy of a despatch* from Sir Stratford Canning, reporting a conversation with the Grand Vizier, in which that Minister enumerated the various causes of dissatisfaction which the Sultan had against Abbas Pasha.

With reference to the statements made by the Grand Vizier, I have to instruct you to report to me, and to inform Sir Stratford Canning, whether Abbas Pasha is making any addition to his army, and to what extent that army exceeds the amount fixed by the Firman of 1841.

You will also explain to Sir Stratford Canning any reasons which the Pasha may have to give as to his conduct towards the persons mentioned by the Grand Vizier.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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* No. 16.

No. 19.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 7.) *Cairo, March 24, 1851.*

My Lord,

AGREEABLY to your Lordship's commands, as conveyed to me in your despatch of the 7th March last, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, accompanying this despatch, copies of the Turkish Tanzimat, and of the Code issued by the Viceroy for the administration of this province.

I proceed to state, in further obedience to your Lordship's instructions, the grounds upon which the Viceroy considers the introduction of the former inexpedient and unjust in Egypt.

His Highness' objections to the introduction of the Tanzimat rest upon two distinct bases: the one, that they are incompatible with the rights vested in the hereditary Governor of Egypt by the Firman of February 1841, and guaranteed by the European Powers; the other, that they are not adapted to the local circumstances of the country which he is called upon to govern.

With respect to the former of these grounds, His Highness holds that according to the Firman above mentioned, if he faithfully observes the obligations of the Ottoman treaties with foreign Powers, and regularly pays the stipulated tribute to the Sublime Porte, and not only observes in his administration the laws of security of life and property, and the general welfare of the province, but likewise pays loyal obedience to his Sovereign, according to the stipulations of the said Firman; if he fulfils all these obligations, he is entitled to the unfettered internal administration of the country, to the regulation of its police, the repression of those crimes and outrages to which from its situation it is peculiarly exposed; and lastly, to the collection and application of its revenues according to its necessities and prosperity.

If this view of His Highness' position be correct, it is quite evident that the introduction of the Tanzimat would invade all his rights of internal administration, by subjecting all his acts and regulations to the authority of Councils at Constantinople, and by introducing organic changes in all the forms of administration now recognized in Egypt.

For instance, in Article 6 of the 3rd Chapter, every province has its Government divided into three distinct categories: the judicial, the administrative, and the fiscal; all with separate functions, and all of course responsible to the Sublime Porte. Were this system applied to Egypt, the Viceroy's functions would be included in the second category, and the financial resources of the country would be in the hands of an officer too well known in the history of Turkish administration under the name of the Turkish Defterdar. The hereditary Governor of Egypt would then sink at once into the position of an ordinary Pasha of Roumelia, Damascus, or any other province.

Thus much with regard to the incompatibility of the Tanzimat with the hereditary rights guaranteed by treaty to the Viceroy. Now with respect to the adaptation of the said Tanzimat to the local circumstances of Egypt.

The 1st regulation of the Tanzimat abrogates, whether wisely or unwisely, the ancient Moslem law by which if the heirs and relatives of a murdered man agree to accept the "price of blood," the *lex talionis* is not enforced against the assassin. This being one of the most sacred of the fundamental institutions of Islamism, its abrogation, if published in a country like Egypt, would give great offence to the religious feelings of the natives; nor is it easy to see either the wisdom or justice of this change, when we find its spirit directly contravened by the 12th Article, which stipulates that in the event of the heirs or relatives of the murdered man being not forthcoming, the State is to represent them and is at liberty to enforce the *lex talionis*, or to accept the price of blood. This clause is so shocking to good Mussulmans here, that I cannot help thinking

there must be some error in the French version of the Code, which is the only one that I have seen. The Koran, with (perhaps mistaken) humanity, permits the heirs of a murdered man to accept the price of blood, and to spare the assassin; the Turkish Code, as here translated, takes away this privilege from the relatives, and yet permits the State in the absence of relatives to enrich its own treasury with the price of blood.

But without wearying your Lordship with an examination of the Tanzimat *seriatim*, I shall proceed at once to those clauses the introduction of which into Egypt seem impossible, without imminent risk of throwing the whole country into anarchy and rebellion.

I allude to the clauses 3 and 4 of the 1st Chapter, by which the Governors of provinces, whatever may be their rank, or wherever may be the seat of their government, are positively forbid to execute a rebel or an assassin, without the sanction of a firman sealed with the Imperial seal.

My Lord, I have no hesitation in stating my firm conviction that within six months after the promulgation of such a law in Egypt, not only would there be no safety for the lives and properties of Christians, but the whole country would be in a state of open revolt and anarchy; this is not my own opinion only, but that of every well-informed resident in Egypt with whom I have conversed.

The Arabs of the Desert bordering on the Valley of the Nile, the Fellahs of Upper Egypt, and the whole population of Nubia and Sennaar, care nothing about the edicts of the Sublime Porte, and have no fear of its remote authority. They dread the name of Mehemet Ali; they have felt his power to inflict speedy and summary punishment. The *prestige* of that name still attaches to the member of his family who has succeeded him; and the consequence is, that Egypt is quiet, and life and property are more secure here than in any other province of the Turkish Empire. Take away that *prestige*, by taking away the power of speedy and summary punishment, and the consequences that I have predicted will follow as surely as the night follows the day.

Further, my Lord, I am at a loss to conceive upon what principle of justice we can co-operate in an endeavour to force upon a province distant from the capital and composed of elements totally different, all the provisions of a code which may be wisely adapted to the circumstances of the province in which that capital is situated. How could India and Canada be governed if the Judges and Governor-General could not proceed to the execution of an assassin, or rebel taken with arms in his hands, without waiting for a document from England bearing Her Majesty's seal and signature? And if such a system be found impracticable among populations partially civilized, and held in awe by British power and British bayonets, how much more impracticable must it be with a population that knows no restraint but fear.

The question then arises, are we acting with wisdom and justice in abetting the Sublime Porte in depriving the hereditary Governor of this extensive country of a power which all civilized States find themselves compelled to entrust to the temporary Governors of the remote provinces? And as the question seems to me to admit of but one answer, I proceed without further dwelling upon it, to notice that the Tanzimat as a Code, however wisely or humanely it may be formed for Turkey and the adjoining provinces, leaves entirely untouched a great proportion of the points which are most essential to the prosperity of Egypt, owing to its peculiar position and system of agriculture. Perhaps it is not too much to state that more than half the offences committed in Egypt against the laws and the Government arise from those peculiar circumstances, especially with reference to the embankment and canals for irrigation upon which the province is entirely dependent for its agriculture and produce; all these cases are specially provided for in the Egyptian Code accompanying this despatch, to which I respectfully invite your Lordship's attention.

After a careful perusal of both codes I am bound to say that I find only one point in which the Egyptian is less humane and civilized in its provisions than the other, and that point is the number of blows awarded when the bastinado is inflicted. In this particular the difference is more apparent than real, for I have in a former despatch observed to your

Lordship, that where no restriction is expressed as to the kind of scourge or stick to be employed, it is easy to inflict more grievous lacerations and wounds with 20 blows from one weapon, than would be caused by 200 from another. His Highness is by no means averse to modify his code in this respect, should your Lordship see any advantage from his doing so, but he has provided against the cruelties committed by the bastinado in the time of Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim Pasha, by enacting that clause in which any Governor or officer who inflicts the bastinado so as to cause death shall be held guilty of murder.

Having concluded these observations on the inapplicability of the Tanzimat to the local circumstances of Egypt, I repeat to your Lordship by the Viceroy's special desire, that he invites the Sublime Porte and the friendly Government of Great Britain, to examine the Code which he has drawn up, and which is in many particulars based upon the reforms introduced into Turkey by his Imperial master the Sultan. His Highness is perfectly ready to modify or alter any regulations which can be proved to be contrary to justice and to the spirit of humanity and civilization which dictated the promulgation of the Tanzimat; he does not wish that this Code should in any manner emancipate him from the fealty which he owes to his Sovereign, on the contrary, it is his earnest desire that it should be approved by that Sovereign and bear his name and seal under the title of the "Imperial Code enacted for Egypt."

Surely if these proposals are met at Constantinople in a spirit of conciliation and equity, there can be little difficulty in arranging the unhappy differences existing between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy in a manner becoming to their respective relations.

Only one more consideration will I press upon your Lordship's notice, and it is this: Before we assist in altering the whole organic administration of a country in which England is so deeply interested, we ought to feel certain that the changes to be introduced will be beneficial to the population and to European commerce, more especially to that branch which refers to our intercourse with India. In order to judge fairly of this subject we must compare Egypt both with what it *was* some years ago, and also with other provinces of Turkey *now*, in which the Tanzimat are or are supposed to be in force. On both of these points I can assert, without fear of contradiction, that Egypt is at this moment not only in a more flourishing condition than ever it was in the time of Mehemet Ali, but that there is more prosperity, more security of life and property, and more regard for the rights and persons of Christians, than can be found in any other province of the Ottoman Empire. Several of my colleagues in the Consular Body who have been employed in Turkey and Syria bear witness to this fact, and while even an European Consul at Damascus is obliged when riding out of the town to be accompanied by several cawasses to protect him from violence or insult, European tourists here travel unarmed and unmolested to the most remote and unfrequented parts of Egypt; nay, this very year, more than one pleasure-boat containing English ladies and their servants have been up to the second Cataract, and have returned without having met with one instance of incivility or annoyance by the way.

Month after month do the Indian mails, accompanied some times by vast sums in specie, cross the Desert to Suez with a smaller guard than that which it is thought necessary to assign to them when moving them from the Bank of England to Southampton.

With respect to the finances which Abbas Pasha is represented at the Porte as having ruined and exhausted, it is certain that they never were (at least in the memory of the oldest residents) in so flourishing a state as they are at present. The tribute is punctually paid, commerce is increasing, and the public debt nearly extinguished, so nearly that the Government paper, which has during my own recollection of only three years ago, been at a discount varying from 14 to 25 per cent., is now within 2 or 2½ of par.

This improvement in the finances has been effected, notwithstanding that the Viceroy had reduced the Ferdeh (or poll-tax) in several provinces, and abolished it in the cities of Cairo and Alexandria.

If this comparative view of Egypt and other Turkish provinces be correct, are we not justified in asking why should the Sublime Porte desire to destroy the existing system here, and to replace it by one which has not hitherto produced results equally favourable elsewhere?

The solution of the whole question is to be found, I fear, in a fact, and that a most unfortunate one, which I have referred to in a former despatch, namely, the hatred existing between the Grand Vizier and the Viceroy. They may disclaim it when speaking severally to Her Majesty's Ambassador and to myself; but I know it to be a fact, and neither of the Viziers can conceal it from those by whom they are surrounded. This is the real reason why Reshid Pasha wishes to humble Abbas by forcing the Tanzimat upon Egypt, and why he listens with so willing an ear to all the exaggerated misrepresentations made by Artin Bey and the other Egyptian refugees at Constantinople. Were it not for this the whole difficulty might be speedily got over by a little mutual concession and courtesy; but the rancorous dislike entertained by Reshid Pasha for the Viceroy cannot fail to make the task of Her Majesty's Ambassador an extremely delicate and difficult one, as his Excellency is both disposed and compelled to lend his support to the Grand Vizier, on account of the relative position of the political parties at Constantinople.

At the risk of offending both your Lordship and his Excellency by my prolixity, I have offered unreservedly my opinions upon the present crisis. All that I have written has been with a view to the interests of Egypt and British interests here; the reconciling those interests with those affecting the Ottoman Empire in general does not fall within the limited sphere of my duties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 20.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received April* 16.)

(No. 8.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April* 1, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith two despatches which I have lately addressed to Sir Stratford Canning on the subject of the pending questions between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

As the state of Mr. Walne's health rendered it necessary that he should at all events go to some part of Europe without delay, and as I found that the state of this country had been grossly misrepresented both to the Sublime Porte and to Her Majesty's Ambassador, I trust that your Lordship will approve of my having directed Mr. Walne to proceed first to Constantinople, and to give his Excellency full information concerning all the details of the present condition of this country and its administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 20.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 5.)
Sir, *Cairo, March* 23, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to send your Excellency a few observations with the steamer which conveys Zeinab Khanum, the late wife of Kiamil Pasha, to Constantinople.

The Princess asked the Viceroy's permission and he has given it; but whether her object in going is to be reunited to her former husband, or to seek a new alliance, I know not; the former is scarcely probable, unless the parties slight the observances of the Moslem religion, which

would compel the lady to consummate a marriage with a second party and be again divorced from him, before she could return as lawful wife to her first lord.

Young Mehemet Ali Bey wished to accompany the Princess on this trip, but the Viceroy would not allow him to go: he is a violent-tempered, foolish, and mischievous youth; and his presence in Constantinople, unless he were considered a mere cypher, would bode no good to the tranquillity of things in Egypt.

Should the Sublime Porte attempt to draw him thither by order, the Viceroy expects your Excellency's friendly interposition to prevent the issuing of such a mandate, as the firman by which he holds his Vice-royalty recognises his right to direct and control the movements of the junior members of his family.

I think he attaches an undue importance to the fact of this foolish youth going or staying here, but if His Highness has a right in the matter, it is bad policy in the Sublime Porte to create unnecessary trouble by invading it.

Nothing is spoken of now in Egypt but the railroad from Cairo to Alexandria; and the French are as violent as absurd in their outcry against a measure which must be productive of the greatest benefit to the internal commerce of this province.

I have just returned from a visit to the Viceroy, and I found him in a greater state of excitement than ever I have seen him in before. It seems that yesterday the French Consul-General, after having in vain exerted all the means in his power to prevent the construction of the railroad, told the Foreign Minister and First Interpreter that he was going to demand an audience of the Viceroy to tell him that if the road were undertaken he should insist upon French engineers being employed either in its construction or maintenance.

The Viceroy said to me: "If the French Consul-General comes to me with such a message and talks to me about my leaning to English influence, I will ask him what European influence has been dominant here for twenty-five years? Who planned and constructed the Barrage? Who built the fortifications of Alexandria? Whose officers abound in the army and in all the civil bureaux? Not one Englishman has been employed in all these works; and now, because I am about to avail myself of the engineers and scientific assistance of Englishmen, in an undertaking which is to be highly advantageous to this country, you come to me with complaints as if your nation had a right to all the appointments in Egypt, to the exclusion of the subjects of other friendly Powers."

Such is the answer which His Highness told me that he would give to the French Consul-General; and I must own that there is much truth and sense in what he says. His Highness knows that he has entirely alienated the French in this matter of the railroad; and he knows that the newly-appointed French Minister at the Porte, and his First Secretary, M. Benedetti, are both his enemies, and will do all in their power to injure him at Constantinople. Both have been employed in Egypt, and he knows them well; but His Highness desires me to say to your Excellency, that he neither fears nor cares what they can do, if your Excellency will afford him your steady and friendly support; and if he asks for it in any matter in which he has not right and justice on his side, he hopes you will frankly communicate the objections that you have to his views and his measures, and that you will not condemn them until you have heard and weighed the explanations which he has to offer.

This is the sum and substance of my interview with His Highness to-day; and as I have only just time to catch the steamer which conveys the Princess, I forward it to your Excellency without comment on my part.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 20.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 6.)

Cairo, March 27, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's despatch of March 20, and to assure you how much I feel gratified by the expressions which your Excellency is pleased to make use of in referring to my communications on this important subject now under discussion; and while the candour with which you invite me to state frankly my views, even although they may differ in some respects from those which your Excellency has hitherto entertained, emboldens me to continue the same tone of unreserved frankness, I trust that your Excellency will believe that whatever I write is dictated by a profound conviction of the deep importance of the present question to the welfare of Egypt and to British interests here.

My former despatches will prove to your Excellency that I am not a blind admirer or supporter of Abbas Pasha; but it is my duty to disabuse you of the gross misrepresentations which have been made at the Sublime Porte with respect to his character and administration.

I shall now proceed without further preamble to observe upon the four questions at issue between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy, as stated in your Excellency's despatch, viz.: 1. The introduction of the Tanzimat into Egypt. 2. The general good administration of this country. 3. The reduction of the army. 4. The treatment experienced by certain members of His Highness' family.

With respect to the two first, they are treated so fully in a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Palmerston,—copy of which I have the honour to transmit herewith,—that I have little to add to what I have there stated. With respect to the reduction of the army, the non-effecting of which is brought as an accusation against the Viceroy, I beg your Excellency to remember that it is just two years since His Highness received a special authorization from the Sultan to raise the amount of the Egyptian army to 30,000 men. It is true that the causes stated in that document were connected with the then troubled state of Europe, but I am not aware that the permission has ever been formally withdrawn. Should the Sublime Porte be now disposed to insist on the reduction, it is not at all clear to me that it would be acting wisely or prudently; for it must be remembered that when the original number of 18,000 was fixed, it was fixed at the lowest possible ratio as supposed then to be consistent with the security of the country, on account of Mehemet Ali's well-known ambition and enterprise. Those 18,000 men were most of them veteran troops, officered by men who had seen service in Morea and Arabia; and the population of Egypt did not then much exceed 2,000,000; it now amounts to 4,000,000, and the army is chiefly composed of raw recruits, and officers who have never seen service.

Neither must it be forgotten that within the last three years the immense fortifications of Alexandria, Damietta, and Rosetta, have been completed under French engineers. I have so repeatedly mentioned to your Excellency my opinion upon those fortifications, and the purpose for which they were constructed, that it is not necessary for me to repeat it here; but as neither the British Government nor the Sublime Porte thought fit to make any remonstrance against their construction and extension, it must be presumed that they received the Sultan's sanction. These fortifications being now completed, they would require the whole Egyptian army to man them efficiently in case of war; and they will require nearly one-third of the original 18,000 men for the mere performance of the sentry duty and the keeping the guns and works in repair in time of peace.

There is no doubt that according to the letter of the law the Sublime Porte can insist upon the reduction of the army to its original number; but if your Excellency considers the preceding observations

deserving of attention, you might suggest them to the notice of the Sublime Porte whenever this subject is brought under discussion.

With regard to the fourth point of grievance alluded to in your Excellency's despatch, namely, the treatment of sundry members of Mehemet Ali's family by Abbas Pasha, I have no hesitation in affirming that the Sublime Porte has been grossly deceived.

With respect to Zeinab Khanum, the quondam wife of Kiamil Pasha, nothing more need be said, as she is already gone to Constantinople by the Viceroy's permission. His Highness gave her a special steamer for her conveyance, and a present of 25,000*l.* to enable her to defray the expenses of her excursion without drawing upon her own resources.

As for young Mehemet Ali Bey, when I pressed upon the Viceroy your Excellency's advice that he should be allowed to go to Constantinople, in obedience to the invitation of the Sublime Porte, His Highness replied that he would willingly give his consent, provided he could have a guarantee that he should remain there when he went, and not be sent back to Egypt a few months hence, puffed up with titles and decorations, and consequently ten times more insolent, refractory, and unmanageable than he now is. An event that occurred a few days ago will illustrate this subject. When Zeinab Khanum received permission to go to Constantinople, and it was known that a steamer was ordered for her, young Mehemet Ali and the old Princess Nazlee Khanum started secretly in a Nile boat, intending to join Zeinab and accompany her without the Viceroy's leave; as soon as His Highness heard of this he dispatched one of his chief officers, Hair-ed-deen Pasha, in a steamer, who overtook them about twenty miles from Cairo, and told them respectfully that such a method of proceeding was not consistent with propriety nor with the relation in which they stood to the Viceroy; and he recommended them, before taking so serious a step, to return to Cairo and to make amicable arrangements with His Highness on the subject. Young Mehemet Ali got into a most furious passion, called Hair-ed-deen Pasha a pig, a dog, and told him that he had a good mind to pistol him and throw his carcase into the river. Hair-ed-deen, who is a good-tempered fellow, made no angry retort; and the pair, after consulting, thought fit to return to Cairo.

Now I will only ask your Excellency, if a youth like this were sent to Constantinople, petted by the Vizier, decorated, and made a Ferik Pasha, and then sent back here to head all the discontented spirits who would gather round him, how is Abbas to carry on the Government?

Moreover, Mehemet Ali Bey is not the only one; there are Halym Bey, Ismael Bey, Achmet Bey, all sons and grandsons of old Mehemet Ali, and all in the same position; moreover all of them in regular correspondence with Kiamil Pasha and the party at Constantinople who are endeavouring to effect the Viceroy's overthrow; if one of these goes over and is caressed and honoured, the others will all in turn claim a right to go too; and this is a system from which His Highness apprehends (whether justly or not) great ultimate damage to himself and his family. He tells me that in one of the first copies of the Firman of 1841, this right of summoning the male heirs of the family had been inserted by the Sublime Porte, and Mehemet Ali, foreseeing the intrigue and mischief that would ensue to his descendants, positively refused to accede to it, and the clause was accordingly struck out, leaving only that one which obliges each successive Viceroy to go to Constantinople to receive his investiture

This is the sum and substance of His Highness' observations to me on this subject; and His Highness requested me, in communicating them to you, to assure you that after you had duly weighed them, he was most anxious to be guided by your advice, as he felt sure you would give none that would compromise the prospects of his family. His Highness repeated again, that if young Mehemet Ali Bey wishes to go to Constantinople, and that the Sultan wishes to retain him there, until the time when by the will of Providence his turn of succession to the Viceroyalty may come, His Highness would gladly see him depart to-morrow, and enjoy there the revenues of his patrimony, together with any other allowance which the Sultan might be pleased to make him; but what His

Highness does deprecate is, to have him sent back again from Constantinople, his vanity puffed up with Court favour, to cabal and intrigue against the head of the family here.

Having now exhausted the four points specified in your Excellency's despatch, I will proceed to the one which I conceive to be the keystone of the whole question at issue; your Excellency has received Reshid Pasha's assurance that he bears no rancour towards Abbas Pasha for the real or supposed attempt of the latter to aid those who were labouring to effect his downfall. Your Excellency seems to give credit to that assurance; I regret very much that I cannot come to the same conclusion; on the contrary I feel convinced that hatred and personal pique against Abbas, fostered and fed by the Egyptian refugee party at Constantinople, is the real difficulty which your Excellency has to overcome before this question can be brought to an amicable solution.

The steamer which brought me your Excellency's last despatches brought Kiani Pasha's report to the Viceroy. His Highness sent for me to the Palace, and dismissing all his attendants read the whole of it over with me in the original Turkish; it was, though extremely long, a lucid, clear statement, but that portion which related the writer's interview with the Grand Vizier struck me as so remarkable, that I requested His Highness to give me a copy of that paragraph. Throughout the whole of the Grand Vizier's address to Kiani Pasha, there is not a word of modification, conciliation, or even ordinary courtesy; his manner was angry, and his countenance clouded; in short the whole address is calculated to widen the existing breach, and if possible to drive the Viceroy into resistance and rebellion. He is accused of a desire to return to the ages of barbarism; of tyranny towards all classes; of banishing some and despoiling others; of listening to necromancers and astrologers; of ruining the public treasure; of obstinate disobedience and disloyalty to the Sultan; of forbidding the members of Mehemet Ali's family to hold intercourse with each other; in short, a tissue of charges in which I recognize plainly the inventive genius of the Egyptian clique at Constantinople, and the whole winding up with an abrupt challenge in these words:—"Tell him that he must execute the Imperial Firman, yes or no; if he is resolved not to do so, let him say so at once, otherwise let him return to dutiful obedience; let him choose his course; we are ready for either." Such is the language held to the Viceroy by the same Minister who gives your Excellency positive assurances of good feeling and a conciliatory spirit.

I might have been surprised at its violence, did not a phrase give a key to its origin; in alluding to himself the Grand Vizier said that he would continue in his course at all risks, and that he cared not what Abbas said or thought, although he was aware that he had "offered millions to procure his degradation." This is a fixed belief in Reshid Pasha's mind, and he must be different from any Turks whom I have yet seen, if he easily forgets or forgives it. As for the charges themselves they are most of them untrue, some of them puerile; indeed, the greater part of them are refuted by the simple fact of the unexampled wealth and prosperity of the country. As for the members of Mehemet Ali's family being prevented by the Viceroy from seeing each other, I can vouch for its being a gross untruth; they have been, both here and at Alexandria, constantly dining together and supping together, and holding meetings, at which latter language was used respecting His Highness which was reported to him, and which naturally estranged him from them; he took no notice of it, although well aware that Mehemet Ali would under similar circumstances have imprisoned them each in his own house for a twelvemonth. They are even now all of them at Alexandria, dining daily together, corresponding with Kiamil and others at Constantinople, and awaiting the expected disgrace and humiliation of Abbas; all of them speak French; some were educated in France, and they have all a leaning towards that nation; they declare that Abbas has sold Egypt to England, in agreeing to make the railroad, in which belief, as in all other grievances, they are urged and confirmed by the French party here.

Having thus submitted to your Excellency what I conceive to be the real difficulty to be overcome before any amicable arrangements of

the pending case can be attained, I must leave it to your Excellency's sagacity to select the means which you may deem the most likely to render your friendly mediation effective. I, on my part, have represented to the Viceroy, that in keeping up a personal ill-feeling between the Grand Vizier and himself, he is "kicking against the pricks;" and I have made him promise, that in writing to Constantinople he will not return one angry or offensive word in answer to the harsh invective poured forth against him. He seems to feel the prudence of my counsel, and is most desirous on his part to effect a reconciliation by any means in his power, excepting (to use his own expression) those means which would inevitably lead to the ruin of himself and his family. Although Abbas Pasha is certainly deficient in firmness and stability, I think I can venture to guarantee that if the Sublime Porte will only listen to the explanations offered by him, as set forth in this despatch, and evince some courtesy and moderation in their dealings towards him, and judge him, not by the malignant reports of his enemies, but by the condition of the province which he governs, His Highness will not only cease from all connexion with those who are opposed to the Grand Vizier, but will use all the means in his power to evince his respect for that Minister and his devoted loyalty to his Sovereign.

Before closing this despatch I must touch upon one more topic, because your Excellency has referred to it twice in your despatch; namely,—the private character and conduct of the Viceroy. Although it cannot be denied that His Highness has been, and possibly may be still, addicted to that abominable and unnatural vice which is the disgrace of the East, it is hardly fair to make it a special reproach to him, when it is notorious that all the great Turks in this country are addicted to the same practices—in old Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim Pasha, Kiamil Pasha, in short in all of them with scarcely an exception, these propensities have been matter of public notoriety. Putting aside this one disgusting subject, I am not aware of anything else in the private life of the Viceroy which will not bear favourable comparison with others of his family and of his class; he is not cruel and a drunkard, as was Ibrahim Pasha, and the chief faults of his character are those which have been produced and fostered by a bad education. It was a grievous error in Mehemet Ali, that he governed the junior members of his family by making them act as spies upon each other; this has engendered among them all feelings of distrust, suspicion, and mutual dislike, of which they are now reaping the bitter fruits. Thus the worst faults of the Viceroy are caprice, indolence, and a habit of encouraging spies and tale-bearers, who find their interest in keeping him upon bad terms with other members of his family. These faults I have frankly laid before him, and I hope with some success, as he has lately abandoned some of his former frivolous amusements and occupied himself more with the details of business, not yet, however, so much as I could wish; but he is so unhinged and vexed by the pending difficulty at Constantinople, that he says he can attend to nothing and think of nothing else until it is arranged. This is well known to his enemies, and they hope, by prolonging and embittering the present quarrel, to drive him into a state of mental excitement, which will enable them to report to the Sublime Porte that he is "slightly deranged."

Having now gone over all the topics to which your Excellency directed my attention, it only remains for me to entreat that you will use your best exertions to bring this unhappy difference to a speedy and amicable termination.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 21.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 94.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 19, 1851.*

SINCE the arrival of Kiani Pasha with despatches from the Viceroy of Egypt, the affairs of that province have given continued occupation to the Sultan and his Ministers. The despatches which I received from Mr. Murray by the same occasion afford me a clear and comprehensive view of the questions at issue between the Viceroy and the Porte, and also of the feelings and interests more immediately connected with them on the side of the former. I have since received a visit from Kiani Pasha, and I have had some further conversation with the Grand Vizier respecting the objects of his mission. I have also obtained some explanations of a more ostensible character from the Ottoman Secretary of State.

It results from these several communications: first, that Abbas Pasha, jealous of his authority, suspicious of his nearest relatives, and apprehensive of the Sultan's intentions respecting him, desires to have the benefit of our influence here and the support of Her Majesty's Government for maintaining that degree of independence to which he considers himself entitled in virtue of the hereditary succession secured to his family in Egypt; secondly, that the Porte, dissatisfied with his proceedings, which are characterized as unjust, tyrannical, discreditable, and encroaching, seeks to restrain and correct him by appealing to the terms of the firman which established the succession, happy if the concurrence of Her Majesty's Embassy for that purpose can be obtained; thirdly, that the points on which these conflicting tendencies bear in particular, are the exemption of the Viceroy's family from arbitrary restraint, the introduction of the Tanzimat, or Reform Code, into Egypt, the reduction of the Egyptian army, and an equitable administration of affairs; fourthly, that on a satisfactory adjustment of these matters depend the tranquillity of Egypt and the continuation of its present form of Government in the person of Abbas Pasha.

The Sultan intends to require that Mehemet Ali, the youngest son of the late Viceroy, Nazlee Khanum, the eldest daughter of that Prince, and another of his daughters, the wife of Kiamil Pasha, who is here, should be allowed to come up to Constantinople; that the principles of the Tanzimat, adapted to the local requirements of Egypt, should be carried into effect by the Viceroy; and that the Egyptian army should be reduced to 18,000 men, according to the terms of the Firman.

As Abbas Pasha asserts the sincerity of his loyal devotion to the Sovereign, and recognizes the obligations of the Firman, it may be presumed that in resisting the Sultan's demands, for which to a certain degree he seems prepared, he will contend for the inapplicability to Egypt of some essential portions of the Tanzimat, and also for the right and necessity of exercising a control over the members of his family; in short that he will resist the introduction of the Tanzimat in practice while he admits it in principle, and withhold his consent to the departure of any of his relatives from Egypt under the present circumstances.

As the character and personal convenience of Abbas Pasha incline him to take an exaggerated view of his interest and authority in these matters, while the rights of the Sultan as Sovereign are difficult of limitation in cases for which the Firman has not expressly provided, and his unaided resources, in the event of compulsion, greater than those of the Viceroy, it is impossible to regard the present adverse position of the parties without some degree of anxiety as to consequences.

The Pasha will, moreover, be unwilling to reduce his army during the dispute, and the Porte will have the strongest inducement to insist upon that measure as evidence of his good faith.

Kiani Pasha declares that he possesses *carte blanche* as well as full powers to negotiate on the Viceroy's behalf, but his language in touching

particulars is like that of a man who may ultimately have to defend the place where his treasures are collected.

The interest which we must necessarily take in the dispersion of these hostile elements can hardly be disputed. An open conflict would be attended with expense and waste of strength to both parties. The removal of Abbas Pasha would open the way for a successor of similar qualifications, less favourably disposed towards Her Majesty's Government. The unity of the Empire and the local prosperity of Egypt might derive some advantage from an increase of the Sultan's authority there, but many hazardous complications beset the path by which that advantage would have to be reached; the cost would be certain, the reward doubtful.

Your Lordship need not be told that the weight of English influence thrown frankly on either side would go far to make the scale preponderate. A decided course, whether for or against the Sultan or the Pasha, would, however, expose us to much evident inconvenience and contingent disadvantage. We cannot give an unreserved support to the Viceroy without offending the Sultan. We cannot take part with His Majesty, if Mr. Murray's impressions be correct, and expect to retain our present hold on the Pasha.

Placed in these delicate circumstances and bearing constantly in view your Lordship's instructions with respect to our Egyptian interests, I am endeavouring to lay a foundation for the exercise of an efficient mediating influence, calculated to repress the exaggerations on each side, and to provide if possible for the fair demands of both.

The time required for going into further explanation on this subject is not now at my disposal. I must therefore solicit your Lordship's indulgent confidence until I may have it in my power to complete this imperfect notice, and to show by a full account of my proceedings how much I am alive to the importance of the question. It may be satisfactory, meanwhile, for your Lordship to know that while Kiani Pasha is anxious for me to write by the earliest opportunity to Egypt, the Grand Vizier has promised to put me in possession of his intended communications to Abbas Pasha before they are definitively prepared for transmission to His Highness.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 22.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 95.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 19, 1851.*

PREVIOUSLY to the day before yesterday my communications with the Turkish Government respecting the affairs of Egypt, by which I mean the conduct of Abbas Pasha and the Porte's intentions respecting him, were for any serious purpose confined to my confidential intercourse with the Grand Vizier. The arrival of Kiani Pasha having naturally brought the consideration of those affairs into a more tangible shape, and the vessel which brought him to Constantinople being on the point of returning to Alexandria, I thought it advisable to apply to the official representative of the Porte for some ostensible explanation of the facts and intentions relating to this Egyptian question.

In pursuance of my instructions M. Pisani observed to Aali Pasha that since the arrival of the last steam-packet from Egypt, public attention had been directed towards the affairs of that country, while an impression generally prevailed that some serious misunderstanding had arisen between the Porte and Abbas Pasha.

Referring to the lively interest which England had uniformly manifested with respect to Egypt, M. Pisani expressed a wish to have his Excellency's authority for reporting to me at the present juncture such information as might be transmitted with a sufficient certainty of its correctness to Her Majesty's Government. He added that I was anxious in particular to know whether the Viceroy had given any cause of dissatis-

faction amounting to a breach of the Firman by which the hereditary administration of Egypt had been conferred upon his family; and if that were the case, in what respect and to what extent the Porte conceived itself called upon to bring him to a sense of his responsibility.

The Ottoman Minister having delayed his answer till the following day in order to communicate with the Grand Vizier, replied, as Mr. Pisani has informed me, that Abbas Pasha, after renewing his protestations of fidelity and submission to the Sultan, requested to know whether the Porte had any demands to make upon him, and if so, what they were; that the Porte was preparing to answer this inquiry by addressing four demands to the Pasha, and that the four demands were as follows:—

1st. Permission for certain members of the Viceroy's family to come up to Constantinople.

2nd. The introduction of the Tanzimat Haïriyé into Egypt.

3rd. An equitable administration of the country.

4th. The reduction of the Egyptian army to 18,000 men, the number prescribed by the Firman.

In explanation of these several demands the Ottoman Minister remarked that Abbas Pasha ill-treated the members of his family and would not allow them to leave Egypt; that some of them had presented petitions to the Sultan requesting permission to go to Constantinople; that with respect to the Tanzimat, though some parts of that code were not applicable to Egypt, the basis and principles of it were perfectly so; that in the late disturbed state of Europe the Porte had allowed Abbas Pasha to increase his army to 30,000 men, but now, when the necessity for any augmentation had ceased, the Pasha, instead of diminishing his forces, sought to increase them even beyond that extraordinary number.

The Minister concluded by observing to Mr. Pisani, that two infractions of the Sultan's Firman were thus shown to exist: one in what regarded the Tanzimat, another in what related to the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 23.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 97.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25, 1851.*

I AVAIL myself of the French steam-packet to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches from No. 55 to No. 65, both inclusive.

The subject of your instruction No. 64 is under consideration, and I hope to be able to forward by the next regular opportunity sufficient evidence of the attention paid by others as well as by myself to the views entertained respecting it by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 24.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 98.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 25, 1851.*

AGREEABLY to the terms of your Lordship's instruction No. 65 of this year, I have had an accurate translation made of that Article of the Firman of investiture addressed to Mehemet Ali, the late Viceroy of

Egypt, which relates to the introduction of the Tanzimat Haïriyé into the province now administered by his grandson.

Your Lordship will perceive that the amended translation in English inclosed herewith, and certified by Mr. Alison and Mr. Frederic Pisani, differs in no essential respect from the translation transmitted to me from your Lordship's office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Article of the Firman of Investiture granted to Mehemet Ali Pasha respecting the Sultan's Laws having force in Egypt.

(Translation.)

THE sacred and fundamental principles established by the salutary statutes of my Imperial Hatti-Sheriff of Gulhané, of the security of life and property and the protection of the honour of the subject, and all the Treaties which have been made or which may hereafter be concluded between my Sublime Porte and other friendly Powers, shall be carried into full execution in the Province of Egypt also; and all the administrative regulations which have been or which may be hereafter established by my Imperial Government, shall be fairly carried into execution in the aforesaid province, in adapting them to local circumstances, and conformably to the principles of justice and equity.

No. 25.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 101.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March 31, 1851.*

INCLOSED herewith for your Lordship's information is copy of a despatch which I addressed on the 20th instant to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Cairo, respecting the questions in dispute between Abbas Pasha and the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 1.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March 20, 1851.*

YOUR despatches from No. 1 to No. 4, both inclusive, were transmitted to me by Kiani Pasha immediately on his arrival at Constantinople. They reached me very opportunely, and I acknowledge with pleasure the clear and ample insight which they afford into the several questions and important interests involved in the pending differences between His Majesty the Sultan and the ruling Pasha of Egypt. My occasional conversations with the Grand Vizier previous to their arrival had prepared me for an approaching crisis, and I had not omitted to press upon His Highness' mind certain grave considerations and suspicious appearances, which required to be scrupulously weighed in coming to a decision respecting the Viceroy's conduct. My earnest representations were not entirely unavailing, and I had the satisfaction of receiving in reply such positive assurances of good intention and fair-dealing as warranted a hope that in due season our influence might be employed between the adverse parties with no less honour to ourselves than advantage to both.

Your return to Cairo was expected from day to day, and I could not doubt that it would be followed by ample communications from the

Viceroy to you, and from you to me. In this expectation I have not been disappointed, and the time is now come when I may not only open myself to you without reserve, but perhaps even act in a spirit of equitable mediation with fair prospects of success.

For this purpose it is necessary to be frank as well as just. We must deserve the confidence of both parties, and make them feel that it is their interest to be reasonable and sincere.

In the first place let it be understood that neither in my personal nor in my official character do I harbour any sentiments adverse to the welfare and authority of Abbas Pasha. The confidence with which I am honoured by the Sultan and his principal Minister attaches me, it is true, more closely than mere representation to their interests. But conceiving their interests to be the same as those of the Empire, I would never concur with them in a course of policy inconsistent with the well-being of all its parts and with the rights of those on whom each part more immediately depends. It is no doubt my lot, and sometimes a part of my duty to receive persons who from motives of interest or malice may paint the Viceroy's conduct in very unfavourable colours. But it is not a necessary consequence that I adopt their sentiments or give implicit credence to their exaggerated statements. My ears are also open to the statements of less prejudiced observers; and I am well aware that no one can be raised to the dignity enjoyed by Abbas Pasha without being at the same time exposed to much malignant scrutiny and envious misrepresentation.

In the second place I must be free to say that the value which His Highness may set on the support of a British Ambassador cannot be more usefully displayed than by a readiness to appreciate friendly counsel and to afford such means as reason and justice supply for pleading his cause with the desired effect. Although the Grand Vizier has more than once distinctly assured me that he entertains no rancour against Abbas Pasha, and has no wish but to see him exercise his authority with due respect for the Sultan and with advantage to His Majesty's subjects in Egypt, he is not the less persuaded that the Viceroy co-operated some months ago with his political adversaries, and even made a pecuniary sacrifice to accomplish their common purpose.

I have no reason to believe that Artin Bey exercises any undue influence over the Vizier's mind; and I know, if there be faith in positive assertion, that he will never be sent back to Egypt. But there are, doubtless, impressions derived perhaps from that as well as from other sources, which it is desirable to efface, and which it happily depends in a great measure on Abbas himself to remove. I do not so much allude to the alleged depravities of his domestic life, though they are said by many to exceed the bounds of Oriental indulgence, as to a capricious and violent use of his authority, the neglect of his public duties, and an assumption of powers not warranted by the Firman of investiture.

This brings me to the questions immediately at issue between His Highness and the Porte. I learn from Aali Pasha that they are four: the introduction of the Tanzimat into Egypt, the general good administration of that country, the reduction of the Egyptian army, and the treatment experienced by certain members of His Highness' family.

You need not be assured that I deem it my duty to employ with zeal whatever information your correspondence supplies, for the removal or extenuation of any charges advanced under these heads to the Viceroy's prejudice. With respect to the Tanzimat, I am happy to observe that both parties are able to meet on a ground of mutual understanding. The Porte demands no more than what the Firman warrants and what the Viceroy admits, namely, that the principles of the Reform Code should be introduced into Egypt with such modifications as the local peculiarities of that country may be found to require. A good administration would seem to be the natural consequence of adopting those invaluable principles; and certainly no one can be more interested than His Highness in promoting the happiness and prosperity of the people whom he governs. The numerical amount of the Egyptian army, if brought into actual dispute, is a question of positive stipulation to be tested by reference to the Firman,

though it can hardly be doubted that if valid reasons were alleged, as heretofore, for an exceptional departure from the strict letter of that instrument, they would not be rejected by the Sultan.

One question remains, and it is evidently the most delicate of all. Even in private life it would be so. How much more with respect to those relations in which the parties stand towards each other. It can hardly be asserted that His Highness is altogether wrong in seeking to retain some control over the several members of his family. He is their chief, at the same time that he is ruler of the country they inhabit. But if this control be carried to an excess which reduces them to a state of slavish dependence on his will, they cannot be blamed for appealing to the Sovereign's protection; and a Sovereign deservedly celebrated for his justice and benevolence would belie his character if he were to turn a deaf ear to their complaints.

My knowledge on this head does not at present extend beyond the facts which constitute the sum of the Porte's demand. According to what I have learnt from Reshid Pasha, the Viceroy is invited to permit Nazlee Khanum, Mehemet Ali Bey, and the wife of Kiamil Pasha, to come up to Constantinople. They are all understood to desire and to have applied for this permission, though it is by no means improbable that they have presented evidence against themselves, and lodged it, through deference or fear, in the Viceroy's hands.

A friend of His Highness might justly regret that a matter of so little importance in itself was ever raised into a question of State. If the Porte and the Pasha's relatives are inclined to intrigue against him, channels of communication will never be wanting, though every member of His Highness' family were to be detained for ever in Egypt. Their freedom in that respect would on the contrary be a motive and a pretext the less for any attempt to remove him from power. Unfortunately the matter has been viewed in a different light, and the Viceroy is now probably apprehensive of losing credit by a tardy and reluctant compliance.

In this dilemma, if I had any suggestion to offer it would be one pointed out by the obvious circumstances of the case. The detention of Kiamil Pasha's wife is contrary to the natural feelings of mankind as well as to law. Mehemet Ali Bey was destined for the Sultan's service by his illustrious father, who solicited that favour from his Sovereign. No reason of equal stringency pleads for their eldest sister. The Pasha might perhaps extricate himself from a perplexing difficulty by taking advantage of this difference. He might accede to the Sultan's wishes with respect to the former petitioners, and offer excuses for demurring as to the last. The reservation, though limited to a single case, would not be lost upon the rest of his family.

No doubt it would be better to treat the whole of this affair as a squabble in the Harem, best left to the Pasha's discretion. But the Sultan's dignity has to be consulted as well as that of his Viceroy; and there are those who will say that the character of the latter must give some proof of amendment before it can inspire an unreserved confidence.

Upon the whole I do not despair of seeing these disputes terminated in a satisfactory manner. But for this end it is essential that while the Viceroy finds reason to rely upon our friendly and firm support in all his rightful claims, he should enable us to act efficiently on his behalf by avoiding all occasions of scandal in his private conduct and by exercising the high authority conferred upon him within the limits prescribed to the founder of his delegated power.

Kiani Pasha was presented to the Sultan a few days ago. He has seen the Grand Vizier more than once. He forwards no doubt to Cairo some account of his proceedings by the present occasion. He will probably return to Egypt with Mochtar Bey, the period of whose departure does not appear to be yet determined. He informs me that nothing has yet been said to him about the Pasha's increased army. He simplifies the whole affair and talks as if he reckoned upon reaching the goal by a short cut. The language, however, of the Turkish Ministers can scarcely be said to agree with this anticipation; and although their general assurances are such as justly to relieve the Pasha from all well-founded appre-

hension as to any sinister intentions on their part, I think you will render good service to his interests by prevailing on him to show a readier inclination to defer to the Sultan's wishes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 26.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 104.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 4, 1851.*

THE Viceroy of Egypt's Commissioner, Kiani Pasha, accompanied by Mochtar Bey, His Highness' confidential Agent at the Porte, embarked this afternoon for Alexandria in the Sultan's steam-frigate "Taif." The copy, inclosed herewith, of a despatch addressed by me to Mr. Murray, and forwarded to him by this occasion, will apprize your Lordship of what communications, in so far as I am acquainted with them, are now transmitted to Abbas Pasha from the Sultan and his Government.

In one of my preceding despatches to your Lordship I pointed out the difficulties which necessarily attended the exercise of my influence on behalf of Abbas Pasha, and the delicacy with which it was advisable to proceed for the sake of those more general interests which we have to consult in our intercourse with the Porte. I venture to hope that your Lordship's instructions have thus far received the attention due to them, without any important sacrifice in other respects; and that I have succeeded in bringing the Turkish Government into a proper state of mind concerning Abbas Pasha, without forfeiting any essential part of my hold on the Sultan's trust in our regard for his interests. For this purpose I have had a variety of confidential communications with the Grand Vizier, and such assurances have been conveyed through His Highness to the Sultan, as were best calculated to remove any mistrustful impressions, and to facilitate the acceptance of my representations in favour of Abbas Pasha.

These representations were founded in substance on the Vizier's repeated declaration that he entertained no intention whatever of either removing or of disparaging the Viceroy. Such being the case it was obviously inconsistent for the Porte to act upon the rumours circulated to the Pasha's discredit by interested informants; to make any demand on His Highness not thoroughly warranted by the Firman of investiture; and to use in demanding what he was bound in duty to concede, any imperious language or an offensive tone. I advised that the fullest allowance should be made for the peculiarities and local requirements of Egypt; that the Sultan's requisitions should not be so pressed as to enforce an immediate compliance on the Viceroy's part; and that however legitimate any particular object of these requisitions might be, the accomplishment of it should be left in the first instance and for a fair length of time to His Highness' own sense of justice and loyalty.

Such, I had reason to believe, after consulting Kiani Pasha, was the course which promised to prove the least unpalatable to the Viceroy, and ultimately the most conducive to an adjustment of the pending differences in accordance with the Sultan's desire.

How far the present appearances may justify a persuasion of my success in these respects your Lordship can determine by referring to the statement which I have addressed to Mr. Murray, and to the Grand Vizier's letter, transmitted in copy with my despatch No. 4 to that gentleman. How far those appearances will be realized by the bearing and oral communications of Mochtar Bey in Egypt, and in that case responded to by the answers and proceedings of the Viceroy, will be shown hereafter by the tenor of Mr. Murray's reports.

In the meantime I have only to maintain my present position and to wait for some new incidents or further advices from Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 26.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 3.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April* 3, 1851.

I AVAIL myself of Kiani Pasha's approaching departure for Egypt to acquaint you with the result of his communications to the Porte, and of the influence which I have exerted in aid of his endeavours to bring the demands of his Government into a reasonable shape.

The Pasha, who is to start to-morrow for Alexandria in one of the Sultan's steam-frigates, will be accompanied by Mochtar Bey, the Viceroy's confidential Agent, as you know, at the Porte.

I have not thought proper to communicate with Mochtar Bey on this subject; but I have found him on other occasions a sensible, well-informed man, and I conceive him well qualified to execute the Porte's instructions with temper and discretion. He is the bearer of an autograph letter from the Sultan to Abbas Pasha, and also of a letter addressed in reply to His Highness by the Grand Vizier. He is charged, moreover, with oral communications explanatory of the letters, and calculated I believe to show more explicitly in what spirit the Sultan and his Ministers are disposed to deal with the Viceroy, and what expectations they entertain in regard to the existing differences.

I am assured that the Sultan's letter is couched in terms of goodwill and gracious consideration for Abbas Pasha, without touching upon the points in dispute otherwise than by a reference to the Porte's more formal exposition of His Majesty's pleasure.

Of this latter communication, drawn up by the Grand Vizier himself, I can speak, having seen it in draft, with precision and confidence. Its assurances are friendly; its principles are just; its demands are reasonable; and its tone is frank, without being disrespectful or harsh. It appears in my judgment to be fairly borne out by the terms of the Firman of investiture, and to make for the application of acknowledged principles such admissions as the Viceroy is entitled to expect in virtue of that instrument.

I refer more particularly to the introduction of the Tanzimat-i-Hairiyé into Egypt. The Pasha is given to understand that although his recognition of that code in point of its leading principles cannot be deferred with any degree of propriety, the adaptation of its principles, and generally of the Porte's regulations, to the local peculiarities and special requirements of the province is a matter for subsequent inquiry, mutual communication, and gradual enforcement.

Three important measures are made the objects of special remark. These are the reduction of the army, the term of military service together with the mode of enlistment, and the employment of unpaid labour by compulsory means. The first is in strict accordance with the express stipulations of the Firman. The second is equally correct in principle, though it may admit of modification by reference to the practice of Egypt; and the Viceroy is therefore invited to state his opinion on the subject. The third is directed against an odious abuse of power, to be tolerated only with respect to public works in these countries; an exception which may be necessary in Egypt, and to which the Porte has not expressed any objection. With respect to the family question, though it might have been preferable to omit all mention of it in the Porte's despatch, no reasonable exception can be taken against the manner in which it is treated. The principles advanced by the Grand Vizier on this score are such as would do credit to any Christian statesman. The respect due from every member of the family to its natural head and the chief of the Provincial Government is fully recognized; and their grounds of claim to the Sovereign's protection, when needed, are so indisputably just, that if any offence could be taken with reference to these principles, it would be that the Viceroy was supposed to stand in need of their being declared to him on such an occasion. It may be added as an important and

satisfactory circumstance, that no specific demand on this subject is openly addressed to His Highness. In conclusion, the Grand Vizier's letter contains a marked expression of sincere personal regard for the Viceroy, and limits its demand in general to the expectation of satisfactory assurances from that Pasha on the several matters in question.

It remains for me to offer a few words respecting the supplementary communications which Mochtar Bey is instructed to address orally to Abbas Pasha. My only knowledge of them is derived from the Grand Vizier, whom I have strongly and repeatedly urged to frame them in perfect accordance with the principle of due regard for the Viceroy's credit and feelings, as well as with that of unreserved confidence on this occasion in His Highness' good sense and loyalty. Reshid Pasha has promised to act upon this view of the matter, and I shall be painfully disappointed if his sincerity be not proved by the Bey's language at Cairo. He has over and over again assured me that he seeks neither to injure nor to disparage the Viceroy; that he is fully alive to the slender qualifications of His Highness' eventual successors, and that his only aim is to secure what is due to the Sultan and His Majesty's Egyptian subjects within the limits of the Firman. My wish and hope is that he will be contented with a declaration from Abbas Pasha as to his acceptance of the Reform principles, including the three points specified above, and that after some mutual explanation he will leave to His Highness' discretion as to time, within reasonable bounds, the details of application, and the permission for such members of his family as may desire it to come up to their Sovereign's Court.

Such being as I am authorized to believe the present state of the case, I trust that Abbas Pasha will answer with becoming deference to the just expectations of the Sultan, and manifest his sense of the advantage which he derives from our exertions on his behalf, by attending to your suggestions and consulting the true interests of his Government and reputation.

Supposing Kiani Pasha to have taken a just view of the Viceroy's intentions, His Highness has full reason to be satisfied, since what I have obtained for him, supposing it to be fairly carried into effect, as I have no reason to doubt, agrees in substance entirely with what his Representative expressed to me. It is proper to add that the Grand Vizier distinctly assured me that the Porte had no thought of interfering with the internal administration of Egypt; and I believe, moreover, that the Viceroy's apprehension respecting a Defterdar, as stated in your confidential despatch of February 14, may be dismissed as a mere phantom of his imagination.

At all events the time is not yet arrived for entering into particulars at Constantinople with respect to the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt. Your approaching opportunities of communicating freely with Mochtar Bey and Kiani Pasha will enable you either to bring the Viceroy's pretensions more or less into harmony with the Porte's regulations, or to afford me such further and clearer information as may enable me, on their return, to assist, if necessary, in going over the conflicting points with a view to their definitive adjustment on the admitted principles.

I have received from Kiani Pasha a copy of the Viceroy's regulations, but it will require some time to translate and compare it with the provisions of the Tanzimat. By attending to the instruction contained in the fourth paragraph of Lord Palmerston's despatch to you, No. 2 of March 7,* you will materially increase my means of assisting eventually to bring the parties to a more complete understanding.

In the meantime I can only repeat the expression of my hope that you will be able to disperse whatever remains of the Pasha's unfounded apprehensions, and that His Highness, enlightened by you, will comprehend how greatly his future tranquillity depends upon himself.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

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* See No. 9.

No. 27.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 105.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 4, 1851.*

INCLOSED herewith, for your Lordship's information, are copies of a despatch and inclosure transmitted by me to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Cairo. Your Lordship will have the goodness to observe that the communication of the Grand Vizier's letter to Abbas Pasha is strictly confidential.

I avail myself of the same opportunity to forward translations of four letters received at the Porte from Egypt, and communicated to me in the same confidential manner by his Highness the Grand Vizier.

I am just informed that an Egyptian steamer having the wife of Kiamil Pasha and Mehemet Ali Bey on board is arrived at the Dardanelles, intending to proceed to Constantinople as soon as the quarantine regulations permit.

No one seems able to explain the cause of this unexpected arrival, and sufficient time has hardly elapsed for my suggestions to Mr. Murray to have taken effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 27.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 4. Most Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April 3, 1851.*

FOR your own particular information I forward to you herewith the draft of the Grand Vizier's answer to Abbas Pasha's letter by Kiani Pasha, such as it stood after the adoption of my amendments. The questions of forced gratuitous labour and military service are brought forward, as far as I know, for the first time in this document. Reshid Pasha considers them as coming strictly within the range of the Reform principles, and the practices to which they refer are so unjust and oppressive that I could not in conscience dissent from the propriety of marking them out for correction.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 27.

The Grand Vizier to Abbas Pasha.

(Translation.)

I HAVE received and laid before His Majesty your Highness' several despatches as well as the communications made by Kiani Pasha, who was also admitted to an audience of the Sultan. His Most Gracious Majesty's desire is for the prosperity of Egypt, one of the provinces of his Empire, and for your Highness' protection and preservation at the same time; and his Ministers naturally act in this sense. All the communications and suggestions made up to this period have been made in kindness and sincerity; but whatever may be the cause of it, the good intentions and real objects entertained in this quarter have not yet been altogether freed from doubt in your Highness' mind, so that I have thought it necessary on this occasion to explain fully our views.

Firstly, respecting the Tanzimat. The real intention of Government is, that all the inhabitants of Egypt without exception should be admitted

to the enjoyment of the security of life and property, and the protection of their honour and good fame, the fundamental principles of the Tanzimat Haïriyé arising from the sublime and unalterable precepts of the holy Mahomedan law. All His Majesty's administrative regulations are founded on these principles, and by them alone can the country and the people find prosperity and happiness. There can be no occasion even for discussion or remark on this point. But although it is established that the Tanzimat, with its several details, and all the regulations of the Sublime Porte, should be carried into execution in Egypt, yet it is necessary that these should be adapted to the local requirements. We all therefore agree in considering that there should be no great haste with reference to the details, and that further communication should be had with your Highness and the necessary measures gradually looked to; with this reserve, however, that as forced and gratuitous labour for purposes not connected with the public utility is very injurious to the nation, has been abolished completely in all the other Imperial provinces, and is against one of the principal regulations of the Tanzimat, it must not be confounded with other measures of detail. His Majesty has therefore decided that its abolition should be attended to as soon as possible.

Secondly, the period of military service in Egypt not having been yet fixed, is against His Majesty's notions of justice in every respect. In short it is time that this point should be settled, and it is therefore necessary that your Highness should state what your opinions are concerning the proper period of military service, and respecting the manner of carrying into execution the beneficial method of enlistment by lot, in order that we may consider here what it is requisite should be done.

Let us now come to the question respecting what is to be done concerning the members of your Highness' family. May God grant unto His Majesty, our royal benefactor, increase of years and glory. It can be nowise permitted that those members should be excepted from participation in the perfect security extended by His Majesty towards all his subjects by the fundamental institution of the Tanzimat-i-Haïriyé, as above stated, nor that they should be deprived of the boon of (personal) freedom. Although your Highness is the head and guardian of this family, and your right of paternal authority over them is not disputed, yet there must be degrees and limitations to this also, and I therefore deem it necessary to enter into some details on this subject.

First, in like manner as it is incumbent on your Highness to preside over and give your best attention that the junior members of your family should improve in the acquirement of knowledge and accomplishments, and should be preserved from the contact of those things which are contrary to morality, so also is it most necessary that you should be careful that those among them who are somewhat grown up should be made comfortable and happy in every way; that while they are treated indulgently, they should still be kept within the bounds of morality and obedience; and that they should commit no acts whatever against the established institutions of the country nor against the legitimate Government. These, however, be they male or female, once arrived at an age of free agency, it would be tantamount to degrading them to a condition of nothing less than slavery, to prevent them, should they desire it, to come and reside either temporarily or permanently at the Imperial Court of their legitimate Sovereign. It is impossible that His Majesty should consent to this. All the idle disputes and all the uneasiness caused to your Highness in that quarter (or concerning Egypt) will proceed from this question, that is, should any one of these, whoever he may be, be unable to carry out his intention in this respect, and look upon himself as a slave, both he, his dependents and connexions would be highly dissatisfied, and it would be impossible that the mouths of so many people would keep shut. Out of this, numerous squabbles, and perhaps in the course of time various untoward circumstances would arise. Your Highness' thoughts would be occupied in the means of conciliating each of these in order to prevent their leaving the country, and you would find yourself compelled to embark in a series of sacrifices both of money and of property. Such, we are taught by experience,

would be the result of such a restriction. If, on the other hand, it be stated (on the part of your Highness) that some of these might come to Constantinople and commence intriguing against your Highness, it is sure that as each of these individuals has his relations and partisans in Egypt, it is possible they might effect there what they failed in doing here; but once out of Egypt it would be out of their power to do anything, especially as, so long as your Highness does not swerve from the paths of justice and uprightness which His Majesty desires you should continue in, His Majesty will never listen to the calumnious statements against your Highness of any one whatever, be he either a member of that family or a stranger, or to those which such person might make to forward his own views. Should it be proved against any member of the family, either there or here, that he has committed any act against the Government confided to you by His Majesty the Sultan, it will be a part of the Governmental duties of the Sublime Porte also to try and punish him, and your Highness need be under no doubts or apprehensions in this respect. It has been put forward by your Highness that Mehemet Ali Pasha's family would be separated if permission were granted to those who wished it to come hither; but they would not be going to a foreign country, and such a restriction would not be in harmony with the intentions and assurances expressed by your Highness on the occasion of your visit to Constantinople; and as the property and estates held by the members of the family would not be sold, and the allowances made them from the Egyptian treasury would not be cut off, no prejudice would accrue to the present and united condition of the family by some of them coming to this place. These then are the considerations touching the members of the family, and the details of this as well as of other matters will be stated to your Highness *viva voce* by Mochtar Bey, who is proceeding thither by His Majesty's orders, and His Majesty entertains the hope that you will perform that which is requisite in each of them. It is clear, moreover, that your Highness' good standing and solid prosperity and welfare both here and in Egypt can be obtained by no other means.

It is moreover clearly laid down in the hereditary Firman, that the Egyptian Army should be limited to 18,000 men; but on the special request made by your Highness, owing to the crisis which took place in Europe two years ago, that it might be temporarily increased as a measure of precaution to 30,000 men, His Majesty gave his consent thereto. There are now, thank God, neither troubles nor apprehensions in any quarter, but while the army ought to have been reduced to the number stipulated, the efforts made on the contrary in Egypt for some time since to increase the army, the other preparations being effected, and the acts and words tending to a non-acceptation of the Tanzimát-i-Haïriyé, are all of them things affecting the conditions of the distinction of hereditary Government. But the good disposition and confidence of His Majesty in your Highness are such that without wishing to look upon them in that light under present circumstances, he entertains the expectation that your Highness will give assurances on these points of a nature which will be satisfactory to His Majesty.

I on my part entertain the sincerest regard towards your Highness, and my zeal for your Highness' interests will increase in proportion as you conduct yourself suitably to His Majesty's views. This detailed despatch has been addressed to your Highness by His Majesty's order.

Inclosure 3 in No. 27.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Traduction.) 22 *Rebi-ul-Akhir*, 1267. (24 *Février* 1851.)

JE représente humblement à votre Altesse ce qui suit:

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir la dépêche de votre Altesse, par laquelle elle me fait savoir que Mehemet Ali Bey, le plus jeune des fils de feu mon grandpère, désirant entrer au service particulier du Sultan, il a plu à Sa

Hautesse d'ordonner que je prenne des informations à cet égard, et que si Mehemet Ali Bey exprime ce désir, je l'expédie au Palais Impérial, pour que sous les auspices de Sa Majesté il ait le bonheur de la servir, avec la faculté de revenir ici de temps à autre, et toutes les fois qu'il voudra. J'ai parfaitement saisi le sens gracieux de votre dépêche.

La demande du Bey n'est au fond qu'une plainte contre moi; qu'une insinuation qu'il n'a pas de repos ici; c'est pourquoi il a fallu que je l'interrogeasse là-dessus. Alors il m'a dit qu'il avait prié votre Altesse de l'appeler à Constantinople, parcequ'il s'est vu très blessé de ce que j'ai fait cadeau à son frère aîné, Abdul Halim Bey, du Jardin de Choubra, et que l'on est jaloux de son frère, et que c'était là la seule raison qui lui a fait prendre le parti de s'éloigner de sa patrie et de sa famille.

Or cette raison n'est qu'un pur enfantillage; c'est une simple futilité; et il est généralement connu que Mehemet Ali Bey, doué d'un caractère envieux, et mal né naturellement, fait toujours de pareils enfantillages. Lorsque je lui ai demandé à me dire s'il veut ou ne veut pas aller au Palais Impérial, j'ai compris par ses réponses qu'il a renoncé à cette envie.

Le caractère et les procédés de ce Bey ne sont pas connus à moi seulement, mais à tous les principaux membres de sa famille aussi; et il est certain que la demande qu'il a faite n'avait pas pour inévitable but d'avoir l'honneur et le bonheur de servir le Sultan, mais que sa démarche n'était qu'un enfantillage, un trait de la légèreté de sa tête. Enfin il s'est montré très disposé à renoncer à sa première idée.

Votre Altesse comprendra aussi tout ce que je viens de dire par les détails que lui donnera de bouche Kiani Pacha, qui est expédié au Sérail.

Votre Altesse voudra donc bien se désister de la demande du départ de Mehemet Ali Bey pour le Sérail; et c'est à elle à ordonner en chaque occasion.

(L.S.) ABBAS.

Inclosure 4 in No. 27.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Particulière:)

(Traduction.) 23 *Rebi-ul-Akhir*, 1267. (24 *Février*, 1851.)

JE représente humblement à votre Altesse ce qui suit:

Votre Altesse verra par un autre exposé que je lui ai fait parvenir relativement à l'envoi de Mehemet Ali Bey au Sérail, la vérité du fait, quand elle aura bien médité l'exposé susmentionné.

Maintenant je fais savoir aussi ce qui suit:

Lorsque le Bey susmentionné, ou quelque autre membre de notre famille, adresse à votre Altesse quelque plainte ou quelque prière pour des procédés violens qui, supposons, auraient été usés contre lui, si d'abord votre Altesse me demandait, soit confidentiellement, soit formellement, des explications sur le cas dont il s'agit, je ferais un rapport parfaitement exact sur cela, et l'affaire pourrait être arrangée; et il est certain que ce serait là le moyen de prévenir la répétition de dissensions qui, par fragilité humaine surviennent dans la famille, en s'excitant les uns contre les autres. Si les plaintes et les demandes d'enfans et de femmes faites contre moi personnellement sont prises pour des faits positifs, et mes représentations véridiques considérées comme non-véridiques, et comme contraires à la réalité des faits, votre Altesse sait que je ne suis pas homme à faire de faux exposés, et j'espère, d'après les sentimens de justice et d'équité qui la caractérisent, qu'elle ne m'en croit pas capable.

Il y a quelque temps que j'ai écrit à votre Altesse pour la prier de mettre fin à cette mauvaise humeur dans laquelle elle avait été mise par suite des faux rapports et des inventions calomnieuses qui lui avaient été faits contre moi par des personnes qui y trouvaient leur compte, et de regarder tout cela comme non-avenu. Et son Excellence Hassan Pacha a été aussi averti de donner à cet égard de fortes assurances.

Maintenant venons à ce qui concerne Mehemet Ali Bey. Je vois qu'il y a encore dans votre cœur quelques traces d'irritation; ainsi je la supplie de ne conserver plus absolument la moindre mauvaise humeur, et de n'être pas faché contre moi, car je n'ai pour elle, moi, qu'une amitié sincère et parfaite.

Je suis le serviteur fidèle et inaltérablement dévoué de Sa Majesté le Sultan, notre Auguste Maître et Bienfaiteur, tant que je serais en vie, tant qu'il plaira à la Divine Providence de me laisser vivre, je ne veux, et tels sont mon espoir et mon intention, m'écarter dans aucune circonstance de ce qui est conforme à la volonté de Sa Hautesse, et je sacrifierai ma vie à la servir avec la plus grande fidélité. En conséquence, me faisant toujours un devoir de suivre la voie de l'équité et de la justice, je m'occupe à opérer et compléter le repos et la tranquillité de tous les employés et de toutes les populations des provinces que j'ai été appelé à gouverner sous les auspices de Sa Majesté Impériale. Or, cela étant, je n'ai commis aucun acte de violence envers quelque membre de notre famille à laquelle je tiens lieu de père animé de sentimens pleins de bonté pour elle. Non, jamais je ne l'ai fait et jamais je ne me permettrai de le faire.

Je ne saurais cependant nier que de temps à autre, car tel est le sort de la nature humaine, il ne s'élève des dissensions domestiques dans notre famille, comme cela arrive dans toutes les familles; mais c'est une chose connue que dans l'espace de peu de jours elles disparaissent, et que l'amitié et la bonne intelligence sont rétablies.

Du temps de mes prédécesseurs chacun sait avec quelle rigueur ma famille a été traitée. Une fois, moi-même je suis resté trois mois, et une autrefois dix jours enfermé chez moi, le cœur navré de douleur, et j'ai aussi été plus d'une fois maltraité de paroles. Comme tout cela m'a causé une peine extrême, je me suis fait une règle depuis le commencement de mon administration jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est, de bien traiter ma famille, et de donner à chacun des membres qui la composent des marques d'attention et de bienveillance. Mais se faisant fort du mécontentement de votre Altesse, aussitôt que quelqu'un de la famille se fâche pour la moindre chose, il adresse des plaintes à votre Altesse. Or, tant que votre Altesse croira les représentations des membres de la famille bien fondées sans qu'elle me demande et sans qu'elle apprenne de moi ce qui en est véritablement, et tant que leurs demandes sont accueillies favorablement, et qu'ils se voient par là enhardis, est-il possible de gouverner des hommes ainsi enhardis et leur faire tenir une conduite droite? et à la longue, un pareil état de choses ne doit-il pas causer des troubles ici? et les affaires de la province, l'administration du pays et les intérêts du Souverain, ne sortent-ils pas de l'ordre naturel? et de cette manière la ruine d'une province Impériale ne s'en suivra-t-elle pas; et la famille de Mehemet Ali et ses membres ne seront-ils pas dispersés? Enfin, comme il n'y a pas de doute que cet état de choses est un état funeste, et comme il est fortement à espérer que votre Altesse, dont la sagacité naturelle et la justice sont bien connus, ne le tolérera point, je supplie votre Altesse de vouloir bien employer son noble zèle pour arranger tout cela d'une manière sage et convenable, en faisant ce qui est nécessaire; et de faire cesser ainsi les dissensions; et c'est pour faire parvenir cette prière à votre Altesse que je lui écris confidentiellement la présente lettre. Il appartient à votre Altesse d'ordonner.

(L.S.) ABBAS HILMI.

Inclosure 5 in No. 27.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Translation.)

I BEG leave to state to your Highness that Kiani Pasha, now dispatched to Constantinople on a special mission concerning certain matters, is an approved servant, long employed in various affairs and offices in the Province of Egypt, a part of the Sultan's dominions, to my approbation.

Although it is certain that the eminent qualities, &c., which distinguish your Highness will ensure him a good reception after he has had the honour of paying his respects to you on his arrival, I address you to request that Kiani Pasha being, as above stated, an officer worthy of attention and consideration, you will bountifully extend them to him, that you will receive favourably and settle the matters with which he is charged, and procure him the honour of paying his homage at the foot of the Throne, and that your Highness will continue as heretofore to preserve me in your favourable disposition.

I avail myself, &c.
(Signed) ABBAS PASHA.

Inclosure 6 in No. 27.

Mehemet Ali Bey to the Grand Vizier.

(Translation.)

I BEG to represent humbly to your Highness that the orders with which you favoured me, dated in the last decade of December (Frank style), were received by me through my friend M. Faynard, and that I feel greatly obliged and honoured thereby.

I had addressed a letter to your Highness by M. Faynard, stating the result of this affair at Cairo, when he informed me that having remained at Alexandria, he had sent on my letter to your Highness, and another letter, containing a bill in his favour. Abbas Pasha is very pressing to obtain a sealed declaration addressed to your Highness, stating that I and my mother do not wish to go; and however much we represented to His Highness, my mother and myself, that we were bound to execute such an order (*i.e.*, to go to Constantinople), and to fulfil the injunctions of my deceased father, I anticipate no good results, and I have therefore taken the liberty of again troubling your Highness by addressing you the present letter, for I am sorely grieved at heart, and it is a pity of my youth. I have no one to whom I can lay open my condition but you, my Lord. I am convinced that however repeated orders may be addressed to the Vali of Egypt, Abbas Pasha, he will never let [me or us] go; that unless there be permission (or favourable disposition) on the part of your Highness, or else a personage [to take charge of and conduct him, it is presumed], it is impossible that I should not proceed to Constantinople, and that God will not consider it meet, nor will your Highness consent that I should be despised and looked down upon in my family. I shall always remain constant to my word, and I have taken the liberty to address your Highness, &c.

No. 28.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(No. 159.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 21, 1851.

WITH reference to the concluding portion of Mr. Murray's letter to Sir Stratford Canning of the 23rd of March, a copy of which is inclosed in my confidential despatch to your Excellency No. 157, of this day's date, I have to instruct you to represent to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the French Consul-General in Egypt is understood to have been using every endeavour to prevent the construction of a railway between Alexandria and Cairo.

Your Excellency will say that Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that the French Agent at Cairo is thus acting by instructions from his Government, because it is difficult to understand what motives the French Government can have for trying to prevent a work so emi-

nently calculated to promote the advancement of civilization and the progressive development of commerce in a country in which both commerce and civilization are at present in so backward a state. And your Excellency will express the hope of Her Majesty's Government, that the French Government will instruct its Consul-General to abstain from throwing any further impediments in the way of this undertaking.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 29.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 106.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 24, 1851.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatches Nos. 94, 95, 101, 104, and 105, of the 19th and 31st of March, and 4th instant, respecting the questions now pending between the Porte and Abbas Pasha of Egypt; and I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the course pursued and the steps taken by you with reference to those matters, as reported in your despatches above specified.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 30.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 108.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 25, 1851.*

I HAVE to observe to your Excellency that the Article in the Firman of 1841, of which a translation is inclosed in your despatch No. 98, of the 25th ultimo, certainly does not entitle the Porte to require that the Tanzimat should be applied literally and in all its detailed arrangements to Egypt. This Firman only requires that the principles of the Tanzimat should be adopted and applied in Egypt, but with such modifications as to the manner of applying them as may be consistent with that degree of local administrative authority which has been vested in the Viceroy of Egypt by the nature of the arrangement under which he is hereditary Governor of that province.

It is not unnatural that those foreign influences which are hostile to any friendly intimacy between the British Government and the Ruler of Egypt, and which are especially adverse to the construction of any railway affording additional facilities for communication between England and India, should be at work to overthrow a Pasha who is friendly to England and who has determined to begin the railway; and the Turkish Ministers may have allowed themselves to be misled by an intrigue which is aimed at the accomplishment of foreign purposes under the specious pretence of promoting the authority of the Sultan. But if these intrigues were to succeed, and Abbas Pasha was to be removed, and one of the French candidates were to be set up in his room, the Porte would soon find that they had been doing the work of others, and that they had been led blindfold to establish a dangerous foreign influence in an important province of the Turkish Empire, instead of having therein a loyal vassal.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 31.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 28.)

(No. 76.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April 15, 1851.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 65, of the 18th ultimo, inclosing a copy of Sir Stratford Canning's No. 54, respecting the dissatisfaction of the Turkish Government with Abbas Pasha's administration of Egypt, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have alluded to the question in my late conversations with Count Nesselrode.

Yesterday his Excellency told me that he had sent to Baron Brunnow copies of M. Titow's correspondence on this subject, but that he had not thought it necessary to accompany the transmission of these documents with any instructions, and had forwarded them merely for his information.

The Chancellor seemed however to think that the Grand Vizier had been unjust towards Abbas Pasha, and that the complaint which had been brought against him by the Porte of having ordered an unnecessary levy of recruits, was explained by the statement of the Viceroy, that a portion was to fill up the casualties in the army and the remainder to form a body of gendarmes for the better protection of life and property in the interior; but at the same time his Excellency said nothing which could give me reason to suppose that he wished to interfere in the matter one way or the other, or to give advice to either party at the present moment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 32.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 122. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, April 28, 1851.*

IN the course of a conversation I had yesterday with the President, I mentioned the report we had received that the French Consul-General in Egypt was doing all in his power to thwart the construction of a railroad in communication with the Red Sea. I felt sure that in so acting he must be departing from the spirit of his instructions. The Prince said he was quite unable to account for such conduct, and took a note on the subject. He quite agreed with me that it was desirable on both sides to check the tendency which distant agents sometimes showed to act upon feelings of traditional rivalry, and to imagine that because a measure was evidently advantageous to one of the two Powers, it must necessarily be injurious to the other. Of this there could not be a stronger instance than the endeavours of the French agents to throw obstacles in the way of an Egyptian railroad.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 33.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 128.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 18, 1851.*

HER Majesty's Consul at Cairo, Mr. Walne, arrived here about ten days ago, with despatches from Mr. Murray, acquainting me with the purport of his communications with Abbas Pasha after hearing from me in reply to his first reports, transmitting a copy of the Viceroy's code

with reference to the Sultan's system of Reform, and announcing the departure of Zeinab Khanum and the continued detention of Mehemet Ali Bey.

These communications and the opportunity of conversing with Mr. Walne may afford me considerable assistance at the proper season, and Mr. Murray deserves my acknowledgments on account of the ample manner in which he has provided for my information respecting the affairs of Egypt. Nothing more, however, can be done before we are made acquainted with the result of Kiani Pasha's return to Cairo, and of the verbal communications with which Mochtar Bey is charged.

Meanwhile it may interest your Lordship to know with reference to the real character of Abbas Pasha's behaviour to his family, that Zeinab Khanum has been remarried to Kiamil Pasha since her arrival here, and that the parties are now living nuptially together as if they had never been divorced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 34.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 9.)

My Lord, *Cairo, April 17, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that nearly a week has elapsed since the arrival of a steamer from Constantinople, conveying Kiani Pasha, who had been sent thither by the Viceroy, and Mochtar Bey, charged with the delivery of a Vizierial letter, and also with an autograph letter from the Sultan to His Highness.

I presume that I am justified in supposing that Her Majesty's Ambassador has informed your Lordship of the purport of the conferences held at the Sublime Porte concerning the Egyptian Question, and also of the contents of the Vizierial letter, the tone of which was certainly much more conciliatory than Reshid Pasha's first communications to the Viceroy made through Kiani Pasha; and there is little reason to doubt that this moderated language is chiefly owing to the influence and exertions of Sir Stratford Canning. The Viceroy has shown me the original Vizierial letter, which is perfectly consonant to the copy shown to the British Ambassador. All this promises well; and I should entertain a sanguine hope of a speedy and satisfactory solution of this troublesome affair, were it not that verbal communications made to the Viceroy through the Emissary of the Sublime Porte, still evince that personal rancour on the part of the Grand Vizier which has been the only real difficulty which we have had to encounter from the beginning. I do not say that this rancour has not taken its origin from imprudence both of speech and conduct on the part of Abbas Pasha, for such is probably the case; but however occasioned, its under-current is clearly traceable beneath all the complimentary and friendly assurances addressed both to the Viceroy and to Sir Stratford Canning.

For instance, Mochtar Bey was instructed to give our Pasha a severe verbal rebuke for sending the Egyptian specimens for the Exhibition direct to London, instead of forwarding them by way of Constantinople, as if in so doing he had shown a spirit of insubordination and disrespect towards the Sultan. Now I humbly submit to your Lordship that this is mere idle cavil, and seeking causes of offence where none exist.

Your Lordship is well aware that the communications from Her Majesty's Government concerning the Exhibition were addressed through myself directly to the Egyptian Government, with the information that a special place was reserved for Egypt in the Exhibition.

Had your Lordship's instructions on this subject been sent to the Embassy, and forwarded from thence with an intimation that the Egyptian specimens were to be included with the specimens sent from Turkey, then

the Sublime Porte might have had some pretext for taking offence, which at present it has not. Besides this I have already mentioned to your Lordship that on my return here in February, I found the collection of the specimens so incomplete, that I urged the Egyptian Government to make all possible speed to complete it, and even warned them that if they did not send it away by the March steamer, it could not by any possibility arrive in time for admission; much less was it consistent with common sense to send it, at a great cost both of time and money, a circuitous and unnecessary voyage of 1000 miles.

I trust that your Lordship will take an opportunity of explaining these circumstances to the Ambassador from the Porte in London, if, as I anticipate, he is disposed to show coldness to Nubar Bey, the Viceroy's first interpreter, who is sent by this present steamer with instructions to gratify the *amour-propre* of the Sublime Porte by placing the collection under the shadow of the Turkish Ambassador's wing at the Exhibition.

Another and a far more important verbal communication, which Mochtar Bey was charged to make to the Viceroy, was to dissuade him from making the railway from Cairo to Alexandria. In fighting this battle I find myself absolutely alone; for I learn that the Representatives of all the other European Powers have instructions, either secret or open, to oppose it; and it is not to be wondered at if Abbas Pasha, who is not a man of firm, energetic character, should feel some hesitation in commencing an undertaking which is distasteful to all the Continental Powers, and also to the Sublime Porte. But as I have received more than once distinct instructions from your Lordship to press this undertaking on His Highness, and as I feel a conscientious conviction that it will be as great an advantage to the internal trade of Egypt as it will be to our Anglo-Indian intercourse, I have not hesitated to insist firmly on his keeping the promise which he had given on this subject, and to give him assurance that Her Majesty's Government would afford him its assistance and support in carrying out a great internal improvement, which can give no legitimate cause of offence, either to the Sublime Porte or to other European Powers. The language of Mochtar Bey conveyed that the Viceroy could not, with propriety, commence such a work without first obtaining the sanction of the Porte, a suggestion which was in fact introducing the edge of the wedge which is intended to be driven home by the Tanzimat.

The Viceroy's reply was brief and apposite; he said, "Pray let me ask you whether among all the aqueducts, canals, barrages, and other internal improvements made in Egypt in the time of my grandfather, my uncle, or myself, was the permission of the Porte ever asked or obtained?

"I see that year after year, during the season of low Nile, millions of quarters of grain and other produce are detained at Cairo for months together, and deteriorated in quality for want of the means of transporting them to Alexandria; if I make this railroad to overcome so serious an evil, and do so without neglecting any other of my financial obligations, I think I should deserve not the reproof but the approbation of the Sultan and His Majesty's European Allies."

Mochtar Bey was silent, and no more was said upon this subject; but His Highness, who is sincerely bent on this undertaking, and who sees that until it is actually commenced he will be allowed no rest from remonstrances, has resolved to send Nubar Bey to England by this steamer, armed with full-powers to make the necessary contracts for rails, carriages, &c., under the advice of Mr. Stephenson, whom the Pasha has requested to accept the charge of chief engineer.

In encouraging His Highness to take this step I hope I have not exceeded the spirit of your Lordship's instructions; and if in taking it, His Highness should find himself exposed to vexations from other quarters, I trust he will meet with that firm support from Her Majesty's Government which he deserves for undertaking, in spite of so much opposition, a work which is of the highest importance to British interests.

At the same time that I have been encouraging His Highness in those matters wherein I thought his right was clear, I beg to assure your Lordship that I have done all in my power to induce him to adopt the

most respectful and deferential tone in his reply to the Vizierial letter, in proof of which I transmit herewith inclosed copy of a memorandum which I have drawn up for him to serve as the base of his reply. I believe he will adopt the greater part of its spirit, if not of its very words; and if he does so, it may be hoped that the task of Her Majesty's Ambassador in arranging the existing difficulties will be lighter than heretofore.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 34.

Heads of reply to the Communications of the Grand Vizier, submitted to the consideration of the Viceroy.

Dibadge.

I HAVE received and acknowledge with great satisfaction the friendly expressions of your Highness towards myself, and the assurance of the deep interest which His Majesty the Sultan takes in the welfare of the provinces entrusted to my government; it is hardly necessary for me to say that I share deeply in that interest, as the welfare of Egypt is inseparably linked with that of myself and my family.

Tanzimat.

With respect to the Tanzimat, I recognize the humane and liberal spirit in which they are drawn up, and am desirous to adopt and infuse that spirit into the institutions of Egypt. I learn with great satisfaction that the Sublime Porte recognizes the necessity for adapting these regulations to the local circumstances of this country, and invites patient examination and further communication respecting the application of these regulations in detail; I beg your Highness to believe that I no wise desire to reject the humane provisions of a code sanctioned by our Sovereign the Sultan, and that my only desire is to apply them in such a manner as may secure the welfare and security of these provinces, and be consistent with the privileges and rights secured to the family of Mehemet Ali in the Firman of 1841.

Forced Labour.

With regard to forced and gratuitous labour for purposes connected with public utility, I entirely subscribe to His Majesty's just and humane views, and will issue a strict prohibition of such unjust and oppressive acts in future.

Military Service.

On the question of military service I acknowledge the propriety of having a period fixed for its duration, and am of opinion that in this country it may be limited to ( ) years. With respect to the means of enlistment, I will consult with the officers most experienced in this country, and will submit to them your Highness' proposal for recruiting by lot; after due consultation we will report to you, for His Majesty's information, the method that is deemed the most efficacious for the public service.

Reduction of Army.

As for the number of men required for the security of these provinces, I acknowledge the right of the Sublime Porte to limit the standing force to 18,000 men; but as His Majesty gave permission to raise that number to 30,000 during the prospect of European troubles, I feel assured that the same paternal wisdom will induce His Majesty to consider the reasons which I offer for permitting the increased force to remain for the present.

Army.

1st. The population of Egypt has increased so much during the last ten years, that what would be a proportionate army then (in 1841) would be disproportionate now.

2ndly. The fortifications of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta, require at least one-fourth of the army to keep them in order, and perform sentry duty in time of peace.

3rdly. The Soudan has lately been overrun by a large force of Abyssinians, who have defeated the native troops sent against them by the Governor, and have killed more than 1000 men; it will therefore be necessary to send a considerable body of troops to restore and maintain order in those provinces.

If after reading these observations His Majesty thinks fit to insist on the reduction of the Egyptian army to the original 18,000 men, let me not hereafter be blamed if disorders occur in these districts, if the commerce of Sennaar is destroyed, and that province itself lost to His Majesty's dominions for want of a sufficient number of troops.

Family Question.

With respect to the family question I observe with satisfaction that the Sublime Porte recognizes my right as head of the family to act as guardian of its junior members; and so far from behaving tyrannically towards them, it is known to everybody that I have bestowed upon them large gifts and favours, and have allowed them indulgence and freedom unknown in the time of Mehemet Ali. Although I certainly think it proper and right that they should reside in Egypt, it is not my desire to prevent such of them as are of a mature age, from going to pay their respects to our gracious Sovereign; it is far from my wish to treat them as slaves or to make them prisoners; but at the same time His Majesty will doubtless admit the necessity for their paying due deference and respect to the head of the family; and in this confidence I accept the assurance that such of them as might be mischievously or evil-disposed to my administration, shall not be encouraged by His Majesty's countenance.

Conclusion.

It only remains for me to renew my assurances of devoted loyalty to our Sovereign, and to express my hope that in thus frankly accepting all your Highness' suggestions I have proved to you how untrue were all the aspersions of my enemies, and that I may thus confirm that political support and cement that private friendship with which your Highness is pleased to honour me.

No. 35.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 149.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 5, 1851.*

SINCE I last had the honour of addressing you on the subject of Egyptian affairs, no official intelligence whatever appears to have come in from Alexandria or Cairo. I have not heard from Mr. Murray, and the Grand Vizier assured me no later than yesterday that the Porte knows only of Mochtar Bey's arrival in Egypt.

I have taken occasion to communicate to Reshid Pasha the remarks contained in your Lordship's latest instruction to me respecting Egypt, and I endeavoured, when making that communication, to impress upon him the importance of acting with fairness, neither exceeding the limits of the Firman of investiture, nor attempting to enforce its provisions without a liberal regard for the peculiarities of Egypt and the personal requirements of the Pasha as an hereditary Viceroy.

I avail myself of this opportunity to transmit for your Lordship's information, a copy of my last despatch to Mr. Murray.

If the report which has reached me through a private channel, to the effect that Abbas Pasha has dispatched a confidential agent to London, be confirmed, I fear that it will be more than usually difficult for me to retain an effective hold upon the Sultan's confidence.

I have, &c.

(Signed STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 5.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April* 21, 1851.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of those additional despatches from you respecting the points of difference between Abbas Pasha and the Porte. Their respective dates are noted on the margin. I have also received from Mr. Walne the papers, designated Tanzimat and Code d'Abbas, which you forwarded by him.

These papers and the information contained in your despatches may be of essential use to me when the time shall arrive for further discussion with Reshid Pasha respecting the affairs of Egypt. For the present I abstain from provoking any such discussion, conceiving that until the result of Kiani Pasha's return and Mochtar Bey's mission to Egypt be known here, nothing further can be done by me towards an adjustment of these affairs.

Mr. Walne's arrival here was retarded by an accident which happened to the steamer, but he could not otherwise have reached Constantinople before the departure of Mochtar Bey. I am glad to have the opportunity of personal communication with Mr. Walne, whose intimacy with Abbas Pasha and long residence at Cairo give value to any information which he is disposed to impart respecting the affairs of that province. I find that instead of going on to Europe, as you had led me to suppose, he intends to pass the summer in this neighbourhood, and principally at the Baths of Brussa.

The notice which some few passages in your present correspondence require at my hands will be more conveniently reserved for another occasion. For the moment I have only to observe, and I observe it with much satisfaction, that the Viceroy is disposed to accept any reasonable advice that we may find it necessary to offer him, and that he makes no insurmountable objection to the departure of Mehemet Ali Bey, at the Sultan's request.

I avail myself of this opportunity to mention that Zeinab Khanum since her arrival has been remarried to Kiamil Pasha, and that the parties are now living together as man and wife.

With respect to the Grand Vizier's sentiments towards Abbas Pasha, you may very possibly be right in believing them to be more resentful than he avows them to be, or than I should have been justified in stating, but, what is of real importance, you may rest assured that these sentiments, be they resentful or not in the degree claimed by you, will be kept under due control so long as the Sultan's present policy towards England prevails, and the Viceroy abstains from laying himself justly open to censure or mistrust.

With respect to Kiani Pasha's report of his first conversation with the Grand Vizier, I have to regret that he did not apprize me of its tenour at the time; and you must allow me to say that his reserve in that respect is an instance of the want of frankness which I deprecated in my first despatch to you on this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 36.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received May* 19.)

(No. 10.)

My Lord, *Cairo, May* 2, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch of April 7, 1851, No. 5, inclosing copy of one from Sir Stratford Canning to your Lordship, No. 67, of March 5, 1851, on the subject of the existing differences between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

I believe that all the points on which you demand information, are so fully treated in my last despatch to your Lordship, and in my last to Sir Stratford Canning, copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith, that I will not unnecessarily trespass upon your Lordship's time by any repetition.

The Viceroy has conceded so frankly all the points that could be reasonably demanded of him, that I trust Her Majesty's Government will think it right to protect him against the enforcement of any of those Articles of the Tanzimat which would deprive him of all real authority and throw this country into anarchy and confusion.

The railroad from Cairo to Alexandria is a sad thorn in the side of our continental neighbours: they have opposed it so constantly and vehemently, that they seem to look upon its being now undertaken as an act of offence and insult to themselves. I think it impossible that the French Government can avow this openly, but I have no doubt whatever that their new Minister at Constantinople will have instructions to use every exertion in his power to induce the Sublime Porte to forbid the construction of the railroad.

It is however an undertaking so beneficial to the internal trade of Egypt and so important to our Anglo-Indian intercourse, that I trust Her Majesty's Government will firmly support the Viceroy in his undoubted right to construct it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 36.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 8.)

Sir, *Cairo, May* 1, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of April 21st, from which I am glad to find that you have safely received the copy of the Egyptian Code which I transmitted to you with my last despatches, and that you are satisfied with having an opportunity of profiting by Mr. Walne's local knowledge, in explaining those of its stipulations which refer especially to the localities, population, and necessities of Egypt.

Could your Excellency see the Code Mehemet Ali, you would acknowledge that in humanity, liberality, justice, and civilized views, the reformed Code of Abbas has in many respects forestalled the Turkish Tanzimat.

With respect to the latter I must remind your Excellency that the copy sent to me, which was the same furnished to the Viceroy, and which I accordingly transmitted to your Excellency and to Lord Palmerston, is only a very small portion—certainly not one-fourth—of the whole Code called the Tanzimat. This Code is printed in a small volume which Mochtar Bey presented the other day to Abbas Pasha, and of which His Highness afterwards read to me several extracts. These extracts confirmed me in the belief that the Viceroy, if he unconditionally accepted the Tanzimat, would in fact sign his abdication of all those rights and privileges virtually granted to Mehemet Ali in the Firman of 1841, and

exercised even since that epoch by him and his successors; for, according to these new regulations, local courts are specially appointed in the provinces to superintend the various branches of administration, one for justice, another for finance, and so forth; and these are to report to and be controlled by, not the Governor of the province, but the superior Central Courts at Constantinople; thus the whole power and functions of Government can at pleasure be wielded by the Divan at the Sublime Porte, and the Governor be reduced to a merely titular officer.

It may suit the present policy of the Porte to say that they do not wish to enforce in Egypt all the provisions of the Tanzimat, nor to interfere in the detail of the internal administration of Egyptian affairs; nevertheless, it is not the less certain that they have strongly urged upon the Viceroy, through Mochtar Bey, the "frank" acceptance of the Tanzimat; and were he to do so, without careful reservations made and admitted, there is no doubt that the Sublime Porte could, whenever they desired to humble or annoy him, insist upon the fulfilment of those provisions which would transfer all the real power which he now exercises into the hands of the Divan at Constantinople.

This result would be so totally opposed to the Firman of 1841, guaranteed by England and the other European Powers, so fatal to the tranquillity and prosperity of this province, and so injurious to all our political and commercial relations with Egypt, that I am gratified to find from your Excellency's last despatches, that not only would you not aid in bringing it about, but you would oppose it with all your influence at the Porte.

Several considerations render it imperative upon Her Majesty's Government now to assume a firm and decided attitude in respect to this question.

1st. It would be concealing the truth were I not to inform your Excellency that the mere fact of the proposal for introducing the Tanzimat into Egypt, discussed and spread abroad as it has been for some weeks past, has already threatened the tranquillity of this province; the ignorant Fellahs and Arabs in the rural districts have caught at the word without understanding its meaning, some of them believing that they could no longer be obliged to labour at the canals or public works; others, that the bastinado was abolished; others, that the Egyptian Government could no longer punish crimes without permission from the Porte; in short, various rumours, more or less removed from the truth, but all calculated to sow the seeds of a refractory spirit among a population hitherto singularly patient and obedient to the existing Government.

2nd. It is an undoubted fact that all the Consuls of other European Powers here, as likewise the parties who communicate intelligence to the Viceroy from Constantinople, have laboured hard to undermine the confidence which His Highness feels in the friendship of Great Britain, by assuring him that he owes all the trouble and vexation that he has undergone already about these Tanzimat, to the support which your Excellency has given to Reshid Pasha in this question.

3rd. It is no less true that in spite of the representations above alluded to, His Highness has such implicit reliance on the good faith both of your Excellency and of the British Government, and on the assurances which he has received from you of support in the maintenance of his legitimate rights, that he has framed his reply to the Vizierial letter in accordance with your Excellency's suggestions, and has on this, the most critical occasion of his life, guided his conduct by the counsel of Her Majesty's Government.

He tells me frankly that, although conscious of his own unswerving attachment and loyalty to his Sovereign, he so much distrusts the views of the Sublime Porte in regard to himself, that he would not have signed even this conditional acceptance of the Tanzimat, unless he had received from the British Government an assurance of support and protection against the attempts that may hereafter be made to deprive him of his rights, guaranteed to his family in the Firman of 1841.

In consideration of the solid benefits which a railroad from Cairo to Alexandria must confer upon the internal traffic of this country, and

desirous to gratify the often-expressed wishes of Her Majesty's Government in respect to this matter, he has resolved to commence this great undertaking at once, and to bring the engineers, machinery, and other materials from England. In doing this he is well aware that he has mortally offended the French (the former self-constituted protectors of Egypt), and given more or less umbrage to other European Powers, whose agents have endeavoured on various pretexts to dissuade him from the measure; nay, it is far from being improbable (if we may judge from two or three petulant words that dropped from Mochtar Bey) that the Sublime Porte will be offended at his having commenced this undertaking without their permission.

The Viceroy's answer to these observations was very simple: "Among all the canals, aqueducts, roads, barrages, or great public works undertaken by my grandfather, my uncle, or myself, has the permission of the Sublime Porte ever been asked? Why then should it be necessary now, in undertaking a work of such obvious utility and benefit to this province?"

Mochtar Bey had no reply to make, and the subject dropped. Nevertheless your Excellency must not be surprised if you find the question brought up against the Viceroy as another proof of his contumacy towards the Sublime Porte; nay, I feel assured that the new French Minister and his secretary will do all in their power to persuade the Sublime Porte to go so far as to forbid the construction of the railway; but I feel confident that your Excellency would never permit the exercise of so unjust and tyrannical an interference.

I come now to the Viceroy's answer to the Vizierial letter. Being truly anxious, in conformity with your Excellency's instructions, to induce His Highness to write such a reply as should facilitate your exertions as a mediator, I ventured to write a brief memorandum, which I submitted to His Highness as the base of a suitable reply; a copy of this paper I have the honour to inclose herewith; and as His Highness' private secretary has just read me the draft of the answer about to be sent, I am enabled to inform you, paragraph by paragraph, wherein it coincides and wherein it differs from my memorandum.

The first paragraph, allowing for the amplification of Oriental phraseology, is in spirit the same.

The second paragraph about the Tanzimat is also nearly the same as in my memorandum; only His Highness, in consequence of a verbal message given by Mochtar Bey, has agreed to send two officers to Constantinople to consult with the Council there upon the several provisions which the peculiar local circumstances of Egypt may require to be modified or extended.

With regard to forced and continuous labour for purposes unconnected with public utility, His Highness' reply states that such practices have long been abolished by his own code; and in proof of this he ordered his officers to produce the books to Mochtar Bey, and to show him the rates of pay and food that had been allotted to all the labourers who have worked at his own roads, buildings, &c.

In respect to military service His Highness has not named a period, but in other respects the paragraph is the same as mine.

In respect to the reduction of the army, the Viceregal letter has adopted my draft nearly word for word, merely expressing at the end, his hope that the Sultan would allow the force to remain at the present rate of 30,000, and repelling most distinctly all the insinuations against his loyalty which had been unjustly made in consequence of the late conscription.

On the family question His Highness has conceded the point demanded nearly in the terms of the inclosed draft, only he has added at the close his prayer to the Sultan, that His Majesty will not expect that if officers in the Viceroy's service leave this country for Constantinople, they will continue to receive there their Egyptian pay, as His Highness could not consent to that.

The conclusion is friendly and complimentary, more so than in this draft.

Your Excellency will perhaps think that I assumed too great a responsibility in suggesting a draft for this letter, but the Viceroy was himself so excited, nervous, and perplexed, and I had so little confidence in the prudence of the persons around him, that I thought it my duty both to him and to your Excellency, to assist in getting such a letter written as might tend to accommodate the existing differences.

I have only one more observation to make, namely, that the Viceroy, in sending two officers to consult with the Council at Constantinople on those points of the Tanzimat which require to be modified in order to adopt them to Egypt, does not mean to bind himself to subscribe *ad literam* to anything that those two officers may accept, until it has been approved by himself and his Council here.

He knows by bitter experience that he has none whom he can send, whom the Sublime Porte cannot if they choose buy over to betray his interests, by promises, money, honours, &c.

These officers will therefore be supplied with an intelligent Dragoman (I believe he is a renegade Maltese, but a very clever fellow), and on any points which seem to them important to the welfare of Egypt and the just rights of the reigning family, they will be instructed to request your Excellency's friendly counsel and your support, if you deem them right.

I fear that this affair cannot fail to give your Excellency some trouble, but I feel sure at the same time that as the Viceroy has attended so closely to your Excellency's suggestions, and has thrown himself so completely upon the generosity and friendship of the English Nation in all his proceedings, you will not suffer his interests and those of his family to be injured by the Ministers of the Sublime Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 37.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received May 28.*)

(No. 151. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 5, 1851.*

I HAVE received information from Malta, though a private channel, that orders had been sent from Constantinople to forbid the construction of a railway in Egypt, and that Abbas Pasha had applied, under impressions of alarm, for the presence of a British steamer at Alexandria.

In answer to the inquiries which I directed M. Pisani to make, Aali Pasha has denied all knowledge of any such order, and the Grand Vizier has repeated the same denial; remarking, however, at the same time, that the Viceroy of Egypt was clearly not at liberty to make a railway there without the permission of the Porte. His Highness even admitted that when Mochtar Bey was leaving for Alexandria, he had told him to remind Abbas Pasha, if he spoke of the railway, that the Porte alone was entitled to authorize the adoption of that measure.

It further appears that Reshid Pasha betrayed a feeling of irritation against the Viceroy; and added, that although he had not heard from Mochtar Bey since his arrival in Egypt, he had been told that in spite of outward attentions that emissary was treated more like a prisoner than a free agent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 38.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received June 2.*)

(No. 165.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 17, 1851.*

IT has given me much satisfaction to learn that my conduct with respect to the affairs of Egypt had met with the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

I have received no advices from Mr. Murray subsequent to the arrival of Kiani Pasha and Mochtar Bey at Alexandria.

The latter agent returned from Cairo about eight days ago. He brought me no letters; and in reply to an inquiry from me, he sent word that he had not seen Mr. Murray during his stay in Egypt, and that he had offered unsuccessfully to take charge of that gentleman's letters. He added that the French and Russian Consuls having called upon him he had returned their visits.

From the Grand Vizier I have learnt that Abbas Pasha consents to adopt the principles of the Tanzimat; to send two persons in his confidence to Constantinople to arrange their application to the local peculiarities of Egypt; and to permit any member of his family who may wish it, with the Sultan's approval, to leave Egypt for this metropolis.

I could not but congratulate Reshid Pasha on this apparent success of Mochtar Bey's mission to the Viceroy, consistent as it was with the principles which we had previously agreed upon and with the general tenor of my recommendations to Mr. Murray.

The Pasha acquiesced in this view of the matter, but told me that he put very little confidence in the Viceroy's sincerity; and moreover that there were two other questions which might give trouble: the amount of the Egyptian army, and the construction of the proposed railway. He complained at the same time of the Viceroy's behaviour, as well on the reception of his letter which he said His Highness had received with a marked display of indifference, as towards Mochtar Bey, whom he had caused to be watched and surrounded in a manner which implied, though the outward forms were honourable, more distrust than consideration. He disclaimed, nevertheless, every idea of being swayed by personal pique; his only wish was to have his Sovereign respected and Egypt well governed. The amount of the Egyptian army, though fixed by the Firman, was a question open to fair considerations; and the railway, however unobjectionable in itself, could not possibly be carried into execution without the Sultan's permission granted on the Viceroy's application.

On this last point I thought it right to speak without reserve, and the more so as it appeared that something had passed on the subject between Mochtar Bey and Abbas Pasha. It was far from clear, I said, that the Viceroy was at all bound to ask the Sultan's previous consent for any internal improvement like a railway; that the tenure by which His Highness administered the province appeared to militate against such a pretension; that Mehemet Ali had constructed several important works, and had even commenced the *Barrage*, without leave from the Sultan; and that the payment of a fixed annual tribute to the Porte, coupled with the grant of an hereditary internal administration, seemed to leave the Viceroy at liberty to improve the province out of its own resources, as he might think proper. I told Reshid Pasha that without pretending to know how far the railway in question had become matter of agreement, decision, or execution, I felt certain that Her Majesty's Government and the British Nation at large would view with extreme dissatisfaction any obstacle which might be opposed to its progress, and the more so as the measure was not less advantageous for Egypt than desirable, not to say necessary, for our communications with India.

The Pasha having remarked that it did not follow from the Sultan's requiring to have his permission solicited, that His Majesty would make any objection to the railway, I replied that the Porte, by raising a ques-

tion of authority respecting the measure would place itself in the awkward position of having either to counteract the very legitimate wishes of Great Britain, or to dissatisfy those Powers who were known, however insufficient or invidious their motives might be, to have opposed the project of an Egyptian railway from the beginning; that if the measure were not to be obstructed by the Porte, it would be a wise policy to let it take its natural course; that His Highness, in particular, ought to favour an example so well calculated to remove the well-known prejudices of the Council with respect to railway improvements, and that any obstruction, though intended to be temporary, resulting from a dispute on the ground of authority, would carry with it something of an unfriendly as well as an impolitic character.

I urged other points of argument as they occurred to me, and endeavoured to impress upon the Grand Vizier's mind that Her Majesty's Government would be little disposed to brook any unkind or unfair play respecting the railway; and that he would incur a serious risk of compromising his general system of policy by trying to obstruct the measure in Egypt, without offering any guarantee for its adoption by the Porte. I cannot answer for the effect of my remarks on the Grand Vizier's mind, as his Highness did not propose to remove my doubts by anything more positive than general assurances of goodwill, and a disclaimer of any ground of objection, but the formal one of insufficient authority on the Viceroy's part. In the course of our conversation he showed more excitement than usual, and expressed a contemptuous opinion both of the Viceroy's character and of his power to resist the Sultan. It escaped him even to say that Abbas Pasha was indebted for his present impunity to the Porte's regard for Great Britain, and to betray a certain jealousy of the Pasha's success in gaining our support by means of the railway. He also alluded to Mr. Walne's appearance here, describing him as a well-known intimate and partisan of the Viceroy.

I have entered into some details on the substance of this conversation, because I am desirous that your Lordship should be fully acquainted with the delicate ground on which we are placed by the angry differences pending between the Sultan and his Egyptian Viceroy, and how much our general influence at the Porte would be put to hazard if our advocacy of the latter's interests were not to be kept within the limits of the Firman of investiture, and exercised with a careful regard for the Sultan's feelings.

If it be true that a special agent has been dispatched to London by the Viceroy with communications on the subject of the railway, the jealousy, which is here perceptible, of our connexion with His Highness, is not likely to subside for the present. I can only hope that any disadvantage arising from this circumstance may be compensated in some degree by your Lordship's complete possession of those accounts of the recent occurrences in Egypt which have reached me but partially through the channel of Reshid Pasha and Mochtar Bey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 39.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 2.)

(No. 174.)

Constantinople, May 10, 1851.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my preceding despatch on the subject of Egypt, I wish to state that what passed in conversation between Reshid Pasha and myself on the subject of a railway in that province was strictly confined to the construction of the road. The more complicated and embarrassing questions of agreement for supplying the means of construction and securing the right of traffic upon it to British subjects were not brought into view. The postal arrangement effected in the time of

Mehemet Ali might be cited in favour of the Viceroy's right to enter into a separate engagement in the form and to the extent of that contract without the permission or ratification of the Porte.

There would no doubt be difficulties in prevailing on this Government to go further, but none perhaps which might not be ultimately overcome by reference to general principles and existing examples.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 40.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 182.)

Therapia, May 25, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE at length received despatches from Cairo, namely, Mr. Murray's Nos. 8 and 9, of the 1st and 13th instant respectively, which have no doubt been transmitted in copy to your Lordship. They reached me this morning, and I learned at the same time that Edhem Pasha and Hair-ed-deen Pasha, the expected Commissioners from Abbas Pasha, had arrived yesterday at Constantinople.

They have not yet seen the Grand Vizier, and the present state of my information does not allow me to enter on this occasion into any particulars connected with the object of their mission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 41.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 2.)

(No. 11.)

Cairo, May 18, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch I have lately addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have nothing further to add to the information which that despatch contains, beyond apprizing your Lordship that Edhem and Hair-ed-deen Pashas, with their interpreter, left Cairo on the 14th instant, on their mission to Constantinople, to attend the Councils which are to be held in the capital on the pending differences between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 41.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 9.)

Cairo, May 13, 1851.

Sir,

ON the 1st May I wrote to your Excellency at length on the subject of the pending discussion between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

It only remains for me now, therefore, to inform you that His Highness has selected the officers who are to be charged with the repre-

sentation of his views and interests at the councils which will be held on this subject at Constantinople.

The senior and principal of these officers is Edhem Pasha, now Minister of Commerce, and I do not think that His Highness could have made a better selection.

He is a Constantinopolitan by birth, and personally acquainted both with the Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha; he has been in Paris, and twice resided for some time in England. Without any pretension to brilliant talents, he is a man of solid, sound good sense, moderate in his views and conciliatory in his language and disposition; so that if the Sublime Porte really desire to arrange this affair in an amicable and equitable manner, every facility is afforded for such a solution by the selection of Edhem Pasha as the Egyptian Representative.

He will be accompanied by Hair-ed-deen Pasha, Director of the Transit, a very good-humoured, active fellow, but one who I should think would not take much part in the political or administrative discussions that may arise. He is a zealous and attached servant of Abbas, which may probably account for his being sent to Constantinople in preference to abler men, whose honesty might be more questionable.

I feel assured that Edhem Pasha and his coadjutor will be privately but strongly urged at the Porte not to consult your Excellency upon these matters, as they are very jealous of foreign interference in what they term a question solely affecting the Sultan and his vassal; and in order to keep them in good humour, Edhem Pasha will probably avoid troubling your Excellency upon any of the points under discussion, excepting he should find that on some particular points affecting the welfare of this province or the rights of its hereditary Governor, the Sublime Porte insist on the insertion of some clauses which he cannot conscientiously admit.

Then he probably may refer to your Excellency, and if you find his reasons just, I hope you will give him the support of your powerful influence. For it is a manifest absurdity to say that those Powers who compelled Mehemet Ali to accept the Convention, and afterwards guaranteed the Firman of Hereditary Governor, have no right to be consulted as to the construction and interpretation of those documents.

At the risk of seeming tedious I repeat again to your Excellency that the greatest benefit that the Sublime Porte can confer upon Egypt, is to leave it alone in the state of unprecedented prosperity which it enjoys at present, and which forms a remarkable contrast to the condition of the other provinces of the Turkish Empire. This prosperity, proved as it is by the security of life and property, the increase of population, commerce, and wealth, is an incontrovertible reply to the misrepresentations of the Artin Beys, Subchy Beys, and the other Egyptian mischief-makers at Constantinople.

If, however, in order to gratify the *amour-propre* of the Sublime Porte, it is thought advisable to extend hither some of the provisions of the Tanzimat, let those be selected which are harmless and which will not either cripple the powers of the local Government or tend to throw the population of the country into confusion and rebellion.

It seems that many members of the Viceroy's family are preparing to go over to Constantinople, where of course they will be busily employed in inventing and magnifying grievances.

The chief of these is Nazlee Khanum, the most notoriously wicked, debauched, intriguing old lady in Egypt. She is immensely rich in jewels, given her by her father Mehemet Ali; nevertheless she went the other day to the Viceroy to ask him for money for her expenses and presents at Constantinople. He told her she might go with his blessing, but he could not give her any money; so she left him and went away in a passion.

Young Mehemet Ali Bey, concerning whom I have before written to your Excellency, is going to Constantinople, as is also Ismael Bey, one of the sons of the late Ibrahim Pasha. Both of these are foolish youths, and excepting as instruments in the hands of more designing persons, they can do little harm, wherever they may go. I think it probable, however,

that they will be caressed and made much of by the French Minister, solely on account of their hostility to Abbas, who has, they say, sold Egypt to England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 42.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 187.)

Therapia, June 4, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information, translated copies of two letters addressed by Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier. One of them was brought to Constantinople by Mochtar Bey on his return from Cairo; the other by Edhem Pasha, who with Hair-ed-deen Pasha is now here for the arrangement of the Tanzimat in its application to Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 42.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Traduction.)

25 *Djemazi-ul-Akhir*, 1267. (27 *Avril*, 1851.)

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir par l'intermédiaire de Mochtar Bey, Membre du Conseil d'Etat, et mon Capou Kiaya, avec le glorieux Hatti-Cherif qui vient d'émaner du Trône Impérial, une lettre de la part de votre Altesse. J'ai compris le but salutaire que le Sultan, mon auguste Bienfaiteur, se propose, et tout ce que votre Altesse m'a écrit et fait savoir.

L'objet que Sa Majesté Impériale a principalement en vue, ce qu'elle a vraiment à cœur, c'est la prospérité de la Province d'Egypte, cette vaste contrée qui fait partie des Etats de Sa Hautesse, ainsi que le repos et le bonheur de ses habitans; ce qui ne peut s'obtenir que par la sûreté de la vie et de la propriété, et par la conservation de l'honneur, qui sont les bases fondamentales du Tanzimat-i-Haïriyé, lequel prend lui-même sa source dans les préceptes sacrées des saintes lois Mahométanes.

Je sais que ce n'est pas une chose à faire que de priver les populations de l'Egypte de cet immense bienfait; et qu'étendre sur elles ce bienfait signalé du Sultan, pour qu'elles aussi en jouissent, c'est faire un acte de justice, c'est assurer le repos et le bonheur du pays et des sujets. Aussi me fais-je gloire de l'adopter.

Mais il est d'autres points qui découlent du Tanzimat-i-Haïriyé, lesquels ainsi que les règlemens de la Sublime Porte doivent être adaptées aux exigences locales. Or, l'importante Province d'Egypte diffère sous les rapports de l'agriculture, de son administration, et du caractère des populations, des autres Etats de Sa Hautesse; et c'est pour cela que le système administratif du pays doit être calculé en conséquence, et qu'il faut nécessairement y joindre d'une manière juste et équitable, certains points essentiels des anciens règlemens de l'Egypte. C'est pourquoi je vais envoyer une à deux personnes pour arranger ces points, ainsi que votre Altesse le verra par le rapport verbal de Mochtar Bey, et que la nature de la question le demande. En effet, aussitôt après le départ de Mochtar Bey Effendi, je ferai choix d'une ou de deux personnes attachées à mon service, et je les expédierai à Constantinople.

Il est dit dans la lettre de votre Altesse d'abolir la corvée dans les travaux qui ne sont pas d'utilité publique; or j'ai montré et consigné à Mochtar Bey un compte tiré des registres, faisant voir que dès le temps le plus ancien on n'a employé des gens dans les intérêts particuliers de

qui que ce soit, en les faisant travailler par force et sans les payer, et comment on a payé et que l'on paye encore les habitans et les sujets employés dans l'érection des édifices et aux travaux qui ont été faits jusqu'ici et que l'on fait actuellement.

On demande ma manière de penser sur la question du service militaire, à savoir, sur un temps de service convenable, et sur le tirage légal au sort. Il y a un mois que le licenciement des soldats qui avaient servi a eu lieu. A la fin de l'année, comme c'est un ancien système que les Mudirs et les autres employés au service de la Sublime Porte en Egypte se réunissent en assemblée pour traiter des affaires d'administration importantes, à l'époque ci-dessus désignée, s'il plaît à Dieu, nous réglerons la mesure du licenciement des soldats, et la question du tirage légal au sort; et ce que nous aurons décidé à l'unanimité après avoir amplement délibéré sur la seule manière possible de mettre ces mesures à exécution, je le ferai savoir à votre Altesse d'une manière claire.

Venons à la question qui concerne ma famille. Que le Très Haut accorde une longue vie et beaucoup de prospérité à Sa Majesté le Sultan, notre Auguste Maître. Moi, non plus, je ne puis trouver à propos que cette famille, se trouvant sous les auspices de Sa Hautesse, soit privée de la liberté. Et certes, nul obstacle ne sera mis à ce que ceux qui désirent présenter leurs hommages et leurs respects à leur Souverain légitime se rendent là où Sa Hautesse se trouve.

Mais j'ai fait savoir à votre Altesse longuement les motifs pour lesquels ils ont il y a quelque temps été retenus. Comme cependant je viens de recevoir à cet égard des ordres péremptoires de la part du Sultan, je ne saurais manquer d'y obéir et d'agir en conséquence. Mais en même temps j'ai à vous représenter ce qui suit: par une faveur souveraine accordée à la famille, les fils de Mehemet Ali Pacha doivent recevoir, partout où ils se trouvent, la pension que feu leur père leur avait assignée sur le trésor de l'Egypte. Mais il est clair, et c'est seulement ce que je demande, que votre Altesse ne jugera pas à propos d'appliquer à l'égard d'autres serviteurs qui, tôt ou tard, et pour un motif quelconque, pourraient se rendre là, le même principe en ce qui concerne la pension, principe qui n'est applicable qu'à la famille. Et je prie donc d'une manière toute particulière votre Altesse de faire en sorte que Sa Majesté le Sultan daigne accorder mon humble demande.

Il m'a été représenté que le nombre des troupes Egyptiennes établi comme condition est de 18,000 hommes, mais que par nécessité et par une faveur souveraine, il a été permis d'en porter le chiffre jusqu'à environ 30,000 hommes; que comme à présent il n'y a plus nulle part des complications et des troubles, il faut diminuer le nombre des troupes jusqu'au chiffre stipulé comme condition; que depuis quelque temps les mesures que l'on prend pour augmenter l'armée, et d'autres mouvemens ayant pour objet de faire des préparatifs, sont des choses qui portent atteinte aux conditions du privilège de l'hérédité, mais que pour à présent on ne veut pas les regarder comme telles, et cela d'après ce qu'exige la confiance souveraine que Sa Majesté Impériale a en moi et des bonnes grâces dont je suis l'objet de sa part; et que l'on attend pour voir quelles explications je donnerai sur ces points.

Le fait est que loin d'avoir entrepris de faire des choses qu'on veut faire passer pour des préparatifs, je n'ai jamais eu une pensée pareille. Dieu m'en garde! mes opinions, ma fidélité, et mon dévouement ne me permettent point d'entretenir des pensées de cette nature.

Quant à l'augmentation de l'armée, je dis que lorsque le bruit du Tanzimat-i-Hairiyé a couru, les étrangers, se laissant aller jusqu'à la liberté des Gouvernemens d'Europe, ont rempli les oreilles des populations de mille insinuations, et la conséquence de tout cela a été que le peuple s'est livré dans des districts et des villages à des assassinats et à d'autres crimes pareils. Et c'est pour protéger et pour garder les villages et les hameaux, qu'on a commencé à lever des conscrits destinés à remplacer les vieux soldats qui ont servi dans la gendarmerie et dans l'armée depuis l'établissement des troupes régulières, pour faire cesser les crimes qui s'y commettaient, et pour maintenir le bon ordre dans le pays. Car, autrement, je désavoue, je répudie, comme attaquant mon honneur, tout bruit

tendant à faire croire que je ne veux pas du Tanzimat, et que c'est pour cela que j'augmente l'armée pour l'employer dans quelques vues qui me seraient personnelles, et commettre ainsi, en trahissant ma fidélité et mon dévouement, et en oubliant les bienfaits et les faveurs signalées que j'ai reçues de Sa Hautesse, un acte abominable aux yeux de tout le monde.

Mais en même temps que je me trouve engagé à protéger une province de Sa Hautesse aussi importante que celle d'Egypte, à la faire prospérer, et à pourvoir à la sûreté des habitans, des étrangers, et des autres nations qui s'y trouvent, je ne puis pas trouver convenable qu'il arrive quelque chose de blâmable et de nature à porter atteinte à la dignité de l'Empire Ottoman. Or, voici l'inconvénient que je trouve à réduire l'armée jusqu'au chiffre de 18,000 hommes.

Je dis, d'abord, que lorsque le nombre des troupes a été fixé à 18,000 hommes, toute la population de l'Egypte montait à 2,000,000, et tout au plus à 2,500,000 âmes. Quand même on supposerait que ce nombre de troupes pourrait suffire alors au Gouvernement de la province, la population s'élève à présent, Dieu en soit loué, à 4,000,000 et tant d'âmes. Il est donc clair et évident qu'il n'est pas possible de gouverner le pays comme il faut avec une armée composée de 18,000 hommes seulement. D'ailleurs, le nombre des troupes régulières de chaque pays doit être proportionné au nombre d'âmes qu'il renferme et à son étendue. C'est pour cela que 18,000 hommes ne suffisent point pour protéger l'intérieur de cette province contre les Arabes du Désert et contre d'autres tribus.

Et puis il a été dépensé, sous les auspices de Sa Hautesse, 40,000,000 de piastres pour les fortifications d'Alexandrie, d'Aboukir, de Bourlos, et de Damiette. Il faut, pour empêcher que ces fortifications ne tombent en ruines, les faire occuper par 5000 à 10,000 hommes; et il est certain qu'avec 18,000 hommes on ne peut pas garder les fortifications susdites et les autres endroits de la province.

Quoique le Gouverneur du Sennaar ne nous ait encore envoyé aucun rapport officiel, les lettres cependant que des négocians étrangers qui se trouvent à Sennaar ont écrites dernièrement à leurs associés en Egypte, nous apprennent qu'un corps d'Abyssiniens sauvages et d'autres Arabes ont fait une invasion à main armée dans le Sennaar, et qu'ils ont tué mille et tant de soldats de troupes irrégulières de cavalerie. Si cette nouvelle se confirme aussi, alors les pays de la Nigritie que feu mon grandpère Méhémet Ali Pacha avait soumis avec tant de peines, tant de fatigues et tant de frais, seront sortis, de mon temps, du pouvoir de la Sublime Porte, et rentrés à celui des Abyssiniens, et leur prospérité actuelle sera ruinée et perdue. Et comme un événement semblable portera atteinte à la dignité du Sultan et à l'honneur de la Sublime Porte, on ne saurait en aucune manière le supporter. Dès que j'aurai reçu de la part du Gouverneur du Sennaar la confirmation des nouvelles que nous avons apprises, je me trouverai obligé de faire partir aussi deux régimens pour la Nigritie, et ce qui restera des troupes ne sera en aucune manière suffisant pour les garnisons des fortifications dont il a été parlé plus haut, des villes, et des villages; cela est clair et évident.

Comme le nombre des troupes a été fixé à 30,000 hommes, ainsi que votre Altesse me l'a fait savoir par le passé, et comme il y va de la dignité de la Sublime Porte que la sécurité et le repos d'une province ainsi importante que celle-ci soient conservés, je prie votre Altesse d'une manière toute particulière de vouloir bien employer ses bons offices auprès de Sa Hautesse à l'effet qu'elle daigne accorder cette demande.

Cette représentation n'est pas, Dieu m'en garde, une opposition à la volonté de Sa Hautesse; c'est la défense de sa propre dignité. Et comme Mouchir Bey doit rendre compte en détail de tout ce que je lui ai dit de bouche, et de toutes les fortes assurances que j'ai données sur cette question et sur d'autres matières, votre Altesse sera informée de tout.

Comme je suis un serviteur fidèle et dévoué de Sa Majesté notre Padichah et maître, je désire le servir avec une véritable fidélité et avec le plus grand dévouement, et de manière à ce que je puisse être fier de lui avoir fait apprécier mes services. Et quant à votre Altesse, vû la sincère

et parfaite amitié que j'ai pour elle, j'aime à espérer qu'elle voudra bien me donner en chaque occasion les preuves de ses bonnes grâces.

Lorsque, s'il plaît à Dieu, votre Altesse aura été informée de tout ce que ci-dessus, elle donnera les ordres qu'il lui appartient de donner.

Inclosure 2 in No. 42.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

May 12, 1851.

(Translation.)

AS stated in my despatches presented to your Highness by my Kapu Kihaya, Mochtar Bey, member of the Supreme Council, Edhem Pasha and Hair-ed-deen Pasha have been selected with a view to arranging the adaptation of the details of the Tanzimat to local exigencies, and to completing a code of regulations to be held as a basis of action, by the addition of such Articles from the Egyptian Regulations as may be necessary; and their Excellencies are now specially appointed and sent for this purpose. During the period of Mochtar Bey's stay here, the plan was discussed and approved, that their Excellencies should correspond and consult with me upon the subjects about to be debated, and that a final settlement should thus be arrived at. I have therefore to request your Highness' concurrence and favourable assistance, in accordance with your well-known high qualities, and for this purpose have specially written this letter.

No. 43.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 188.)

Therapia, June 4, 1851.

My Lord,

SINCE I last had the honour of writing to your Lordship respecting the proposed Egyptian railway, I have had some further conversation with Reshid Pasha on that subject. It would seem to be the point which most occupies his Highness' mind in connexion with the affairs of Egypt. He disclaims all intention of preventing the construction of a railway there, and does not in any degree admit that the Porte would be influenced by the objections of other Powers. He continues, however, to insist on the Sultan's right of giving a previous consent to the measure, and of the Viceroy's obligation to apply for His Majesty's consent before he enters upon its execution. The motive alleged for persevering in this pretension is the duty of maintaining the Sovereign's authority; the real one I conceive to be that the Porte is jealous of the hold which Abbas Pasha is likely to obtain on the goodwill and support of Great Britain, by meeting spontaneously the wish of Her Majesty's Government in a matter so closely connected with British interests.

I need not assure your Lordship that if the Grand Vizier persists in maintaining his own view of this question, I am not less resolute in combating his arguments, and endeavouring to bring his ideas respecting it into harmony with ours. The only admission I have made is one which cannot, I think, be fairly disputed. It is this: If the use of the railway were to be made an object of formal agreement between the Viceroy and Her Majesty's Government, or if British funds were to be employed in its construction under an official guarantee, there might perhaps be some reason for asserting that the Sultan's previous consent is requisite. Understanding that the expenses of making the road are to be defrayed out of the Viceroy's revenue, and that no agreement more formal than the existing postal contract would be needed, I conceive that such an admission might be made without inconvenience, in more positive terms than I have thought it advisable to employ.

The Grand Vizier, in our last conversation, allowed no distinctions to

interfere with his broad assertion of the Sultan's right. He intimated that the Porte, if pushed to the wall, might appeal to all the Powers which took part in the settlement of Egyptian affairs; and he announced his intention of protesting, meanwhile, against the right of independent decision assumed by the Viceroy.

The immediate execution of this design, which would commit the Porte irrevocably, and increase the alarm and irritation of Abbas Pasha, I have fortunately prevented by undertaking to apply privately through Mr. Murray for a suspension, if necessary, of the intended plan, until your Lordship's opinion can be taken under a complete knowledge of the Porte's manner of viewing it. The Grand Vizier proposed to write at the same time to Abbas Pasha, in the sense of my application through Mr. Murray. But to this I objected in a decided manner and carried my point.

My further communications with the Grand Vizier to-day, by means of Mr. Alison, have resulted in a distinct engagement on his part to sanction the construction of a railroad, in defiance of any opposition from other quarters, not only from Alexandria to Cairo, but entirely across the Isthmus, provided the work be carried on with Egyptian money, which I am assured by the Viceroy's own agents now here, is also His Highness' intention.

Abbas Pasha is probably anxious to preserve his right of spontaneous action in the matter, for the same reasons which induce the Porte to oppose it. But I submit to your Lordship's superior judgment whether all the conflicting interests might not be brought into accord by giving the Sultan's sanction a special character with reference to those peculiar considerations which I have mentioned above as bearing upon the question at issue, and assuring the Viceroy that he may reckon upon the goodwill and continued support of Her Majesty's Government equally whether the railway be constructed with or without the Sultan's permission.

It may not be irrelevant to bear in mind that a principal element of our influence here is the impression that we are taking a lively interest in the Sultan's personal welfare and dignity; while on the other hand there are points in the character of Abbas Pasha, and circumstances in his conduct, which make it doubtful whether he can be supported throughout by Her Majesty's Government with the necessary degree of credit and consistency.

Inclosing herewith a copy of my despatch to Mr. Murray, I have to request the favour of your Lordship's early attention to the point which forms more particularly the point of my present address.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 43.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 6.)

Therapia, June 4, 1851.

Sir,

THOUGH in other respects the state of the Porte's unfortunate differences with Egypt is greatly improved by the Viceroy's judicious adoption of the course recommended to him by British counsels, the Grand Vizier continues to offer a firm resistance to the construction of a railway in that country without the Sultan's permission. I will not waste your time by entering into the merits of the question here. Suffice it to state for the present that, after combating the Grand Vizier's arguments to the best of my power, I found it necessary to turn aside his declared intention of protesting against the plan, by undertaking to solicit privately through you a suspension of its commencement until the Sultan's demand could be brought specially under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

My impression, after communicating with Edhem Pasha and his colleague, is that there will probably be no occasion for delaying the

commencement of the enterprise, inasmuch as the necessary preparations are not sufficiently advanced to admit of its being commenced immediately.

Be that as it may, I hope you will have no difficulty in co-operating with me on this point during the time required for referring to Viscount Palmerston and receiving his Lordship's instructions.

I have no reason to believe that the Porte contemplates any kind of opposition to a railway conducted by means of Egyptian funds and sanctioned by the Sultan's consent. His Majesty's consent might, I think, be given with the approval of the Foreign Office, in such manner as to guard the Viceroy's rights to a separate internal administration, and to secure to him eventually the fruits of his politic reliance on the cordiality and support of Great Britain.

I have to add that I called upon the Grand Vizier to renounce his intention of writing himself to the Viceroy upon this subject as the condition of my writing to you in the proposed sense.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 44.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 150.) *Therapia, June 4, 1851.*

My Lord,

IT will not be necessary for me to employ many words in giving you a correct view of the state in which the pending Egyptian questions now appear at the Porte. Mr. Murray has of course apprized your Lordship of all that occurred at Cairo respecting them before the departure of Mochtar Bey with the Viceroy's reply to the Grand Vizier's letter.

The return of Mochtar Bey to Constantinople has been followed by the successive arrivals of Mehemet Ali Bey, of Ismael Bey, one of the late Ibrahim Pasha's sons, of the Viceroy's Commissioners, Edhem Pasha and Hair-ed-deen Pasha, and finally, of Nazlee Khanum, who is performing her quarantine at the Dardanelles, if she be not already on the Bosphorus.

All these parties I have seen, with the exception of the last, who, I am assured, in spite of Oriental usage, intends to honour me with a visit. Mochtar Bey and Mehemet Ali Bey were sent to me by the Grand Vizier. The Egyptian Commissioners called with his Highness' permission. I believe they have seen some of my colleagues also.

A perusal of Abbas Pasha's two letters to the Grand Vizier has satisfied me that he has removed every just ground of complaint or suspicion entertained by the Porte to his disadvantage. I thought it both fair and useful to state this impression of mine in distinct terms to Reshid. I said that in my opinion the first of the two letters could not have been more satisfactory if it had been written under my dictation. The principles of the Tanzimat are frankly accepted; the Sultan's demands respecting the Viceroy's family are complied with; the military questions are submitted to the Sultan's consideration. In addition to these concessions, the Viceroy has proved his sincerity by letting several of his nearest relatives come up to the Sultan's Court at once, and by sending Commissioners with no less promptitude to negotiate the application of the Tanzimat in its details to Egypt, reserving only his personal confirmation of their arrangements with the Porte.

Nothing of much importance appears to have occurred when Reshid Pasha gave audience to the Egyptian Commissioners, except that after being received with courtesy they were informed that the Porte would also appoint Commissioners to confer with them on the subject of the Tanzimat, and that they were at liberty to visit whomever they pleased.

The Commissioners, when I saw them, appeared to be satisfied with their position. I assured them of my readiness to serve the Viceroy in all reasonable matters. We agreed that they had better make good their

own way with the Porte's Commissioners as far as they could, referring to me and availing themselves of my advice and influence only when they encountered an unyielding obstacle and stood really in need of assistance. One of their principal difficulties will be the regulation of corporal punishment, including the power of life and death. There will doubtless be other points of contest, and the Porte will be glad to diminish as much as possible those differences which at present distinguish the administration of Egypt from that of the other provinces. But the matter of capital punishment involves a question of morals as well as one of authority, and the Commissioners will be fortunate to find a solution of it adapted to both. No meeting of the joint Commission has yet taken place.

With respect to the maintenance of the Egyptian army at its present amount of 30,000 men, I am inclined to think that the Porte will not turn a deaf ear to the Viceroy's representations.

Whatever secret views may be entertained with respect to Egypt by the Sultan or his Minister, it cannot be denied that the ostensible points of difference are now in a regular train of adjustment; that the Pasha's late causes of alarm are almost entirely dispersed; and that it will be his own fault if he do not henceforward maintain a position where he may defy the malice of his adversaries and enable Her Majesty's Government to afford him the full benefit of their influence without injustice or discredit.

Edhem Pasha, when I saw him, appeared to be under the same favourable impressions as myself. I endeavoured to make both him and his colleague understand that in proportion as the Viceroy was moderate in his pretensions, prudent in his conduct, and just in his administration, it would be more easy for his friends to redeem their pledge of giving him an effectual support.

It is almost superfluous to add that the language of Mochtar Bey and of Mehemet Ali Bey was alike unfavourable to the Viceroy's character and to the prospects of Egypt under his administration. The main object of the former was to convince me of His Highness' unpopularity, of the scandalous nature of his domestic life, of his incapacity for government, and of the suspicious disrespect, in spite of outward observances, with which His Highness had treated him at Cairo. The latter stated a variety of circumstances to show that he and his relatives had everything to apprehend from the Viceroy. In corroboration of his statement he informed me of his intention to serve in the Sultan's army and to renounce all prospect of returning to Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 45.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 13.) *Mansoura, June 5, 1851.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I left Cairo a few days ago in order to join His Highness the Viceroy in Lower Egypt, the ultimate object of his visit being the town of Damietta.

I was desirous of being near the person of the Viceroy at this critical juncture, as he is too apt to be unnecessarily anxious, or cast down by the accounts which he is constantly receiving from Constantinople. He looks upon the views and intentions of the Sublime Porte, both with regard to himself and to Egypt, with a much more suspicious eye than that with which they are viewed by our Ambassador, and the future can only prove which view is correct.

If we are to judge from what has lately passed in Arabia, there is but little confidence to be put in the friendly promises and protestations of the

Sublime Porte in regard to those of their vassals whom they either fear or dislike.

Orders have been given (and have been already executed) to seize the venerable Sheriff of Mecca, the hereditary representative of the Prophet in Hedjaz, and to convey both him and his two sons prisoners to Constantinople.

This old chieftain has been much caressed and flattered by the Sublime Porte, and both his sons lately decorated with the ranks of Pasha; and it is not known for what offence, real or supposed, he and his family have been thus suddenly exiled and imprisoned. One thing is certain, that Abbas Pasha looks upon this transaction as the precursor of his own destiny and that of his family, if left unsupported to the tender mercies of the Sublime Porte.

His Highness tells me that he foretold this event two years ago, when the sons were loaded with honours and decorations.

The proceedings of his own family continue to give His Highness great uneasiness. Agreeably to the advice tendered to him by your Lordship and by Sir Stratford Canning, he has given permission to every member of his family who wishes to do so, to go to Constantinople; he acknowledges, however, that he has done this contrary to the dictates of his own judgment, and to prove to your Lordship how desirous he is to be guided by your counsels in all his relations with the Sublime Porte.

Several members of the family have already reached Constantinople, and having met with a flattering reception from the Sultan and Grand Vizier, they have, as was to be expected, joined themselves to the ex-Egyptian party there, who are endeavouring to effect the overthrow of Abbas.

The last and most mischievous of all who have gone is the old Princess Nazlee Khanum, notorious for her debaucheries and atrocious cruelties; and not less so for her active intriguing spirit. She has made no secret of boasting that by fair means or foul she will bring about the disgrace of Abbas; and in order to propitiate the great personages of both sexes she has taken with her a vast amount of jewels; besides these, she has carried off the magnificent silver fountain presented by the East India Company to Mehemet Ali Pasha, and she intends, I believe, to offer it to the Sultan. I hope the latter will have the good sense to refuse it and to order her to restore it to Egypt, for there is no doubt that it is not hers to give. Her father allowed it to remain as an ornament to the Palace which she inhabited; but several of the elder Turks conversant with the affairs of the family, have assured me that it was never given to her as property, but was doubtless intended to be an heir-loom in the family.

On talking over with His Highness the subject of the reduction of the army, I find that there will be no difficulty in persuading him to do so by degrees, as soon as he feels himself secured against a forcible invasion of his recognized rights.

He owns that a large force occasions a great and inconvenient expenditure, and if he could only obtain a clear and distinct assurance from England that she would guarantee to him the undisturbed enjoyment of the hereditary privileges secured to his family by the Firman of 1841 (to which Convention she was a principal party), and that he and his successor should be allowed to exercise the full powers of internal administration consistently with the principles of the Tanzimat and with the security and well-being of this country, he would gladly rely upon that assurance and reduce his army to the number stipulated in the Firman; but as matters now stand he points to the condition of the Sheriff of Mecca, to the influence which the Egyptian intriguers have at Constantinople, and to their continued intimacy with the Grand Vizier, and he asks whether it is fair to expect him, without a distinct assurance of foreign support, to deliver himself up unarmed to those who will not scruple to violate all obligations in order to effect their object.

I have tried to convince him that the whole question must be settled by the pen and not by the sword, and that whatever he may have to fear from the unfriendly designs of the Sublime Porte, they can only appear in the shape of orders and firmans which would tend to undermine his

authority and to throw the province into disorder. Although he owns the truth of this reasoning he seems bent upon keeping up a show of strength until he is assured that his rights are not to be violated or trampled upon.

In this question of the reduction of the Egyptian army I know not which is most in error: the Sublime Porte who requires it, or the Viceroy who hesitates to accede to it; for both views are based upon its supposed efficiency, and yet it has not for the last ten years been in so inefficient a condition: four-fifths of the veterans, both officers and men, have been reduced, and the raw levies have acquired but little instruction or discipline; so that if any serious outbreak were to take place among the native population and the neighbouring Arab tribes, it is very doubtful to me whether the present army would be sufficient to preserve the public safety and tranquillity.

Your Lordship's suggestion to Nubar Bey, namely, that the army should be reduced to the prescribed number, and that the security of life and property should be effected by a well-appointed police force both in the cities and provinces, would be highly advantageous; and His Highness would gladly avail himself of it, if it were practicable here. But it is found by experience that the native Arabs cannot be employed on this service, and the Turks and Albanians who have hitherto performed it can no longer be induced to come to Egypt, as by the new Turkish system of enlistment by lot they are liable to be drawn and to be obliged to return at any time across the Mediterranean.

His Highness assures me that he has made several attempts to overcome this difficulty, but hitherto without success; were the Sublime Porte really friendly to him, I think it might easily be overcome by a regulation excepting from the Turkish enlistment all who were engaged on police duty here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 46.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 161.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 24, 1851.*

YOUR Excellency will have received from Mr. Murray a copy of his despatch to me No. 13, of the 5th instant, giving an account of a conversation which he had had with Abbas Pasha respecting the apprehensions which the Pasha entertains in regard to the designs of the Porte: and your Excellency will have observed that Mr. Murray is of opinion that the Pasha would willingly remove one cause of objection entertained by the Porte to his administration of Egypt, by substituting a police force for a portion of his regular army, if the Porte should be disposed to facilitate such a measure by exempting from the operation of the general conscription in other provinces of Turkey, such Turks or Albanians who might be willing to enlist in the Egyptian Police.

I have to instruct your Excellency to suggest to the Porte this arrangement for enabling Abbas Pasha to establish a police force, which should be distinct from the regular army, and should be organized on the model of the Metropolitan Police in England.

I inclose for your Excellency's information a copy of a despatch* which I have addressed to Mr. Murray in reply to his despatch No. 13.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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* See No. 47.

No. 47.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 10.)

Foreign Office, June 24, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 13, of the 5th instant, reporting a conversation with Abbas Pasha respecting the apprehensions which he entertains in regard to the designs of the Porte; and I have to state to you in reply, that you have rightly pointed out to the Pasha that encroachments by the Porte on his authority can only be made by orders and firmans. In regard to such orders and firmans, if they are at variance with the arrangement of 1841, Abbas Pasha can make representations to the Powers who were parties to that arrangement, and those Powers can enter into communication with the Porte on such matters.

But as to the Porte marching an army into Egypt across the Desert, or sending an expedition against Egypt by sea, neither of those operations could be undertaken without previous preparations, which would attract notice and give ample time for the interposition of friendly Powers, if they were made without any just cause.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 48.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 7.)

(No. 200.)

Therapia, June 18, 1851.

My Lord,

THE questions under discussion between the Viceroy of Egypt's Commissioners and those appointed by the Porte have made but little progress since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship on that subject. My communications with the two Egyptian Pashas, on one side, and with the Grand Vizier on the other, have enabled me to prevent a suspension of the meetings which at one moment was on the point of taking place. This danger arose out of an abrupt declaration on behalf of the Porte, that all other questions must remain in abeyance until the question of capital punishment should be settled agreeably to the Sultan's view. As the Egyptian Commissioners are not empowered to give way on that point, however they may be disposed in sober judgment to do so, the Porte's demand was in a fair way of being transmitted to Cairo in the most peremptory form, together with the intelligence of a general suspension of the discussions. On learning this state of things from Edhem Pasha I endeavoured to prevail on the Grand Vizier to allow the Commission to proceed regularly through the Tanzimat without prematurely meeting a point on which it was well known that the most opposite pretensions were entertained. Failing in this endeavour, I urged the Vizier to allow the meetings to continue, notwithstanding a declared difference of opinion on the point immediately at issue, and to this expedient he assented with the understanding that no agreement on other points should ultimately be held good, unless the main question were conceded by the Viceroy.

The Egyptian Commissioners have since given in a paper explaining their reasons for seeking to retain the definitive power of life and death in Abbas Pasha's hands. A copy of it in translation is herewith inclosed for your Lordship's information. The Porte's reply is preparing for communication to Edhem Pasha. The immediate result will be a reference to Egypt, with the mitigating accompaniment of a continuance of the discussions respecting other parts of the Tanzimat, in which some favourable progress had been made in the outset. I shall be careful to put Mr. Murray in full possession of this state of the Egyptian affair by the earliest opportunity. My present impression is that the Viceroy will have to give up his claim to the high exercise of privilege for which he is

now naturally enough contending, and that he will also find it necessary to ask the Sultan's permission for making the proposed railway. I question whether our influence can do more for him than to obtain the acceptance of those concessions in the form least unpalateable to his feelings, and to improve that inclination to consult his wishes and to respect his authority in other important points, which the Porte now professes to entertain conditionally in his favour.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 48.

Note of the Egyptian Commissioners.

ANTERIEUREMENT les pièces relatives aux procès des criminels condamnés à mort étaient envoyées au Divan Hakkaniet, où elles étaient examinées, la sentence confrontée avec ce qui était établi dans le Canoun (Code), et si le tout était trouvé en règle, un exposé de la cause avec la sentence approuvée par le Divan était envoyé au Wali, qui ordonnait l'application de la peine.

Depuis deux ans, le Conseil Ahkam (Haut Tribunal de Justice et Conseil d'Etat) et le Conseil Privé (Conseil des Ministres) ayant été organisés, et des Oulémas (docteurs en jurisprudence religioso-légale) ayant été admis dans leurs seins, le Canoun a été revu et épuré, et des Articles relatifs aux crimes capitaux ont été rédigés suivant les préceptes du Cheriat (lois religioso-légales) et introduit dans ce Canoun.

D'après ces Articles, le procès des criminels a lieu au divan du Mudir (préfet) de la province où le crime a été commis, et les témoins étant examinés, le Cadi du lieu prononce la sentence, basée sur les lois religioso-légales (Ilami Cheri), et les pièces du procès avec cette sentence sont envoyées au Conseil Ahkam. Là, tous les membres étant présens, les pièces du procès sont lues, et les deux Oulémas, membres de ce Conseil, examinent si la sentence est conforme aux préceptes du Chériat, cas dans lequel cette sentence étant approuvée par le Conseil, un résumé du procès et de la condamnation est rédigé et signé par tous les membres et envoyé au Conseil Privé.

Au Conseil Privé, le Cheik de la Mosquée el Azhar, le Cheik es-Sadate, et tous les membres du Conseil, étant présens, le susdit résumé est lu, la sentence légale est examinée, et si le Conseil acquiert la conviction que le crime est constaté, la sentence est approuvée et contresignée par tous les membres et soumise au Wali, afin qu'il ordonne la mise en exécution de la peine.

Le Canoun établissant donc que pour tous les cas emportant la peine capitale, les formes religioso-légales doivent être suivies dans la procédure, aucune condamnation à mort ne peut avoir lieu sans que les formalités voulues ne soient remplies, et la plus forte peine que le Canoun autorise d'après les lois réglementaires (siaset) est celle des travaux forcés à perpétuité. Les condamnations à la peine capitale ne sont soumises au Wali que pour obtenir l'ordre de mettre en exécution ce que la loi religioso-légale a déjà décidé.

Dans l'Article 3 du Canoun-i-Djedid du Tanzimat il est dit que l'application de la peine de mort ne pourra avoir lieu qu'autant que la sentence religioso-légale avec les pièces de procédure du Conseil de la province auront été envoyées à Constantinople pour être examinées par le Cheik el Islam, et que après avoir reçu son approbation et sa sanction, la sentence étant soumise à Sa Majesté Impériale, le firman d'exécution n'aura été donné. Il est bien évident que le but très louable de ces formalités est d'obliger à une plus grande attention dans les détails de la procédure, et en forçant les autorités à suivre plus rigoureusement les voies de la justice et de l'équité, de mettre la vie des individus à l'abri contre les abus de l'arbitraire et contre la violence, ce à quoi personne ne saurait trouver à redire. Mais la Province d'Egypte avec ses dépendances forme une vaste contrée avec une population considérable. Elle est

environnée de tribus diverses de Bédouins plus ou moins soumises à l'autorité ; les Provinces de Charquié et de la Haute Egypte sont, comme on le sait, des foyers où surgissent des voleurs et des brigands en grand nombre, prompts à saisir avec hardiesse l'opportunité de dévaliser et de piller les voyageurs et les négocians qui traversent le pays, soit par terre, soit dans les barques sur la fleuve. Si l'on est parvenu à les maintenir dans la soumission et le respect, ce n'est qu'avec grand peine, et en adoptant pendant une longue série d'années des lois sévères et appliquées avec promptitude ; et les faits prouvent que, l'occasion se présentant, ils feraient bientôt retour à leur nature et à leurs habitudes de brigandage et le rapine.

Tout le monde connait aussi le penchant qu'ont les tribus Arabes pour le pillage et le vol sur les grands chemins ; et l'on sait que les grandes routes de Koseir et de Suez à travers le Désert et les défilés, fréquentées de jour et de nuit par les pélérins et par les voyageurs de toutes les nations, sont environnées de tous côtés par ces tribus vagabondes et toujours au guet pour saisir la moindre opportunité qui leur permette de donner satisfaction à leur passion pour le butin. Si la crainte d'une punition qui ne se ferait pas attendre de la part du Gouverneur-Général tient actuellement tranquilles ces tribus, ceux qui connaissent l'Egypte ne peuvent se dissimuler que si ces tribus, et les voleurs dont il a été parlé plus haut, venaient à apprendre que le droit de faire appliquer la peine capitale était retiré du Gouverneur de l'Egypte, sentant par là son autorité diminuée, et donnant à ce fait toutes sortes d'interprétations, elles seraient fortement encouragés à reprendre la pratique de leurs habitudes déprédaires, commettraient des actes de violence sur les grands chemins, et molestant les voyageurs et les habitans paisibles et honorables, priveraient le pays de cette sécurité que c'est l'objet du Tanzimat de procurer aux populations, comme c'est le désir de tous que la Province d'Egypte ne sorte pas des bonnes voies d'ordre dans lesquelles elle se trouve, et que la sécurité et la tranquillité y soient permanentes.

Or, la condamnation à la peine capitale s'appuyant en Egypte de la même manière que cela est exigé par le Canoun-i-Djédid du Tanzimat, sur une procédure rigoureuse faite par les conseils et sur une sentence religioso-légale, le Gouverneur-Général d'Egypte prie Sa Majesté Impériale de vouloir, de même qu'elle a voulu sous d'autres rapports, le rendre l'objet de quelques distinctions et privilèges particuliers ; et vû qu'il est son représentant dans cette vaste province, lui accorder le droit d'ordonner l'exécution de la peine capitale comme cela avait lieu pour feu son grandpère. En demandant cela, le désir de s'arroger aucun des droits Impériaux ne saurait trouver de place dans sa pensée, et son unique désir est d'être mis à même de maintenir d'une manière convenable l'ordre et la sécurité dans la province qu'il est chargée de gouverner, et de toujours mériter par là les bonnes grâces de Sa Majesté Impériale.

Si cette faveur était accordée, les Articles 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, et 12 du Chapitre I du Canoun-i-Djedid auraient besoin seulement d'être construits de façon à s'appliquer aux conseils et tribunaux d'Egypte. Le préambule du Canoun-i-Djédid, ainsi que les Articles 1, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, et 17. n'ont rien qui les rende inapplicables, mais quelques-uns auront besoin de légères modifications pour les faire harmoniser avec le Canoun d'Egypte, et pour cela nous attendons quelques éclaircissemens que nous avons demandés d'Egypte.

On ne voit non plus aucune objection à faire aux Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, et 6 du Chapitre II. Dans les Articles 5 et 7 du même chapitre les corrections à infliger sur les délinquents sont des coups de baton dans le limite du Chériat. Or, quoiqu'il n'y ait rien à redire sur la correction légale, il faut cependant considérer que les mauvais sujets qu'en Egypte on nomme Fellatis et Hachchachè ne seraient pas sensibles à une si légère correction, et que quoiqu'ils n'aient pas entre les mains des armes, ils font usage pour la plupart des batons de cornouiller, avec lesquelles ils se battent et se font des contusions à la tête, à la figure, et aux yeux. A cause de quoi il serait nécessaire de rendre la correction plus sévère.

Il n'y a rien qui s'oppose à l'application des Articles 1, 4, 7 jusqu'à

13, 16, 17, 19 jusqu'à 22 du Chapitre III. Le 2ème Article est analogue au 65ème du Canoun d'Egypte, qu'il faudrait lui substituer. Les Articles 3, 6 et 14, se rapportent aux finances, matière qui est différemment réglée en Egypte.

Quant à l'Article 15, ce qui se passe en Egypte est que les punitions sont, au-dessous des travaux forcés, ordonnées par les Mudirs qui en donnent connaissance au Conseil Akham. Dans les cas plus graves, les Mudirs déterminent la punition, mais ils en réfèrent au dit Conseil pour l'ordre d'application.

L'objet de l'Article 18 est considéré dans le Canoun d'Egypte comme un cas de vol, ce à quoi il faudrait se conformer.

Le 5ème Article a rapport à la démission demandée par un fonctionnaire, et il faudrait le remplacer par l'Article 20 du Canoun d'Egypte.

Il y a 31 Articles du Canoun d'Egypte, qui a été fait avec connaissance du caractère des habitans, qu'il faudrait ajouter aux Articles du Canoun Djedid, si les Membres de la Commission le trouvent convenable.

No. 49.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 176.)

Foreign Office, July 9, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 188, of the 4th of June, reporting the substance of a conversation with the Grand Vizier, respecting the proposed railroad in Egypt, and inclosing a copy of a despatch which you had in consequence addressed to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in that country.

I have had several long conversations with M. Musurus on this subject. I have on all of these occasions stated to the Turkish Minister that Her Majesty's Government were not so blind as not to see that the real source of the objections made to the construction of this railway is to be found in the political jealousy with which the Governments of Austria, Russia, and France regard a measure which is considered by them as calculated to be peculiarly conducive to the convenience and interests of Great Britain with respect to her communications with the Queen's dominions in India ; and I have said that I could not help expressing great surprise, not unmixed with considerable indignation, that after all that has passed, and after the generous and effectual manner in which the British Government has stepped forward to assist and support the Sultan upon every occasion on which the integrity of his empire and the dignity and independence of his Crown were threatened with danger, the Turkish Government should make such an ungrateful return on the very first occasion on which an opportunity was afforded them of doing an ill service to Great Britain ; and that I was more especially astonished that Reshid Pasha should be the person who should thus allow himself to be made the instrument to work out the purposes of the rival jealousies of foreign Governments towards England.

I said that in regard to the question itself it seems to me that the Porte is setting up a pretension which is founded neither upon right nor upon precedent.

In regard to the point of right, I have said that in a Turkish province which is governed by the direct authority of the Sultan ; where all the details of the administration are carried on by officers acting on all matters under the immediate orders of the Porte ; where the whole of the revenue raised is transmitted to the general Treasury of the Empire at Constantinople ; and where every expense incurred is defrayed by moneys issued out of that general and Imperial Treasury ; it stands to reason that no extraordinary work should be begun, and no unusual expense should be incurred, without a previous and specific authority from the Porte, because, independently of all other considerations, it is fitting that the Porte, which has to pay for a work, should be asked beforehand whether

it chooses that a work which it would have to pay for should be undertaken.

But I said that Egypt is differently circumstanced; I could indeed safely affirm that Her Majesty's Government would very much have preferred that Egypt should have been placed in regard to its relations towards the Porte, upon the same footing with Roumelia, Asia Minor, and the other provinces of the Turkish Empire; but a train of events which the Porte has been unable to control has led to a different state of things, and by the arrangement which was made by the Sultan in 1841, and which was formally communicated to Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, the detailed administration of Egypt was left to an hereditary Pasha, who was to receive into his own Treasury the revenues of the province, and after remitting to Constantinople a fixed amount of tribute, was to defray out of the Egyptian Treasury all the expenses connected with the government and administration of the province, and no reservation was made of any right on the part of the Sultan to superintend the detailed expenses of the local administration and government, or to authorize such expenditure, or to examine and audit the accounts.

It is clear, therefore, that the arrangement of 1841 does not entitle the Sultan to require that the Pasha of Egypt should ask his previous sanction and permission for undertaking works, either public or private, in Egypt, unless indeed such works should have an important political bearing, and should affect in some obvious manner the sovereign interests of the Sultan.

But it is impossible to maintain that a railway from Alexandria to Cairo, or a railway from Cairo to Suez, could have such a character. Such a line of communication must be considered as having a purely commercial character, and as being calculated to add to the prosperity of Egypt by increasing the number of travellers who may pass through the province, and by affording additional facilities for the transport of commodities from one part of the country to another. Besides, if it be granted that the Sultan's previous permission is requisite for the construction of a railway, and that the want of such permission must prevent it, where is this right of interference to stop? What is a railway except a road covered with iron rails instead of being simply macadamized; and if the one sort of road cannot be made in Egypt without the permission of the Sultan, why should the other sort of road be so made? Is it then now to be contended that the Pasha cannot make a new road or a new improvement of any kind without first applying for the consent of the Sultan?

But how long, I asked, is it that this doctrine has been put forward by the Porte? Where was this doctrine when Mehemet Ali spent 12,000,000*l.* sterling in useless and absurd attempts to establish manufactures in Egypt? Where was this doctrine when he laid out a large sum in erecting a great dam across the Nile, under pretence of irrigation, but in reality intending that it should form part of a great military system, the dam being destined to be fortified as a *tête-de-pont*, and to be used, when wanted, for the purpose of inundating Lower Egypt so as to prevent any approach to Alexandria by military operations? The military purpose of this dam was hostile to the Porte; its effect upon the navigation of the Nile has been injurious to Egypt; and if the Pasha of Egypt is bound to obtain the consent of the Porte before he undertakes any public work in Egypt, why did not the Porte interfere to prevent this dam from being constructed?

Again, I asked where was this asserted doctrine when Ibrahim began, and Abbas continued, the gigantic system of fortifications which have been erected round Alexandria and on the neighbouring parts of the coast; fortifications which have cost an immense sum of money, which were constructed by French engineers, according to plans prepared in the War Office at Paris, and the obvious and manifest intention of which is that they may receive on a suitable occasion a French army to wrest Egypt from the rule of the Sultan? Then indeed was there an occasion on which the Porte might justly have contended that a work of such great

military and political importance, and so big with future danger to the rights and interests of the Sultan, ought not to be undertaken without the express permission of the Sovereign of the country. But no; on that occasion the Porte was silent; it dared not speak; it pretended to shut its eyes and feigned ignorance of what was passing; and it has reserved its watchfulness and its assertion of a groundless claim of prerogative until a work has been projected, not only politically innocent, but also commercially advantageous, and to which the only real objection is that it would be productive of convenience to the best and most useful and most disinterested friend and ally of the Sultan.

I have repeatedly and strongly urged these arguments and considerations on M. Musurus, and I have requested him to report them as forcibly and exactly as possible to his Government. He promised me to do so; he tells me that he has done so; and he has assured me that the railway will be made.

M. Musurus has in his conversations with me put forward the same argument which the Turkish Ministers have employed with your Excellency, namely, that the chief intention with which the Porte has made this difficulty has been that the British Government should feel that for the construction of the railway it was indebted to the Porte and not to the Pasha, and that our sense of obligation should accordingly be directed towards Constantinople, and not towards Cairo. I have said to him in reply, that to make a groundless and vexatious objection seemed to me to be a new and somewhat singular way of conferring an obligation; and that we should not be able to forget that it was the Pasha who willingly, and the Porte who reluctantly, consented to the construction of this railway.

M. Musurus has repeatedly suggested that Her Majesty's Government should advise the Pasha to apply to the Porte for a permission which, he said, the Porte, if asked for it, would immediately give. My answer has been, that for the reasons above stated I could not see that this was a matter in regard to which the Pasha was at all bound to ask permission; that it was for the Porte and the Pasha to settle this question of etiquette as they could; but that the British Government expect and require that in some way or other these difficulties should be got over, and that the railway should be made; and I have assured M. Musurus that it will require much conduct of a different kind on the part of the Turkish Government to efface the unfavourable impression which its course in regard to this matter has produced on the minds of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 50.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 177.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 9, 1851.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 190 of the 4th of June, respecting the state of the questions pending between the Porte and Abbas Pasha of Egypt.

I have had several conversations with Nubar Bey upon the subject of the differences between the Pasha and the Porte; and I have strongly impressed upon Nubar Bey that the only wise course for the Pasha to pursue is to place himself clearly and decidedly in the right in regard to those points of difference with respect to which the letter of the arrangement of 1841 is against him, and to negotiate frankly with the Porte upon other points on which he may think that he has reason on his side.

I have said that on the question as to the amount of the Egyptian army, the Pasha is in the wrong and the Porte in the right. The

arrangement of 1841 distinctly specifies that the Egyptian army is not to exceed 18,000 men. When, two years ago, the Sultan was fearful of being involved in a serious quarrel with Austria and Russia, he permitted and even urged the Pasha to increase the Egyptian army to 30,000 men. The danger and the embarrassments then apprehended having now passed away, the Porte requires the Pasha to reduce his army to the stipulated numbers, and the Pasha ought to do so.

Nubar Bey urged several reasons as arguments why a larger force than 18,000 men is required for Egypt. He said that the population of the country has greatly increased since 1841, and requires more troops to keep it in order; that the Arabs of the Desert are troublesome, and many detachments are necessary to keep them in check; that large fortifications have been built since 1841, and that a considerable force is requisite to guard and take care of them; that the Abyssinians are aggressive, and that some thousand men must be sent to the southern extremity of the Pashalic to make head against them.

To all this I have replied that 18,000 men must surely be a force capable of supplying the means of preserving order in so comparatively small and quiet a population as the Egyptian, and in a country so narrow and so easily operated in as Egypt; but that if more force is required for such a purpose, the Pasha ought to organize a police upon the English model, armed with truncheons instead of muskets; and that he would find such a police far better for the maintenance of order than a military force could be.

That as to the Arabs of the Desert, the Arabs and the frontier are probably now just about what they were from 1841 to 1849 or 1850; and there could be no reason on that account for a larger force.

That as to the fortifications, all that could be wanted in time of peace, and when no attack is impending, are a few sentries to keep off mischievous boys or idlers; but that if the extent of the fortifications has become inconvenient, the best course would be to demolish them.

That as to the Abyssinians, if the Egyptians do not meddle with them, they will probably not meddle with the Egyptians; and that it is very unlikely that the Abyssinians should invade any part of the Egyptian territory, if the Egyptians do not attempt to invade and conquer any part of the territory of Abyssinia.

But I said that if for reasons, good or bad, the Pasha thought he could satisfy the Porte that it would be right to let him keep up a force somewhat larger than 18,000 men, he should state his reasons to the Porte; but if he failed to persuade the Turkish Government, he ought to set himself right by conforming to the arrangement of 1841.

Upon the other points the advice which I gave was in conformity with what seems to have been since done. I recommended that negotiations should be opened at Constantinople with a view to settle the manner of adapting the principles of the Tanzimat to the local circumstances of Egypt; and I strongly urged that it would be both politic and just to allow all the members of the Egyptian family to go and come as they liked, and where and when they liked; and not to withhold their allowances merely because they might prefer to live out of Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 51.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 16.)

(No. 14.)

Beirout, June 15, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of a despatch I have just received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

On communicating its contents to the Viceroy, His Highness observed

that he was not at all surprised to learn that the Sublime Porte in their present disposition to find fault with everything that he does, and influenced by the Representatives of other Powers jealous of England, should oppose the construction of the proposed railroad, but he was both surprised and grieved to find that in a matter wherein the right was so clearly on his side, and the benefit to British commerce so great and so manifest, Her Majesty's Ambassador was not yet authorized to hold language more firm and explicit.

I confess, my Lord, that I fully sympathised with His Highness' feelings on this subject, for I could not help being sensible that in communicating the contents of this document I was to a certain extent counteracting and nullifying the suggestions that I have been pressing upon His Highness during the last two years. Even before the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 29, of December 21, 1848, and much more since that date, I have made it my study, both privately and officially, to press upon the Viceroy the construction of this railway as the greatest boon that he could confer upon commerce, and as an undertaking that could not fail ultimately to be productive of the greatest credit, honour, and advantage to himself.

From that time, and before it, the Representatives of France never ceased to oppose the undertaking in the strongest and most undisguised terms, saying that so long as France retained any influence in Egypt, the railroad should never be made.

I am not vain enough to suppose that it is to my unremitting exertions that the attainment of the desired object is attributable; but at all events it has been attained, and the Viceroy's Agent has been now some time in England treating with our most eminent engineers, and with the cognizance of Her Majesty's Government, for the men and materials requisite to commence the undertaking.

With respect to the interference of the Sublime Porte, I beg to remind your Lordship that amid all the extravagant and visionary improvements and plans undertaken by Mehemet Ali, especially for instance that of the Barrage (which has produced no other result than that of injuring materially the navigation of the river, and costing a sum of money nearly sufficient to defray the expenses of the proposed railroad), in all these undertakings the Sublime Porte has never once interfered to forbid, they have never ventured to offer a remonstrance.

Again, in the construction of the fortifications of Alexandria, Rosetta, &c., constructed under French advice and French engineers, at a cost scarcely less than that of the Barrage, neither the Sublime Porte nor Her Majesty's Government ever interfered or protested, though that was an undertaking which might justly give umbrage to both; and now when the Viceroy, with a revenue considerably exceeding the expenditure, and the agriculture and commerce of his province both in a most flourishing condition, proposes an undertaking for the benefit of these important branches of industry, and one that cannot justly give umbrage to any Power, the Sublime Porte, moved by the jealousies and intrigues of France, and by their own desire to vex and annoy Abbas Pasha, step in for the first time since the issuing of the hereditary Firman, and forbid the undertaking unless with the preliminary sanction of the Sultan.

I was quite prepared for this *coup* on the part of the French at Constantinople, and have more than once alluded to it in writing to your Lordship; for before the French Consul-General went down to Alexandria, he gave the Viceroy a warning (almost in the tone of a threat) against making the railroad, and prophesied to him that England would for her own interests drag him into this difficulty with the Porte and with the old allies of his family, and then would leave him unsupported to get out of it as he could.

In order to convince your Lordship that I am not mistaken in stating the active part taken by France in this matter, I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship translated copy of a document which reached the Viceroy yesterday from his Commissioners sent to Constantinople on the Tanzimat question.

The document referred to is of great length, embracing all the topics

of their mission, but having no Dragoman with me I have only had time to translate for your Lordship's information that paragraph which relates their visit to the French Embassy.

It is a curious circumstance that all the leading members of it have been employed here.

The Minister Lavalette was Consul-General here, Benedetti was Consul at Cairo, and Scheffer, Dragoman to the French Consulate.

As the only preparations for the railroad actually in progress must be those which are making through the agency of Nubar Bey with Mr. Stephenson and others in England, and as no work of any kind is commenced here, my only means of obeying Sir Stratford Canning's instructions is to forward his despatch to the Foreign Office, leaving your Lordship to form your decision upon the subject and to communicate your orders to me.

It only remains for me to add, that if after having taken so leading a part in promoting this undertaking, by suggesting it repeatedly to His Highness, being myself the medium of offering the superintendence of it to Mr. Stephenson, and believing always that I was following your Lordship's written and verbal instructions, by pressing its commencement by all the means in my power; if after all these previous steps, Her Majesty's Government should think fit to decide upon refusing to support the rights of the Viceroy against the arbitrary pretensions of the Sublime Porte, my position here would be a most painful one, as I should thus become the unwilling instrument of fulfilling the prophecy made to the Viceroy by the French Consul-General.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

[See Inclosure in No. 43.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

The Egyptian Commissioners to Abbas Pasha.

(Extract.)

(Translation.)

ON the 8th June, having gone to pay our visit to the French Embassy, we were politely received by M. Lavalette, who was attended by M. Benedetti, first secretary, and M. Scheller, interpreter.

His Excellency told us that on the preceding day he had been to see the Foreign Minister, Aali Pasha, who had observed to him that the railroad was likely to prove a dangerous affair for Egypt. His Excellency then said, addressing Hair-ed-deen Pasha, "According to the reports that we receive from Egypt, our Representative in that country no longer enjoys the same consideration and influence as formerly, and this is an unworthy return for all the benefits and acts of friendship that France has done to Egypt; on this account she has grounds for being dissatisfied with Abbas Pasha."

Hair-ed-deen replied: "I am surprised to hear your Excellency say so, as it is well known to all that the Viceroy holds France in the highest respect; and whoever has told your Excellency to the contrary must have done so from evil intention; and if you inquire of candid persons they will assure you of this fact."

The Ambassador replied: "I have not this information from any person unworthy of confidence, but from our own employés. Our present Consul-General in Egypt is a very able and moderate man, and would not send any unfounded reports."

Hair-ed-deen Pasha replied: "I do not deny that he is so, and our Viceroy has much respect for him. If any misunderstanding has arisen

between them, it must be owing to the officious meddling of some third party."

The Ambassador answered: "We do not demand that our Representative should enjoy any influence or position higher than that of others, but he should hold a position second to none, and the Viceroy should show him as much respect and attention as to others of his rank."

We then came to the subject of the railroad, and his Excellency with symptoms of deep reflection, said: "The attitude which we assume on this question arises from considerations requiring to be treated with much delicacy, especially as the undertaking will be positively forbid by the Sublime Porte; and this railroad is not an undertaking for the benefit of a nation, but for that of sundry individuals, who think only of their profits, although in a matter displeasing to all friendly Powers, as may be seen by a cursory examination of the subject."

These observations he repeated several times, and Hair-ed-deen Pasha met them by explaining to his Excellency the positive advantages that must result from the proposed railroad; the reply of the Ambassador was as follows: "My instructions are to communicate that the French Government considers the railroad from first to last as a thing that can be productive only of present and future evil to Egypt;" and no argument that we could use had the slightest effect in altering his opinion on this matter.

In conclusion we see that the policy of France towards Egypt rests upon two bases:

1st. To prevent altogether the formation of the railroad.

2ndly. To restore to the French Representative in Egypt that influence the diminution of which is the subject of the present complaints.

No. 52.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 16.)

(No. 15.)

My Lord, *Cairo, June 27, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship copies of my despatches to Sir Stratford Canning Nos. 11 to 14 inclusive; and to the information contained in these I have little to add.

The crisis in the affairs of Egypt, the approach of which I have more than once notified to your Lordship, is now imminent, and unless Her Majesty's Government affords to Abbas Pasha a prompt and efficient support, I have no doubt that the intrigue formed against him at Constantinople will succeed. Various are the charges brought against him, most of them either frivolous or grossly exaggerated; the real head and front of his offence is his undisguised leaning to English interests and his resolution to go on with the railway in spite of remonstrance or opposition from whatever quarter it may come; he said to me only two days ago:—"I have pledged my word to make the railroad, and I will keep my promise if it costs me my Pashalic."

It is indeed a melancholy spectacle to see this country, which is now so prosperous and flourishing, menaced with disturbances, convulsion, and perhaps with civil war, by the jealousies and intrigues fostered at the Sublime Porte; these are most actively fomented by France, who is disgusted by having lost the monopoly of influence which she so long exerted here, and she will spare no pains to procure the removal of Abbas, knowing that the other members of the family in the line of hereditary succession, are, as they have more than once termed themselves, "Enfans de la France," and that with their succession, her rule would recommence.

However unfavourable to English interests might be this solution of the question, I look forward to one beyond, which is not less probable, nor less disastrous, namely, the time when the Sublime Porte shall attain their object, and reduce Egypt to the condition of Damascus, Hedjaz, and other provinces governed directly from the Divan at Constantinople.

If your Lordship's other avocations have allowed you time to inform yourself accurately of the present condition of those provinces, you will feel yourself compelled to admit that the theoretic blessings of the Tanzimat are limited to the self-laudatory paragraphs emanating from the Divan at Constantinople, and that all the practical results which issue from good government are wanting; the roads are so insecure that neither merchant nor traveller can venture even a few miles from the cities, excepting under the guard of a strong escort: and the finances are in so dilapidated a state that Government paper is at an enormous discount.

These latter observations are applicable, unless I am much misinformed, to Constantinople itself; and it must be doubtless both tempting and nettling to the Sublime Porte to see a tributary province so rich and flourishing as Egypt placed within their grasp by the dissensions of this family.

The last despatches from Her Majesty's Ambassador brought to me yesterday by Mr. Doria, inform me that the other questions at issue are left in suspense until two of those most insisted on by the Sublime Porte are definitively settled:

1st. That the Viceroy is not to make the railroad unless the permission of the Sublime Porte is first asked and obtained; and

2ndly. The withdrawal from him of the right of inflicting capital punishment on convicted criminals without the Sultan's seal and authority.

On the first of these points the Grand Vizier seems to insist rather as a matter of prerogative than on the score of its intrinsic merits, at least he has assured Her Majesty's Ambassador that the permission, if solicited, will be graciously accorded; and in support of this claim of prerogative, he further stated to his Excellency that when Mehemet Ali made the Barrage he asked the Sultan's permission.

On my mentioning this last statement to the Viceroy, His Highness said that he had no hesitation in declaring it to be positively untrue, and that it was contradicted even by the dates of the occurrences in question. His Highness states that Mehemet Ali planned and commenced the Barrage without the slightest communication with or reference to the Sublime Porte; some time after its commencement, Mehemet Ali paid his compliments to the Sultan, and alluded to the Barrage as a work commenced under the shadow of His Majesty's Imperial wing, and one that he hoped would redound to the honour of His Majesty's reign.

All such complimentary phrases of respectful vassalage the present Viceroy is prepared to employ, but he firmly declines under the present circumstances to write officially for permission, unless the Sublime Porte can show a precedent for such a necessity since the Firman of hereditary investiture; he assures me that if one official letter written by either of his predecessors can be shown, applying for the Imperial permission to make any internal improvement in Egypt, he is prepared to write a similar letter to-morrow. But while he feels that the Porte are endeavouring in every way to clip and cripple his authority, he does not wish to concede this precedent for their interference with every other internal improvement that he may have to make.

With respect to the second question, namely, that of the power of life and death, it is one of much higher importance than the last, and one on which in my opinion hinges the prosperity and tranquillity of Egypt. Viewed in the abstract there can be no doubt that in Monarchical Governments this power resides solely and ultimately in the Sovereign, and as the Sublime Porte insists upon this view, Her Majesty's Ambassador has recommended me to advise the Viceroy to concede this point.

I presume that his Excellency has made your Lordship acquainted with his opinions and with the contents of his despatches to me on this subject.

I inclose, however, for your Lordship's perusal, translated copies of the memorial presented by the Egyptian Commissioners to the Council at Constantinople, and of the reply to the same.

Defective as these documents are in grammar, their meaning is sufficiently clear, and I leave it to your Lordship to decide on which side is the advantage of the argument.

To me the Egyptian paper seems practical, temperate, and respectful; it deals with facts, and it proves that human life is guarded in the Egyptian Code by legal defences and restraints as effective as those in use at Constantinople; and that even supposing the Hereditary Governor of Egypt to be a cruel Prince he cannot put a criminal to death unless with the sanction of three preliminary tribunals, two of them civil and one religious.

The answer of the Council is a farrago of trite phrases on sovereignty, mingled with some paragraphs which, if the subject were not so serious, might well provoke to laughter. But the climax of the ludicrous is that paragraph which points to Bagdad, Kurdistan, Tripoli West, and Hedjaz, as models for Egyptian imitation.

My Lord, if it were not a Sovereign writing to a vassal, no Minister would have dared to put his name to a paper so insulting to truth and common sense. There is no one even slightly conversant with the East who does not know that the above-named provinces are the theatres of constant robbery and pillage; that neither goods nor persons can travel without paying black mail to the robbers who infest the roads and deserts; and that even at the very time of writing the paper in question the Sublime Porte was preparing to send a force of 6000 or 7000 men to the Hedjaz to endeavour to repress the anarchy reigning in that province, and to wipe off the stain which attaches to the Imperial standard by the notorious fact that at this moment pilgrims cannot go to the Holy Cities without being stripped and pillaged on the way.

Certainly if it be the desire of the Sublime Porte to introduce such blessings as these into Egypt, they cannot take a more direct course than to withdraw the power of capital punishment hitherto enjoyed and exercised by its hereditary Governor; but I trust that England will not fail to record her solemn protest against the measure. It would not only be an act of injustice, but an act of suicide in us, to aid in reducing this tranquil and flourishing country to the state of the provinces alluded to in the above-named paper.

However I may regret that there should be any topic whatever on which I am unable to follow out the recommendations of Her Majesty's Ambassador, I feel so convinced of the disastrous influence which the measure in question would exercise over the interests of Great Britain and of Egypt, that both my judgment and my conscience forbid me to urge it on the Viceroy.

It is doubtless true that in the scale of European polities, the Vali of Egypt is but a tributary of the Sublime Porte, and it is flattering to the pride of the latter to think and to write that the Viceroy is known by the people to be only "His Majesty's Agent, and subject under all circumstances to the royal will and pleasure;" but these Ministers seem not to be aware that the inhabitants of Upper Egypt and Soudan, as well as the Arabs of the Desert to the east and west of Egypt, who were subdued and kept in awe by the energy of Mehemet Ali, know as little and care as little for the Imperial name as do the wild tribes who are even now confining the royal troops to the two or three fortresses which they possess in Hedjaz.

These would be doubtless unpleasant truths for the Royal ear at Constantinople, but nevertheless they are truths, and if the power of inflicting capital punishment be once taken from the Governor of Egypt, the news will spread like wildfire among these half-tamed and unreasoning populations, and ere long Egypt will fulfil the unintentional prophecy of the Turkish Council; and during the period of its resemblance to Kurdistan and Hedjaz, British merchants and travellers will remember with regret the days when mails and merchandize, and parties of pleasure, went from Alexandria to the Cataracts without escort, interruption or injury.

I fear I have wearied your Lordship by insisting at such length on this subject, but its importance must plead my justification, and there remains only one topic on which I think it necessary to trouble you, namely, the intrigues of the family against the Viceroy. It sounded very just and very plausible that any of the junior members of Mehemet Ali's family who wished to go to Constantinople should not be prevented from

going to pay their respects to their Sovereign. Such was the view taken both by your Lordship and Her Majesty's Ambassador, and in obedience to instructions, I pressed it upon the Viceroy, who acceded thereto, in opposition to the suggestions of his own judgment.

There can be now little doubt that the whole has been a settled plan on the part of Artin Bey, Kiamil Pasha, and other intriguers, to draw over the whole family to Constantinople, and when there to get them to unite in some written memorial against Abbas Pasha.

Half of them are already gone, and the other half are prepared to follow; those who showed any reluctance to go having received flattering invitations.

In spite of the repeated assurances given by the Grand Vizier to Her Majesty's Ambassador, that Artin Bey was to enjoy no credit or influence, that worthy is constantly at the Vizierial Palace, and is certainly the leader and organizer of this family plot, the *dénouement* of which I cannot pretend to foretell.

One issue only is sure: that the Viceroy having thrown himself and the rights of his case solely on the protection of Great Britain, if she refuses to support him, he must fall—and that too at no distant period.

Hoping soon to be favoured with your Lordship's instructions on these pressing and important subjects,

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 52.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 11.)

Cairo, June 22, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch No. 6, dated June 4, 1851, informing me of the Grand Vizier's opposition to the Cairo and Alexandria Railroad, and of the steps that you have taken in consequence of that opposition.

Your Excellency will see by my despatch to Viscount Palmerston dated June 15, 1851, copy of which I herewith inclose*, that it was out of my power to carry out your instructions in respect to delaying the commencement of the railway, inasmuch as none of the preparations for the said undertaking are being made here, although Nubar Bey is making contracts for engineers and materials in England with the cognizance of Her Majesty's Government.

Should Lord Palmerston think fit to interpose any delay in these preparations, in consequence of the Grand Vizier's observations to your Excellency, he can do so by personal communication with the Egyptian Agent on the spot.

My belief is that Her Majesty's Government will not accede to this new pretension on the part of the Sublime Porte to forbid the construction of the railway unless previously sanctioned by the Sultan; and this for several reasons:

1st. That this sanction has never before been required or obtained for any of the roads, canals, and other internal improvements made in Egypt since the Firman of hereditary succession was issued.

2nd. Her Majesty's Government have always instructed me to press this subject on the Viceroy of Egypt, without any reference whatever to the Sublime Porte.

3rd. In the last official report sent by Nubar Bey to Abbas Pasha from London, in narrating his interview with Lord Palmerston, he states that having mentioned his fear that the Sublime Porte, urged by the jealousies of other Powers, might oppose the construction of the railroad, his Lordship expressed himself strongly to the effect that such opposition and such jealousies were altogether unjust and out of place in a matter which was so clearly for the advantage of Egypt and of European commerce with the East.

* See No. 51.

For these reasons I am induced to think that his Lordship will not recognize the right of the Sublime Porte to interfere in preventing or delaying the execution of a work so useful, and which is to be paid for entirely by the revenues of Egypt; and I do not see how it can be possible for England to support this new and unprecedented demand on the part of the Sublime Porte, if Her Majesty's Government have any intention of guarding the Viceroy's rights to a separate internal administration, of which right this demand is a most open and illiberal violation.

Your Excellency's despatch informs me that you have no reason to believe that the Porte contemplates any kind of opposition to a railway, if constructed with their sanction, and doubtless they have so assured you; but I will beg your Excellency to read the report of the interview between the Egyptian Commissioners and the French Minister at Constantinople, from which you will see that very different language is held elsewhere.

Indeed in this and in other matters of late, the conduct of the Sublime Porte towards your Excellency seems not to have been remarkable for sincerity, inasmuch as while the Grand Vizier informed your Excellency that the arch-intriguer against Egypt, Artin Bey, enjoyed no influence or consideration whatever at the Sublime Porte, you must be now sensible of the untruth of that statement, and that the said Artin Bey not only was invited as a guest to a banquet at which only persons of the highest rank and station were present, but that he is a frequent and welcome visitor to the Grand Vizier himself, and is still, what he has been from the first, the mainspring of the intrigues going on for the humiliation of Abbas Pasha.

I trust your Excellency will believe that it is my wish as much as my duty to follow out your views and instructions in every respect, and if I appear to be somewhat stubborn on the subject of the railway, I will beg you to weigh the reasons stated in the preceding part of this despatch, and to remember that this is an object for which I have been labouring for the last two years, under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, and against the open and undisguised intrigues of the French. Now, when I had just succeeded in obtaining it, and when I am pledged to it by my correspondence with Mr. Stephenson, the engineer, and when the Viceroy is pledged to it by the acts of his agent in London, I find an opposition where I had least cause to expect it, namely, from a Government which never before meddled with the internal improvements in Egypt, even the most extravagant and speculative; a Government too which affects a desire for the extension of commerce and for the friendship of England, while thwarting a measure which is of the highest importance both to one and the other.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 52.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 12.)

Cairo, June 23, 1851.

Sir.

ON calling upon the Viceroy yesterday I found him much cast down by an event which although it may seem of trifling political importance, has been most painful to His Highness, and must be communicated to your Excellency as the closing act of the family intrigue against him.

Among the sons of the late Ibrahim Pasha is one named Mustapha Bey, who, having received a French education, is very plausible in address, fluent in speech, and richly endowed with that cunning which among Turks passes for talent. Among all the intriguers who have appeared on this stage during the last two years, no one, not even Artin Bey himself, has played his part with such unscrupulous craft and effrontery.

He began by relating to the Viceroy all the conversation that passed between his two brothers and other members of the family, to the disparagement of His Highness, and most probably invented when he had

nothing to relate; by these means he succeeded in widening the breach already made, and in gradually bringing about the estrangement and disunion that now exists.

He then proceeded by a sedulous course of attention, and by affecting the most sincere devotion to his relative, to gain the Viceroy's confidence, and so completely did he succeed that he was treated and received like a son, large presents of money and lands were made to him, and His Highness kept no secrets from him, but consulted him in all the most critical and important matters.

At the confidential conversations that I have held with His Highness during the last three months, when interpreters and attendants were ordered out of the room, Mustapha Bey (if he happened to be at the Palace) always remained, and thus became cognizant of everything that His Highness desired me to write either to your Excellency or to Lord Palmerston, whether about the Vizier, the Tanzimat, or any other matter, the secrecy of which was most important to His Highness.

Indeed he took a prominent part in several of these discussions, sometimes reprobating the unfriendly conduct of the Grand Vizier in the most unmeasured terms, and always designating the Egyptian clique at Constantinople by the most damnatory epithets.

I have seen the Viceroy leaning upon his shoulder and saying to me: "this is the only true friend in whom I can repose complete confidence, and he at least will never desert me."

It would seem, however (to the disgrace of human nature), that this has been a continued and deep-laid system of hypocrisy on the part of Mustapha Bey; first, for making out of the Viceroy's bounty a large addition to his already ample fortune; and secondly, for the purpose of going over to the hostile party whenever he thought that the harvest of his treachery was ripe.

Yesterday, without the slightest cause of disagreement, and without even the courtesy of asking permission in a farewell visit, he sent his agent to inform the Viceroy that his health required change of air and that he must go immediately to Constantinople.

The Viceroy was too proud to tell him what he told me; namely, that he might have found change of air at Rhodes, Malta, Marseilles, or London, sufficient for the delicate health of a gentleman who is as stout as a bull-calf, and drinks a bottle of wine at dinner every day.

I feel little doubt in my own mind but that this ungrateful scoundrel has been playing the part of a spy in the Palace; and now that he has been informed by them that Abbas' game is desperate at the Porte, he has thrown off the mask and goes over at once.

Mehemet Ali would have cut off his head without ceremony. Abbas, following the counsel given to him by Lord Palmerston and your Excellency, will not oppose his going, though sensible that he will throw much fuel upon the fire already burning there.

I am sure your Excellency will not lose sight of the responsibility attaching to that counsel, for it has led the Viceroy to act entirely against the impressions of his own judgment; and he relies upon your Excellency's support to counteract the effects of the slanders and calumnies which this new traitor will not fail to spread in extenuation of his hateful treachery.

His Highness begs me to add that it is very possible that Mustapha Bey may wish for a time to keep on at Constantinople the mask that he has so long worn here, and to pretend that he is taking a deep interest in the welfare of Egypt and the Viceroy in the discussion that is now pending.

It is scarcely necessary to say that should he adopt this course, and should his conduct be so represented to your Excellency, you can put no faith whatever in his professions, however plausible they may seem.

From an examination of His Highness' accounts made this day, it appears that in the course of last year he has received from the Viceroy gratuities and presents to an amount not less than 40,000*l.* sterling, partly in cash, partly in the form of steam-engines for the cultivation of his lands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 52.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 13.)

Cairo, June 24, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the Viceroy showed me yesterday a paper containing two clauses in the Tanzimat, which His Highness desires to have modified in their application to Egypt.

The clauses in question refer to the penalties attaching to seditious and refractory language and conduct, for which death may be inflicted, unless commuted by the Sultan.

The Egyptian Code has a clause for the repression of such offences, which the Viceroy considers much better adapted to this country; and it does not include capital punishment under this head.

Should Edhem Pasha require your Excellency's support on this subject, His Highness hopes that you will deem it consistent with your views of justice to afford it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 52.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 14.)

Cairo, June 25, 1851.

Sir,

SINCE writing my despatch of yesterday's date, I have heard from a source which should be authentic, that one of the causes of Mustapha Bey's sudden abandonment of Abbas Pasha has been a letter received from Constantinople, informing him that he should lose no time in leaving the Viceroy, as his disgrace was now resolved upon at the Porte, and that they were only waiting for a fitting opportunity to put it into execution.

Similar reports are now current in Cairo, and as might be expected, they are unsettling men's minds and loosening the bands of security and government. It is understood that the whole family is leagued together to present a memorial to the Sublime Porte, to the effect that they have no security for their lives and fortunes under the administration of Abbas Pasha; and this statement, though totally devoid of foundation, will probably be made use of to further the ultimate designs of the Sublime Porte on Egypt, which are, as I have often mentioned to your Excellency, to embroil this family irretrievably, then to state to foreign Powers that it is no longer capable of governing, and that a political necessity has arisen for placing this province under a Pasha named by the Porte and removeable at pleasure.

To this transparent design the members of the family are lending their aid, while vainly supposing that they are only working the downfall of Abbas to secure their own elevation.

However convinced I may feel of the steadiness with which this ulterior design is pursued, I can scarcely believe that the Sublime Porte would venture to reopen the whole Eastern question, and to risk the chances of a general war, by attempting to effect their object by a *coup de main*; nevertheless, it is necessary for me to point out to your Excellency one or two of the risks which are in the chapter of accidents.

Supposing, for instance, that the Sublime Porte were to take the railroad as a question on which they would find most foreign support, and were to send over a Commissioner armed with a firman ordering Abbas Pasha, on pain of instant removal from the Viceroyalty, to abandon that undertaking; and supposing that Lord Palmerston had emphatically protested against such a prohibition, as being a violation of the Viceroy's rights of internal administration, what course should His Highness follow, and how would Lord Palmerston support his protest?

Again, your Excellency is probably aware that ere long the Sublime Porte is about to send a large body of troops through Egypt to endeavour to repair some of the heavy losses that they have suffered in Arabia, and to open up the road to the Holy Cities, now blocked by hostile tribes.

It seems not impossible that the same plot and intrigue which has already drawn away all the members of the family from Abbas, may have been successfully employed in seducing from him also some of the principal civil and military officers in Egypt. Should such be the case, would not the accidental presence of 6000 or 8000 Turkish troops in this country afford an opportunity for a *coup de main* too tempting to be resisted?

As I before said, I can scarcely believe that the Porte would venture to incur the momentous risks which would attend such a course, much less to incur them without advising with your Excellency and the Representatives of other Great Powers. Still I feel it my duty to name these remote dangers to your Excellency, on account of the immense importance of the tranquillity of this country to the political and commercial interests of Great Britain.

I have never heard a syllable nor been cognizant of an action on the part of the Viceroy, which could be construed into disaffected or rebellious intentions towards the Sultan. Even the faults of his character have no tendency in that direction; but the tamest spirit may be provoked by oppression, and if the Porte were to attempt to remove him by force and without the sanction of the Powers who signed the hereditary Firman, His Highness would certainly consider himself justified in resisting it, and the result would be a civil war, the consequences and issue of which no one can foretell.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 5 in No. 52.

The Egyptian Commissioners to the Commission.

[See Inclosure in No. 48.]

Inclosure 6 in No. 52.

Memorandum from the Privy Council to the Egyptian Commissioners.

THE paper given in to the Privy Council by the Pasha's Commissioners containing certain reflections concerning the Egyptian Tanzimat, has been read and understood.

The *résumé* of this statement is to show the necessity of confiding the execution of the sentence of the holy law in cases of capital punishment to the Vali Pasha, and certain special arguments are adduced in support thereof.

The principles of the Tanzimat are founded upon the sacred articles of the security of life, property, and honour; and one of the main conditions of the distinction of hereditary government in Egypt is the full execution of the Tanzimat in the Royal province.

As those conditions cannot be fully carried out until these three fundamental articles are established, conformably to the general law of the Empire, it is clear that these articles cannot be in the least degree altered nor admit of any exceptions.

Although there is no need of adducing further argument in a matter so evident, we consider it incumbent on us to reply to the considerations set forth in the paper in question, while setting the importance of the matter in question in a clear light.

Firstly, Khissas belongs to God alone, and the execution thereof is one of the special rights of the high Caliphate vested in the person of His Most Gracious Majesty.

No encroachment thereon can be, in any manner whatever it may be, permitted, as it is positive that the distinguishing favour of hereditary government granted to the Vali of Egypt is limited to the matter of administration; and as one of the essential conditions of that distinction is to exercise that administration conformably to the general laws of the Empire, it does not require much reflection to perceive that the modifications sought in this matter go beyond the circle of administration and enter upon a point of right, and that it is wanted to change the aforesaid conditions into such fundamental article of right.

Although it be shown in the aforesaid paper, that in requiring permission in this matter, there is no intention to weaken the Imperial right, it is evident that these great questions depend upon the fundamental principles, and cannot be based upon personal and special considerations.

If the necessity for the exercise of capital punishment being confided to his Excellency the Vali Pasha derives from considerations of strengthening the influence of the local administration, the influence of the general administration must be a question of prior consideration; and as the people of Egypt know that the Vali Pasha is the agent of His Gracious Majesty, to whom empire belongs, and that he is under all circumstances subject to the royal will and pleasure, a reference on his part to the Sovereign will in this matter likewise is but a fulfilment of the established and known conditions of his office.

No prejudice whatever can therefore accrue to the influence of the local Government; on the contrary, the more a Government is within the limits of the law, the more submissive will the people be to it.

The Egyptian Government, therefore, being a means of increasing the influence of the Sovereign's commands by fulfilling the principles of the law, the lawfulness of the provincial administration and thereby its strength will appear all the greater in the eyes of the people.

With reference to the considerations put forward to show the necessity of the speedy execution of capital punishment by local decision, and the prejudice which will accrue to the authorities in the country in the contrary case, there are those who entertain the belief that in former times the provincial Governors required to exercise the power of life and death, and that authority was necessary to rule the country.

Praise be to God! the just rule established under His Majesty's protection, and the principle of security of life founded essentially on the Tanzimat carried into execution, acquire strength; and since the appointment of Governors to assert the decisions of the law in these matters, together with the Imperial commands, authority in the country has been still further consolidated.

Formerly also, while everywhere and every day, troubles, great and small, were constantly arising, and murders committed among the inhabitants, the rareness of such occurrences under His Majesty's reign affords the best argument in reply to the matters put forward on this subject.

If it be adduced that Egypt lies necessarily under an exception, owing to the barbarous tribes contained among its population, it must be admitted that the populations of Bagdad, Kurdistan, the Hedjaz and Tripoli West, are under exactly the same circumstances stated.

Why, therefore, cannot a system in force in those places and which has reformed their previous troubled condition, not be enforced also in Egypt?

Nor can it be said that Egypt must be made an exception on account of its distance, while its distance by sea from the Central Imperial Government is at most five days, and the places enumerated are each of them much more distant than Egypt.

The Khissas does not apply to communities or parts thereof, but it is a legal consequence in a murder committed between two people; and the only effect, therefore, of sanction being applied for would be simply that the heirs of the murdered man would have to wait a little.

If, for instance, insurrection should break out in any place, the means of putting it down are clearly sufficiently set forth in the Governmental laws. It is incomprehensible, therefore, that it should be wished to involve the great measure of Khissas in considerations of local rule or in short of those of general application.

However it may be, the question is one of high and sacred right appertaining to His Imperial Majesty, in whom the High Caliphate is vested; and no one can reconcile it to the dignity of his religion or to his loyalty (towards his Sovereign) that he should impair it in any degree.

To pretend, therefore, to change in any way in such an essential article, the Tanzimat, which His Majesty has wished should be carried into execution, and which is a known obligatory condition, is tantamount to rejecting the principles of that institution.

The Privy Council have therefore considered it their duty to state their real opinion that his Excellency the Vali Pasha should firstly weigh the matter, and as it has been put forward that he should not have considered it proper that the subject should ever have been brought under discussion, for until this fundamental principle be accepted and confirmed, the other details which may be open to discussion shall be considered as non-existing.

For this purpose, therefore, has the present memorandum been drawn up and given to the aforesaid.

No. 53.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 19.)

(No. 214.)

Therapia, July 4, 1851.

My Lord,

THE present state of the Egyptian question, in so far as it is known to me, may be described in few words.

The Porte insists generally on a strict execution of the Firman of investiture, intimating at the same time a readiness to relax on secondary points, and even practically, as to the amount of the Viceroy's army, provided His Highness can be brought to give way on the essential points of capital punishment and of permission to construct the railway.

The Egyptian Commissioners have referred the matter of capital punishment to the Viceroy. They have also written, as they assure me, in the sense of my suggestions to Mr. Murray. The meetings of the Commission respecting Tanzimat are not suspended on other points, though little progress is likely to be made during the present fast of Ramazan. The proceedings on the whole are characterized by a spirit of prudence and conciliation.

Her Majesty's Embassy has succeeded thus far in obtaining the confidence of each party and in exercising a certain degree of influence over both. The Viceroy's Commissioners called a few days ago, by His Highness' orders, to thank me for the interest which I had taken in his affairs, and to state that they were instructed to take my advice in every case of difficulty. The Grand Vizier has confirmed, in the Sultan's name, his assurance of the Porte's consent to the railway, on permission being asked, and I should not despair of bringing him more or less into modifications acceptable to the Viceroy on all points of difference, provided the Viceroy himself be discreet enough to keep, in principle, within the limits of the Firman.

Whatever personal excitement may still exist between Abbas Pasha and the Grand Vizier, it can hardly produce an open rupture, so long as both parties may be prevailed upon to rest on that ground. The favour shown by Reshid Pasha and the Sultan to the malcontent members of the Viceroy's family, and the language employed by the latter in speaking of His Highness, tend as little to promote good feelings at Cairo, as the attacks directed against Reshid Pasha from Egypt by means of the European press are calculated to aid the Viceroy's cause at Constantinople. These mutual symptoms of antagonism are certainly to be deprecated, and I trust that my endeavours to put them in a less offensive light and also to discourage the continuance of them will not prove entirely ineffectual.

Towards my diplomatic colleagues I have thought it best to maintain a strict reserve on this subject. I have hitherto seen no reason to apprehend the effects of their influence, and some of the matters in question are too delicate to admit of their being brought into conversation without some immediate object. I learn from private sources of information, that the French Minister communicates on the pending questions as well with the Egyptian Commissioners as with the Turkish Ministers, and that his language respecting the railway is rather in the tone of adverse insinuation than of declared opposition.

Having offered this general view of the case in its present stage, I beg to refer your Lordship for the filling up to my correspondence with Mr. Murray. The despatches addressed to me by that gentleman have no doubt been forwarded in copy to your Lordship's office from Cairo. Those which I have addressed to him are inclosed herewith. They contain a full and unreserved account of my impressions, proceedings, and suggestions touching the affairs of Egypt since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship upon the subject.

With respect to Nubar Bey's mission to England, the actual preparations for constructing the proposed railway, and your Lordship's communications with the Ottoman Minister in London, I have no information but what has reached me through indirect channels, and to all appearance in a very incomplete shape.

By sending Mr. Doria with my despatches to Cairo, and employing Her Majesty's ship "Growler" for his conveyance to Alexandria at a critical juncture of the negotiation, I have thought to make impression on the Viceroy's mind, and to enlist another chance in favour of a satisfactory adjustment of His Highness' unhappy differences with the Porte.

I conclude by requesting your Lordship's attention to the accompanying extract of that part of the Sultan's Firman which prescribes the obligation of referring to Constantinople for orders.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 53.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 8.)

Therapia, June 18, 1851.

Sir,

IT must in fairness be acknowledged that the arrival of Edhem Pasha and his colleague, Hair-ed-deen, at Constantinople, so soon after the return of Mochtar Bey, gave proof of the sincerity with which the Viceroy of Egypt replied to the Grand Vizier's demands. If further proof were needed of His Highness' reliance on the soundness of British counsels, it might be found in the promptitude with which several members of his family have been allowed to gratify their wish of appearing at the Sultan's Court.

This ready compliance on Abbas Pasha's part with the requisitions of the Supreme Government has made a favourable impression on the Sultan and his Ministers. It has also strengthened my hands in exerting the influence of Her Majesty's Embassy on his behalf within the limits prescribed to me by a sense of justice and propriety. The Viceroy, far from being treated as a suspected or contumacious opponent, receives, in the persons of his accredited agents, that honourable attention and consideration to which he is not less entitled by the loyalty of his proceedings than by the Firman of his investiture. The discussions in which his Commissioners are engaged with those of the Porte respecting the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt appear to be carried on with becoming

temper and a due regard for the local wants and peculiarities of that country. If the question of reserving the power of life and death over Egyptian convicts has been pressed forward somewhat abruptly, I have succeeded in dissuading the Grand Vizier from suspending the course of investigation during a reference to Cairo, should the Egyptian Commissioners deem such reference necessary on that point. I have also received from Reshid Pasha a most distinct and explicit assurance that the finances of Egypt will be left entirely to the Viceroy's provincial administration; and that the Councils of Cairo, with the sole exception of capital sentences, will, in like manner be exempted from subordination to the Supreme Courts at Constantinople. Moreover, if there be any sincerity in the assurances given to me, the Viceroy's reasons for desiring an increase of his army beyond the number assigned to him by the Firman will be considered with every disposition to do them justice; and my present impression is, that His Highness' wishes on that subject, recommended as they are by our support, will meet with at least a partial accomplishment. The only remaining points which, with the exception of the railway, are likely, as far as I am informed, to occasion any serious discussion, will to all appearance admit of arrangement without much difficulty, as soon as the Porte is satisfied on the question of capital punishment. The points to which I particularly allude are the mode of recruitment and term of engagement for military service, as well as the infliction of corporal chastisement by means of the bastinado for minor offences.

With respect to the railway, which makes no part of the Turkish Tanzimat, the difference is rather one of form than of substance. I am authorized by the Grand Vizier to state that the Sultan has no objection whatever to sanction that important enterprise, provided His Majesty's permission be asked, and the expenses be defrayed out of the existing revenue of Egypt.

Now on these two matters of railway and capital punishment, on which it would seem that the future relations of Abbas Pasha are almost entirely to hinge, there is every appearance of a fixed resolution on the part of the Sultan's Government. I see no prospect of success in combating the Porte's objections, unless it can be distinctly shown and maintained that the Viceroy's pretensions as to those points are fully borne out by the terms of the Firman which granted the hereditary administration of Egypt to his family on certain declared conditions.

Let us look first to the railway. I do not think that the Porte can justly maintain the Pasha's obligation to solicit the previous permission of the Sultan for its construction, as one of the express conditions of the Firman. I am of opinion, however, that the concluding paragraph of that instrument affords a sufficient justification of the Porte's demand, inasmuch as it enjoins upon the hereditary Governor to make reports and to apply to Constantinople for orders on such affairs of importance as concern the countries placed under his administration. In point of fact there is reason to believe that such was the view of his duties taken by the Viceroy's grandfather, not indeed with respect to every ordinary road or work of local convenience, but whenever the enterprise in contemplation was one of unusual magnitude and interest. At least I am assured by the Grand Vizier, that when Mehémet Ali was here some years ago he applied personally for the Sultan's permission to construct the Barrage, though it was to be undertaken at the sole expense of Egypt and concerned the interests of that country alone.

It may be said that a railway is nothing more than a road of superior construction. True: but its construction and maintenance would involve an outlay of unusual magnitude. A railway in this country would be an innovation to which some serious considerations, mixed up with much ignorant prejudice, are attached. It would require a more than common degree of attention, skill, and exactness, to carry it out and to keep it up. It would bring the Government into immediate contact with foreign interests, and eventually with foreign exigencies, which it might be equally embarrassing to satisfy or to withstand.

These circumstances, when taken together, constitute a special case; and as the Sultan is ready to give his consent, when asked, I do not see

how we can fairly put a sinister interpretation on His Majesty's demand. It would surely be more reasonable for the Pasha to acquiesce with a good grace. There would be little difficulty in framing his request so as to avoid the establishment of an embarrassing precedent, applicable to ordinary works. I understand from His Highness' Commissioners that the Viceroy, if left to himself, would construct the proposed railway out of his own funds, without resorting to extraordinary means of supply, and that there is no question of any fresh agreement for the use of the road by British subjects. The Pasha might be assured that the good will manifested by him towards British interests would be equally appreciated by Her Majesty's Government, and that he might continue to rely on the support of this Embassy against any unfair encroachments on his authority and privileges. It should not be overlooked that under impressions less favourable to Great Britain, the ruling Viceroy, or his successor, if rendered completely independent of the Sultan as to internal measures, might seek to propitiate certain adverse influences by the adoption of some project, like the Canal, for instance, against which we might have to regret our inability to appeal with consistency to the Porte. Let us remember, finally, that the Supreme Government is stated to be ready, on the above-mentioned conditions, to authorize the construction of a railway through the whole breadth of the Isthmus, instead of confining it, as proposed for the present by Abbas Pasha, to the space which separates Alexandria from Cairo.

The question of capital punishment remains to be considered. Let us examine it without losing sight of its relation to those principles of reform which have been frankly accepted by the Viceroy of Egypt in compliance with the clear, indisputable terms of the Firman. The points of inquiry are simply these. Can the Sultan be fairly expected to delegate the power of life and death irrevocably to his vassal? Does the acceptance of the Tanzimat in principle necessarily involve a relinquishment of that power? Are there sufficient reasons in the interest and moral condition of Egypt to warrant a practical exception in this respect?

To the first of these queries I reply, that among the prerogatives of sovereignty none stands higher as a test of authority and a title to obedience than the right of deciding without appeal on the pardon or execution of convicted criminals. If anything belonging to mortality could be divine, it would be found in this attribute of supreme justice executed in mercy. An anxious responsibility attends the exercise of so awful a power. Its only sure guide is an enlightened conscience acting in the fear of God. How then, in an Imperial point of view, can such a power be irrevocably delegated without some abatement of dignity? How in a moral point of view can it be spontaneously transferred without some dereliction of duty? The urgency of special circumstances, when clear and decided, may indeed warrant an exception; but this consideration will find a more suitable place elsewhere. If it be true, as no doubt it is, that an hereditary absolute Sovereign is one in a succession of equals, and also a depositary of the powers of the State, how can he be expected to transfer without necessity any part of that which it is his business to transmit, how to alienate in favour of a single subject that which he holds immediately in trust for the security of all?

I pass to the second query.

It can hardly be denied that the object of capital punishment is to guard society against crimes directly or indirectly dangerous to its peace and well-being. The acknowledgment of a power to dispose of human life is the greatest sacrifice of natural rights which any community can make for that purpose. The exercise of such power must therefore be a matter of the highest concern, and we know by painful experience what evils have resulted from the abuse of it as well to the Sovereign as to his subjects. Now the very first principles of the Tanzimat, its basis and starting point, is the protection of life. The same revolution which gave new strength to the Sultan's authority, closed with a proclamation which secured the lives and properties of his subjects. The Code of Reform is deduced from that principle; the whole system of improvement rests on it. The control of power with respect to life—the most precious of our

possessions—is in truth the keystone of that arch whose abutments at each extremity are the nation and its Sovereign. How then, I ask, can the infliction of capital punishment be deemed a subordinate part of the Tanzimat? What grounds are there for treating the power of life and death as a mere regulation to be shaped and fashioned according to the taste or convenience of a provincial Governor? To merge the highest prerogative of sovereignty in a mass of legal provisions, to confound an essential principle of reform with the mere details of execution, would in reality argue a perversion of understanding fatal to all confidence, and calculated to defeat even the best of causes. The conclusion is inevitable. The Viceroy of Egypt, in accepting the principles of the Tanzimat, has tacitly resigned his claim to that power, which is an integral part of them. He could not have done otherwise with any shadow of right. By acting as he did he conformed to the obligations of his hereditary post, and fulfilled a condition of its tenure.

Let us now proceed to the third point of inquiry.

The reasons for making an exception in deference to the Pasha's wishes must evidently be strong, if they are to make head against so many cogent objections derived from authority, duty, and right. But it is nevertheless advisable to receive them with indulgence, and to examine them with impartiality, lest the interests of the Empire, whose welfare requires the maintenance of order and good government in all its provinces, should suffer from too rigid an adherence to abstract principles.

Egypt is an extensive region, distant from the Imperial residence, and tenanted for the most part by a barbarous population. The numbers of its dominant race are, moreover, small in proportion to the whole mass of subjects. The traditions of the country are those of arbitrary Government. It happens not unfrequently that the labour has need of coercion to keep him steady to his work. The traveller and the merchant require a vigorous enforcement of justice to protect them from obstruction and plunder.

Such are the circumstances which plead most plausibly for investing Abbas Pasha with the supreme prerogative of life and death. Though offering some reasonable grounds in favour of the desired concession, they cannot be estimated at their just value without reference to other considerations.

In the first place there are provinces of this empire more remote than Egypt from the seat of Government, where nevertheless no such exception is allowed. Egypt, be it remembered, has also the advantage of easy and frequent communication with Constantinople by sea. If the argument of distance were admitted, it would equally hold good between Cairo and the upper province; yet who would think of entrusting the power of life and death to the Mudirs of that country? Not many years have elapsed since all the Governors in Turkey were invested with the same privilege, and the abuses which ensued, while they weakened the central authority and undermined the strength of the Empire, contributed mainly to the introduction of the present system.

Secondly, with respect to the summary repression of rebels and robbers, the Tanzimat itself assigns that power to each provincial Governor, and Abbas Pasha possesses the further advantage of having an army at his disposal, together with means, only limited by his revenue, of organizing an effective police. This force would have little to apprehend from an unarmed peasantry, however numerous.

Thirdly, it may be observed that the power of life and death as claimed by the Viceroy, is not of an arbitrary character. It signifies nothing more than ordering for execution any criminal sentenced to death by regular course of law. The Sultan himself is not at liberty to grant a free pardon to any criminal so condemned, except when the victim of his crime has perished without heirs.

Finally, the population of Egypt, though rude and ignorant, is for the most part an agricultural peasantry, of stationary habits, provided in general with regular means of subsistance, and not more callous than others of their kind to the humanizing effects of mild and equitable treatment.

It seems to result from the whole of these facts and remarks, when taken dispassionately in connexion with the rights and duties of the Sultan, with the interests of the Egyptian Government, with the nature of the country and the character and condition of the people committed to his charge, that the power of life and death, as before explained, though neither due in point of right to Abbas Pasha, nor strictly essential to the efficiency of his administration, might be usefully assigned to His Highness with the view of increasing his consideration and authority; provided the concession were made in such manner as to reconcile it with the just requirements of the Sovereign and the general system of his empire. Considered in this light the question must find its solution in the Councils of the Supreme Government. The Viceroy would evidently place himself in a false position if he were to persist in rejecting a final decision emanating from that quarter. The utmost that British influence can do for him in this respect is to suggest some particular mode of arrangement founded on the above-mentioned principles, and after obtaining his assent, to impress upon the Porte by all suitable means, the propriety and advantage of adopting it.

I have thus endeavoured to prepare you, at some expense of time and thought, for the kind of advice which personal conviction no less than official duty impels me to submit through you to the Viceroy's patient and mature deliberation. His Highness, I am willing to believe, has too much sagacity and judgment to overlook the inherent difficulties of the case, or to expect from me, though representing a Government most friendly to his interests, a greater degree of support than reason and justice can warrant.

Regarding the railway, Abbas Pasha's intended plan might be imparted to the Sultan as a well-matured project, founded on the interests of Egypt, and generally advantageous to commerce. It might be added that the idea had been seriously entertained, nay, partially acted upon by Mehemet Ali; and that the expenses of carrying it into effect would be defrayed out of the ordinary revenues of Egypt. It might further be stated that, considering the cost and signal importance in other respects of the railway, it would nevertheless be highly desirable for the Pasha to enter upon its construction with the approval of His Majesty, to the glory of whose reign, if the Imperial sanction were accorded, the accomplishment of so novel and useful a work would necessarily redound. In this manner I conceive that the Sultan's permission might be asked without disparagement or future inconvenience to the Viceroy.

Respecting capital punishment I must avow my belief that, seeing the Sultan's extreme repugnance to concede that point, the Viceroy would best consult his credit with the Porte, and consequently his true interest, by allowing it to drop. But as it is by no means probable that His Highness will view the matter in this light, I would submit the expediency of giving a temporary or rather conditional character to his request. The Sultan might possibly be induced to grant with certain reserves and limitations what he would have an insuperable objection to abandon altogether. Thus, for example, the penal provisions, as those which more immediately concern the leading points of the Tanzimat, might be left open to revisal at any period, of which due notice should be given within five or ten years; and the Egyptian Government might be bound in the meantime to report to Constantinople, with the necessary documents and explanations, any capital sentence carried into execution by its orders.

The presence of one or two members of Council, named with the Viceroy's approval by the Porte, whenever proceedings should be instituted on a capital charge, might also assist in satisfying the Sultan's conscience. The Mollah who is sent annually from the capital and resides for a twelvemonth at Cairo, might perhaps be entrusted with this duty. Other and preferable expedients for attaining the object in view may possibly be discovered. Those which are here thrown out occur the most readily to my thoughts, and I should rejoice to see them mutually accepted as serving to reconcile the adverse parties on grounds fair to both in the common interest of society and of Government.

Whatever may be the final issue, I hope my efforts to bring the

several questions into a clear light, and to contribute to a fair solution of them will be duly appreciated by the Viceroy. Even British influence cannot be successfully nor indeed quite honestly employed in the teeth of a fixed resolution grounded on just and humane principles. My instructions direct me to support His Highness so far as I can do so with propriety. It is owing to British counsels that the dangers which he saw reason to apprehend from the alleged designs of the Porte and the calumnious intrigues of his adversaries have almost entirely disappeared. What remains to be done, though by no means destitute of importance, presents but little difficulty which a just estimate of conflicting pretensions and common interests may not enable His Highness to overcome.

The more I reflect upon his situation the more I am satisfied that his best security lies in a fair execution of the Firman by which he holds the hereditary Government of Egypt. Whatever he seeks to obtain beyond its limits, equitably interpreted, must increase his dependence either on the Porte or on some foreign Power, whose co-operation would in that case re-act upon the other parties to the existing settlement, and throw their weight into the adverse scale. It is evidently on the same ground that British support can alone be afforded to him with consistency and effect, nor do I feel myself bound, or indeed at liberty to redeem the pledge which you describe "my last despatches" to have given on any other, though it would gratify me to succeed in bringing the Porte by friendly persuasion into a more trustful and cordial concurrence with His Highness' views in all legitimate respects.

Whatever disquieting impressions may be produced upon Fellahs and Arabs by an exaggerated notion of the Tanzimat, the introduction into Egypt of the great and humane principles known under that name is a bygone question, irrevocably settled as a matter of right by the Firman itself. That singular patience and obedience to the existing Government by which you state the Egyptian population to be characterized, will hardly fail it when the local laws are placed in harmony with those of the Empire, and administered with firmness under the twofold sanction of the Sultan and his Viceroy. In penal matters the obligation of waiting for the permission of the religious Chief of the Empire will at most be confined to a warrant for execution in the case of criminals convicted of murder.

With respect to what you state of the exertions of Consuls and others to undermine the Viceroy's confidence in British friendship by ascribing His Highness' vexations about the Tanzimat to the support given by me to Reshid Pasha on that subject, it is no doubt true that I have always favoured and sometimes thought it my duty to recommend the general application of a code which provides for the security of life, property, and honour, as the basis of good administration, essential in principle to social welfare under every form of government, and beneficial in practice everywhere with suitable adaptations to time and circumstance; but I cannot suppose that the Porte would have waited for my encouragement in order to extend the provisions of the Tanzimat to Egypt; nor do I think that the correspondents you mention did much honour to the Viceroy's character by presuming that his confidence in British friendship would be measured by our indifference to the cause of administrative reform in Turkey.

The Porte has not been able to carry its system into effect otherwise than gradually. It has however displayed its resolution to go through with it by overpowering resistance, wherever it has been offered, by force of arms, and incurring no small risk for that purpose in the mountainous and fanatical regions of the Empire. We cannot therefore justly impute any sinister design to the Porte because it would apply the same principles to Egypt now, provided the limitations declared in the Sultan's Firman be duly respected. Although that Firman was not, as you suppose, guaranteed by the European Powers, it was officially communicated to them in such manner as to warrant their interference at least by means of expostulation, in case of any flagrant departure from its leading provisions.

If we could search into the secret thoughts of either party we should

probably discover on each side a tendency to throw off the engagements which restrain both. But it is one thing to wish, and another to act. Sufficient considerations exist under ordinary circumstances to deter the Porte as well as the Pasha, from hurrying into a conflict, regardless of public opinion and of political consequences. In proof of this I appeal to what I have stated above and before.

The time is not yet come for entering into a discussion of the comparative merits of the reformed Turkish and Egyptian Codes. I am unwilling to interfere prematurely in such delicate matters of detail, being sure that the parties are in general best able to understand their own questions, and that the weaker of the two will always apply for my assistance whenever it is really needed.

But I will take this opportunity to observe that your impressions as to the altered state of the Turkish law with respect to cases of murder and homicide appear to rest on no solid foundation. The only changes which I am aware of are those introduced at my solicitation into the firman of criminal procedure addressed to the Pasha of Egypt, whereby special provision is made for the above-mentioned cases, according to the ancient practice, except in so far as the presence and consent of the Consul are prescribed in trials affecting the life of a foreigner.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 53.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 9.)

Sir, *Therapia, June* 26, 1851.

WHEN I addressed you on the 18th instant I proposed to forward my despatch of that date to Alexandria by Her Majesty's steam-ship "Growler," now in attendance near the Dardanelles. The execution of my intention was postponed by further personal communications which took place respectively between the Viceroy's Commissioner, the Grand Vizier, and myself. Previous to those communications, the Commissioners gave in the paper which they had prepared on the subject of capital punishment and some other questions of minor importance. Subsequently the Turkish Commissioners gave in their reply on the question of capital punishment. Of these two papers I inclose herewith translated copies for your information. Their general character is that of confidential pleadings; their tone, though somewhat decisive on the side of the Porte, is indicative of no asperity.

With respect to the intermediate interviews, their principal objects, in so far as I am concerned, were, first, to ascertain the real state of purpose on either side on the two important questions of railway and capital punishment; and secondly, to sound the respective parties as to how far it might be practicable to reconcile the conflicting views.

On these two questions I found Reshid Pasha in principle resolved, and the Commissioners more desirous of doing justice to the Viceroy's pretensions than sanguine of success. I had no hesitation therefore in trying to make an opening for compromise in the manner and to the degree already traced out in my preceding despatch.

My persuasion as to the railway is that what I have there suggested would meet with no decided difficulty if it were put forward in a distinct shape with the Viceroy's consent. That the Sultan's permission would follow can hardly be doubted, as the Grand Vizier has repeated his assurance to me explicitly in His Majesty's name, with the addition that the Porte itself would contribute if necessary to the accomplishment of the work. The only apparent point of doubt is the acceptance of anything short of a frank application for the Sultan's permission.

Concerning capital punishment I entertain a hope that the Porte might be prevailed on to leave the desired power in the Viceroy's hands under limitations like those which I have described elsewhere. But I

could not venture to answer for succeeding even to that degree; and my conviction that it will be most advisable for the Viceroy either to give up the point at once with a good grace, or to authorize its relinquishment in case of failure in proposing the alternative, is still unchanged.

I have reason to believe that the two Commissioners are disposed to intimate a similar opinion to the Viceroy.

The Grand Vizier sent me word to-day, that if reference were made to Egypt he would lay my suggestions before the Council and Sultan, not being at liberty to decide upon them himself.

It would be superfluous to repeat what I have stated in my preceding despatch with respect to other questions. I have the satisfaction however to add that the assurances which I was authorized to give are confirmed. I have further to state that the Porte is prepared to allow of an addition to the Pasha's army on the score of Nubia, and its amount may thus be carried from 18,000, as allowed by the Firman, to 25,000 or 26,000 men. His Highness will also be at liberty to organize an extensive police, and if he were to take an example from England, he might in that manner afford a strong additional safeguard for the stability of his Government and the defence of the country.

Under these circumstances I revert to my original intention of sending the "Growler" to Alexandria, and I shall request Captain Stoddart to wait there a reasonable time for your replies. I have no doubt that you will feel the importance of putting me as soon as possible in possession of the Viceroy's definitive intentions. Meanwhile I conceive that a favourable impression may be made upon His Highness by this demonstration of the interest which we take in his behalf.

Since making up my mind on this point I have learnt from Abdurrahman Bey that the two Pashas, after receiving the Council's reply, determined on sending him to Cairo with their reports, and such additional explanations as the personal knowledge which he has obtained of passing occurrences enable him to afford.

My first impression on learning this intention was a doubt of its expediency as conveying an appearance of interruption in the proceedings of the Commission, which is expressly understood to be continued conditionally with respect to secondary points, notwithstanding the reference to Egypt. But further conversation with Abdurrahman Bey sufficed to satisfy me that his personal representations would be likely to assist you powerfully in making a salutary impression on the Viceroy's mind, and reconciling him to those admissions by which alone he can hope to secure the advantages resulting from our friendly support.

It is probable that my correspondence, however confidential, might be consigned with safety to his charge. But reasons not difficult to be conjectured, incline me to forward them by a gentleman attached to Her Majesty's Embassy, and Mr. Doria is consequently instructed by me to embark this evening in the Egyptian steam-vessel returning with Abdurrahman Bey, and on reaching the Dardanelles to proceed in Her Majesty's ship "Growler" to Alexandria, whence he will go on without delay to deliver the despatches into your hands.

He is directed to hold himself at your disposal on reaching Cairo, and if you can succeed in sending me the Viceroy's decision within a week or ten days after his arrival, I submit to your judgment whether it may not be advisable for him to remain in Egypt for a later occasion of communicating with me by such means of conveyance as may require the addition of a trustworthy hand.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 53.

The Egyptian Commissioners to the Privy Council.

[See Inclosure in No. 48.]

Inclosure 4 in No. 53.

The Privy Council to the Egyptian Commissioners.

[See Inclosure 6 in No. 52.]

Inclosure 5 in No. 53.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 10.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 27, 1851.*

YOUR despatch No. 10, of the 7th instant, including copy of a despatch addressed by you to Viscount Palmerston two days before, was delivered to me this morning by the Commander of the Egyptian steam-vessel "Reshid."

I sent you last night so full an account of the state of the Egyptian discussions in so far as it is known to me, that I have now but little to write beyond a bare acknowledgment of your last communications. The general tenor of what I had previously written will I trust have the effect of tranquillizing the Viceroy's mind, and convincing His Highness that although I may not agree with him in all points, or command the means of gratifying his wishes to their full extent, I have shown no indifference to his interests, but on the contrary have exerted British influence on his behalf, whenever I could reasonably do so with a fair measure of success.

I quite agree with you as to the advantage of bringing the present discussions to an early, provided it be a satisfactory, decision, and also as to the confidence which may be placed in the personal qualities and dispositions of Edhem Pasha, whose merits are no less appreciated by the Grand Vizier than by us. An early decision is not likely to be hastened either by the pending reference to Egypt or by the approaching month of Ramazan. Much will doubtless depend on the course to be taken by the Viceroy with respect to capital punishment and asking permission for the railway.

The French Minister has had several interviews with Edhem Pasha and his colleague. I am assured that his guarded insinuations against the railway have produced no serious impression on their minds.

You observe in your despatch to Lord Palmerston, that Abbas Pasha entertains more suspicion than I do of the Porte's intentions towards him and Egypt. Nothing can be more natural. He looks on a danger magnified by his fears. I view the same contingency through a less distrusting medium, and I take into account those motives of policy and prudence which restrain the movements of passion and interest.

I reserve my observations on the removal of the Sheriff of Mecca. Meanwhile I do not see any necessary connexion between his disgrace and the stability of the Viceroy's just authority.

It is but fair to admit that the arrival of His Highness' malcontent relations at Constantinople is not without its inconveniences. In truth it was a choice of evils, and the Pasha in choosing the least only did that which wiser men would have done in his place.

The matter of the silver fountain shall be duly attended to.

The reduction of the Viceroy's army to the amount prescribed by the Sultan's Firman is not a matter of choice on His Highness' part Should the Porte insist, his refusal would be a breach of the conditions on

which he holds the government of Egypt, and consequently an act of forfeiture. I have already told you in what manner and degree the Porte is inclined to allow the present increase of his military force to be maintained, and something more might perhaps be gained, if it were thought desirable, in that respect.

I regret to observe that you hold the organization of a more numerous and effective police to be impracticable in Egypt. I had strongly recommended its adoption to the Egyptian Commissioners without being aware of Lord Palmerston's opinion in favour of it. The Viceroy would do well to apply his serious thoughts to this question. I greatly doubt whether the Porte would ever consent to exempt its subjects from enlistment on account of their serving in the Egyptian police.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S. *June* 29.—The Viceroy's Commissioners called on me this morning to say that His Highness had directed them to thank me for the support which I had given to his interests, and to declare that they were authorized to take my advice on every occasion of difficulty. They performed this duty with so much appearance of good will that I am warranted in believing that their own inclinations went with it, which is so far satisfactory as it shows the impression which my communications have made on their minds, and encourages a hope that they have kept faith in their reports to Egypt and thereby promoted the effect of your influence on the Viceroy.

The meetings of the Commission are to continue, though Ramazan is a serious impediment to their progress, and I advised the Pashas to get on as fast as they could with the secondary points.

S. C.

Inclosure 6 in No. 53.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 10.)

Damietta, June 7, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE little to add to the contents of my despatch to Lord Palmerston of the 3rd instant, copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

My boat being moored at the mouth of the Nile very near to that of the Viceroy, I have opportunities of seeing him every day, and as His Highness communicates to me all the information that reaches him from Constantinople, I am enabled to form a tolerably accurate judgment of the progress of the pending discussion with the Sublime Porte.

The substance of this information leads me to believe that Artin Bey enjoys much more favour and influence at the Divan than they choose to admit to your Excellency, and he will doubtless use as his tools all those foolish and discontented members of Mehemet Ali's family who are going or gone to Constantinople to abuse and if possible to overthrow Abbas.

As far as capacity or character are concerned they will soon find their proper level, but if the intentions of the Sublime Porte continue unfriendly towards Abbas, it will not scruple to take up their real or supposed grievances.

Of one thing I feel tolerably sure, and that is, that if the pending discussion cannot be settled by the mission of Edhem Pasha, it will not be settled amicably between the Viceroy and the present Administration at the Sublime Porte; for Edhem Pasha is certainly the most moderate, intelligent, and well-informed of all the public employés here.

I am requested by the Viceroy again to solicit your friendly offices in supporting the reasonable objections made by his Commissioners to the introduction of those clauses into the new Egyptian Code which would interrupt the present prosperous course of internal organization, weaken his authority, endanger the security of life and property, and by giving the Sublime Porte a pretext for meddling in all the details of revenue

and administration, would perpetuate these discussions and disputes which are equally vexatious to both Governments.

The construction of the railroad and the disposition which His Highness has always shown to favour English commerce and interests has estranged him entirely from the French, and he openly avows that he looks to the legitimate and generous support of England as his protection from the plots and intrigues directed against him.

I am just about to deliver to the Viceroy a letter from the Capitan Pasha forwarded to me from the British Consulate at Constantinople with a translation inclosed.

I confess to your Excellency that although I am in no way answerable for its contents, I am ashamed to be the bearer of such a document.

Your Excellency is aware that upwards of a year ago the Viceroy made a present to the Sultan of a large steam-frigate now called "Mahberi Suroor," which cost him 120,000*l.* sterling.

It was sent under the charge of an English engineer named Armstrong, who has remained ever since in the service of the Sublime Porte, and who, according to this letter, has given entire satisfaction.

The term of his contract having expired, and he wishing to return to England, the Turkish Government instead of making him (as they should have done) a handsome present, have refused to pay him a farthing of his wages previous to arrival at Stamboul, and have sent him here to be paid the remainder of the contract by the Viceroy.

Indeed it is evident that the Turkish Government hope to evade paying him anything at all, for the letter says, "should your Highness not be pleased to allow him the sum due to him for the time he has been employed here, I beg you to pay him, and let me know that I may refund it to your banker."

I never remember to have read of so mean and sordid a requital for so magnificent a present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 7 in No. 53.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 11.)

Therapia, June 30, 1851.

Sir,

IN consequence of the very strong expressions which in your last despatch to me you have applied to the letter respecting a British engineer named Armstrong, addressed by the Captain Pasha to His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt, I thought it right to apply for information to Her Majesty's Consul-General, through whose office you stated the letter in question to have been sent.

I now transmit herewith for your information, the answer and inclosed memorial which I have received from Mr. Cumberbatch, and I think you will agree with me that the transaction when thus explained is greatly, if not entirely divested of that "mean and sordid" character which you have been led by your first impressions to assign to it.

Should you have reason to think that Abbas Pasha partakes of those impressions, I would suggest the propriety of your putting His Highness in possession of the accompanying documents.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 8 in No. 53.

Consul-General Cumberbatch to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 27.)

Constantinople, June 28, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch No. 6, of yesterday's date.

I beg in reply to state that I have never made any communication whatever to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt respecting the case of John Armstrong.

John Armstrong addressed a memorial to me some time ago, inclosing a contract, in original, which he had entered into with the Egyptian Government to serve for two years as engineer up to the month of July 1851. After the "Sharkie" screw steam-frigate came here, John Armstrong was sent by the Egyptian Government to put up some machinery in her, and remain so long as his services were required. He executed this order punctually, but he could never obtain any payment either from the Egyptian Government or from the Turkish Admiralty; he therefore requested, as he had completed his work, that the Capitan Pasha would give him a certificate of discharge, that thus he might be enabled to return to Egypt and obtain payment of his wages, &c., according to his contract. The request appeared to me to be reasonable and just, and I instructed Mr. Chabert to represent the circumstances to the Capitan Pasha, and if his services were no longer wanted, to give him the document he required. He did so and I delivered it to Mr. Armstrong.

For your Excellency's further information on the subject, I transmit copies of all the papers relating to the case in my possession.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CARLTON CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 9 in No. 53.

Mr. Armstrong to Consul-General Cumberbatch.

Constantinople, April 9, 1851.

Sir,

THE Undersigned most respectfully begs to state that on the 1st of July, 1849, he entered into a contract with the Egyptian Government to serve on board their screw steam-frigate "Sharkie" in the capacity of chief engineer for the term of two years beginning from that date. On the 20th of October of the same year, when on a voyage with the said vessel from Alexandria to Constantinople, an accident occurred, which occasioned the loss of part of her propeller. Some time after the return of the said vessel to Alexandria, the Undersigned was sent by the orders of the Egyptian authorities to Grand Cairo to superintend the making of some new machinery for the said vessel.

During his stay in that city the "Sharkie" frigate was sent under sail to Constantinople. The Undersigned was then recalled to Alexandria, and received orders to proceed after the frigate to Constantinople, with the following instructions, to fix the new propeller (then just arrived from England) and to put the other machinery in order, and remain with the said frigate until the Turkish Government required my services no longer.

He has repeatedly written officially to the Turkish authorities representing to them how he was situated, that he considered his instructions from the Egyptian Government had been fully executed, and has also asked to be provided with a written certificate to verify the same, and if they could yet dispense with his services, that he might return to Alexandria to recover the arrears of his salary. He begs to state that he has written many times to the same Egyptian authorities that sent him here, and to the guarantee of his contract, for instructions, but has never succeeded in receiving a letter from any one concerned in acknowledgment

to his inquiries. He, not knowing of any other alternative, has decided upon laying this statement before you, the British Consul-General in this place, and most humbly begs your advice and interference in obtaining from the proper authorities that justice which he himself cannot obtain of his own accord. He also begs to state that there are eleven months' arrears of salary due to him, he not having been paid up before leaving Alexandria, as he always expected to have been sent back many months ago to receive his salary in that place.

Your, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Referred to Mr. Chabert to represent these circumstances to the Capitan Pasha on the part of the Consulate, and to apply for a certificate of discharge from his Excellency, in order that the petitioner may be free to return to Alexandria to recover eleven months' arrears of wages which are due to him by the Egyptian Government.

(Signed) A. CARLTON CUMBERBATCH.
Consul-General.

Pera, April 9, 1851.

Executed.

(Signed) ROBERT CHABERT.

Pera, May 12, 1851.

Inclosure 10 in No. 53.

The Capitan Pasha to Abbas Pasha.

(Translation.)

7 Rejeb, 1267. (*May* 8, 1851.)

I HAVE the honour to state to your Highness that Mr. John Armstrong, the chief engineer of the "Mohberi Suroor" (Sharkié), a steam-boat of the Imperial Navy, has been caused some time ago by your Highness' orders and in virtue of a contract, to come from England to Egypt, where he has been employed; and now as the time of his service according to contract is at an end, he has represented that he is going back to his country, and begged that his accumulated salary should be paid to him.

As the aforesaid contract is unknown to the Admiralty, we told him that we will give him only 32,340 piastres, being the amount of the salary due to him for his services since the arrival of the said steamer here. But he did not choose to accept it, and he asked permission to return to Egypt to receive from your Highness the whole salary, in conformity to the contract which has been made in consequence of your orders.

The permission has been given him and he is therefore going to Egypt.

As Mr. John Armstrong is a man of talent and skill, and he has during the time he has been employed here caused great satisfaction both to the navy officers and to myself, it depends upon your Highness to settle his accounts according to the contract; and should your Highness be not pleased to allow him the sum above-mentioned which is due to him for the time he has been employed here, I beg you will have the goodness to pay it to him in order not to retain him, and please to let me know of it that I may refund that sum to your banker here.

On taking cognizance of the contents of this letter your Highness will give on this occasion such orders as it belongs to him to give.

(L.S.) SULIMAN.

Inclosure 11 in No. 53.

Concluding Paragraph of the Firman of February 13, 1841.

TELLE étant ma volonté suprême sur tous les points ci-dessus énoncés, toi, tes enfans et tes descendans, reconnaissans de cette haute faveur souveraine, vous vous empresserez toujours à exécuter scrupuleusement les conditions établies, vous vous garderez bien d'y contrevenir, vous aurez soin d'assurer le repos et la tranquillité des Egyptiens, en les mettant à l'abri de toutes injures et de toutes vexations; vous ferez des rapports ici et demanderez des ordres sur les affaires importantes qui concernent ces pays-là, étant à ces fins que le présent Firman Impérial, qui est orné de mon rescrit souverain, a été écrit et vous est envoyé.

No. 54.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 192.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 21, 1851.*

IT appears from your Excellency's despatch No. 200, of the 18th of June, that the Porte is disposed to insist upon the application to Egypt of that provision of the Tanzimat which requires that every capital sentence should be submitted for the approval of the Sultan before it is carried into execution.

I have to state to your Excellency in regard to this point, that it seems not unreasonable that the Sovereign of an empire should require that none of his subjects should be put to death without his own special authority; and there does not appear to be any strong reason why this regulation, which now subsists in other parts of the Turkish Empire, should not be applied to Egypt. The distance of Egypt from Constantinople is not much greater than that of other districts in which this regulation prevails; and if this regulation is not found incompatible with the maintenance of order among the Arab tribes in Asia Minor, there seems no evident reason why it should not be applicable to the Arabs of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 55.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 11.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 21, 1851.*

IT appears from a despatch which I have received from Sir Stratford Canning, dated the 18th of June, that the Porte is disposed to insist upon the application to Egypt of that provision of the Tanzimat which requires that every capital sentence should be submitted for the approval of the Sultan before it is carried into execution.

I have to instruct you in regard to this point, to represent to Abbas Pasha that it seems not unreasonable that the Sovereign of an empire should require that none of his subjects should be put to death without his own special authority; and there does not appear to be any strong reason why this regulation which now subsists in other parts of the Turkish Empire should not be applied to Egypt. The distance of Egypt from Constantinople is not much greater than that of other districts in which this regulation prevails; and if this regulation is not found incom-

patible with the maintenance of order among the Arab tribes in Asia Minor, there seems no evident reason why it should not be applicable to the Arabs of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 56.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 12.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 21, 1851.*

I INCLOSE for your information copies of two despatches* which I addressed to Sir Stratford Canning on the 9th instant, giving him an account of conversations which I had had with M. Musurus and with Nubar Bey, respecting the matters now in discussion between the Porte and Abbas Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 57.

Mr. Addington to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

Foreign Office, July 23, 1851.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to instruct you to endeavour to ascertain how many persons have been executed in Egypt during the last five years for highway robbery.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

No. 58.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 195.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 24, 1851.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 214, of the 4th instant, inclosing copies of your correspondence with Mr. Murray, respecting the discussions now pending between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt.

I have already expressed to your Excellency, in my despatch No. 192, of the 21st instant, the opinion of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the demand of the Porte that capital sentences should not be carried into execution in Egypt without previous reference to the Sultan.

The prerogative of deciding to extend or not to extend pardon to persons convicted of crimes and sentenced to death is an essential attribute of the sovereign power in a State. That sovereign power may indeed delegate the exercise of that attribute in particular cases to its responsible officers; but it is fully entitled to resume it and to take it again into its own hands whenever it thinks fit to do so.

In former times the Pashas governing Turkish provinces were invested by the Sultan with a large share of this prerogative; and this delegated authority was then exercised by the Pasha of Egypt in the same manner as by the Pashas of other provinces. In the other provinces that delegated power has been taken back by the Sovereign of the Empire; and there can be no reason founded upon the principle of sovereign rights,

* See Nos. 49, 50.

why Egypt should in this respect be an exception to the rule which now prevails in other provinces of Turkey.

As to the arguments alleged on the ground of expediency, with a view to show that it would be more conducive to the maintenance of tranquillity and order in Egypt that this delegated authority should still continue to be exercised by the Pasha, those arguments do not appear to Her Majesty's Government to have any very conclusive force.

But the real fact evidently seems to be, that the two parties in this discussion are swayed by a motive which neither of them has avowed. The Sultan wishes to withdraw this delegated authority from the Pasha, because the Sultan considers it, and justly, as a sort of emblem of independent authority; and the Pasha clings to it for the same reason. But it was no part of the arrangement of 1841, nor was it then, nor is it now, the wish or interest of the British Government that the Pasha of Egypt should slide into independence. Egypt is an integral part of the Turkish Empire, and such it is the interest of Great Britain that it should remain.

With regard to the proposed railway in Egypt, the views of Her Majesty's Government have been clearly expressed by me in my conversations with M. Musurus, of which I gave your Excellency an account in my despatch No. 176 of the 9th instant; and with respect to the concluding passage in the Firman of investiture to which your Excellency refers in your despatch No. 214, and which requires the Pasha of Egypt to communicate with the Sultan, and ask his orders on such important affairs as regards Egypt, that passage can only in reason be considered as applicable to matters which, internally or externally, would have an important political bearing on the condition of Egypt as a part of the Turkish Empire; and can scarcely be construed as applying to so simple a domestic improvement as the construction of a railway. A ship-canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, if such a work were practicable, would be a different thing; and it is needless to point out how such a work, changing as it would the relative position of some of the maritime Powers of Europe towards each other, would involve the possibility of political consequences of great importance, and might seriously affect the foreign relations of the Turkish Empire.

With respect to the difficulty which the Egyptian Government says it would experience in finding in Egypt proper persons to be employed in a police force similar to that which exists in England, that statement seems to be founded upon the same kind of prejudice against all innovation, which leads unenlightened men in this country frequently to object to improvements, upon the plea that such improvements may do very well elsewhere, but are neither suited to, nor practicable in, the particular place where the objectors reside.

It appears, however, from your Excellency's despatches lately received, that upon two of the above-mentioned points, namely, the amount of military force to be maintained in Egypt, and the construction of the railway, an understanding is likely to be come to between the Porte and the Pasha. The Porte seems to be willing to allow the Pasha to maintain, for the present at least, 24,000 or 26,000 men, instead of 18,000; and as to the railway, the Porte does not object to the work, but only requires that its own consent should be given.

It would surely be possible in regard to this latter matter, that the Porte should write to the Pasha, stating that having been informed that he intended to make a railway between Alexandria and Cairo, it (the Porte) very much approves of such an undertaking, as likely to be beneficial to the Province of Egypt, and that consequently the Sultan encourages the Pasha to begin and to complete with as little delay as possible so useful an improvement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 59.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 13.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 24, 1851.*

I INCLOSE for your information a copy of a despatch* which I have this day addressed to Sir Stratford Canning, and which will be forwarded to Constantinople on the 28th instant, respecting the questions under discussion between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 60.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 17.)

My Lord, *Cairo, July 12, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 10, dated June 24, 1851, intimating to me that the Viceroy's apprehensions of the designs of the Sublime Porte either in respect of military or naval armaments are under the present circumstances altogether groundless, the purport of which despatch I have communicated to His Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 61.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 18.)

My Lord, *Kafr Maggiar, July 16, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the contract for the engineering department of the Cairo and Alexandria railroad was signed and executed on the 12th instant, between Stephan Bey, Minister of the Foreign Department, acting on behalf of the Viceroy, and Mr. Borthwick, acting on behalf of Robert Stephenson, Esq., M.P.

According to the terms of the contract, the completion of the line is contemplated within the space of three years.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 62.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 15.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 4, 1851.*

I HAVE to instruct you to report to me what are the crimes which in Egypt are punishable with death, and how many men have been condemned to death in the last five years, and in what manner? You will also state in what cases the Sultan, either directly by his own act, or by the authority which he may delegate to the Governor of a province, can according to the Mahomedan law remit or commute a sentence of death pronounced by a court of justice?

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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* See No. 58.

No. 63.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 204.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 4, 1851.*

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, recommending that some of the ships of Admiral Sir W. Parker's squadron should in the course of the present summer visit Alexandria and communicate with Mr. Murray.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 64.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. U. A. Murray.

(No. 14.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 4, 1851.*

I INCLOSE for your information a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, recommending that some of the ships of Admiral Sir William Parker's squadron should in the course of the present summer visit Alexandria and communicate with you.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 65.

Viscount Palmerston to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords, *Foreign Office, August 4, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to state to your Lordships that the Pasha of Egypt has at length determined to carry into execution a project long entertained for the construction of a railway between Alexandria and Cairo, but that there is reason to suppose that intrigues are being actively carried on at Constantinople to thwart the Pasha's designs in this respect.

It appears, however, to Her Majesty's Government, that the completion of the proposed railway would be very advantageous to British interests, and that the pretension of the Turkish Government to interfere with the Pasha's execution of it is wholly untenable.

Under these circumstances Her Majesty's Government conceive that it would be useful, with a view to give encouragement and moral support to Abbas Pasha in going on with this railway, that Admiral Sir William Parker's squadron or some of the line-of-battle ships under his orders should, as early as may be consistent with the other arrangements of the service, visit Alexandria, and communicate with Mr. Murray, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General.

Such a visit of compliment, as an indication of the interest which Her Majesty's Government take in the affair of the railway, and of their friendly feeling towards the Pasha, would in the present state of things be very useful.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 66.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 5.)

(No. 224.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July 10, 1851.*

THE day after the departure of our last messenger for Malta, I heard from Mr. Murray in reply to my despatch of the 4th ultimo, a copy of which was transmitted to your Lordship at the time.

Mr. Murray's reports are numbered from 11 to 14, both inclusively, and I doubt not that copies of them have been forwarded to your Lordship's office direct from Egypt. They relate respectively to the Porte's demand that Abbas Pasha should apply for permission to make the proposed railway; to the defection of Mustapha Bey from His Highness' confidence; to certain clauses of the Penal Code which are now under discussion here; and finally, to rumours prevailing at Cairo of the Viceroy's impending disgrace.

Copies of my answers are inclosed herewith. Besides being pressed for time when I wrote them, I purposely confined myself to essential points, and avoided as much as possible an exciting or controversial tone. The matters under consideration are so delicate, the elements of angry and compromising antagonism so rife, and the consequences of a rupture so hazardous, that I feel myself bound not only to conduct the proceedings with temper and scrupulous equity, but to repress every opposite tendency on the part of those who are engaged in the same discussions. It was the more easy for me to keep these duties in view when writing to Mr. Murray, as in my previous correspondence with that gentleman I had gone so thoroughly over the principal ground of debate.

Within the last two or three days I have had further communications as well with the Grand Vizier as with the Viceroy's Commissioners. Conversing with Reshid Pasha, I had principally in view to rouse him to a just sense of the impropriety and discredit attaching to those appearances of intrigue which mingle but too much of late with the Porte's Egyptian policy, and to bring him more completely into a state of mind favourable to the acceptance of such modified compliances as the Viceroy, on being made acquainted by Mr. Murray with my suggestions, might possibly instruct his Commissioners to propose. I dwelt in particular on the intrigues attributed to Artin Bey and Kiamil Pasha, on the treacherous behaviour of Mustapha Bey, and on the calumnious reports disseminated against Abbas Pasha by such of his relations as had arrived at Constantinople. I repeated my admonitions with respect to the language of the French party, and to the hazards which the Porte would infallibly incur either by travelling out of the Firman of investiture, or by frustrating the just expectations of Her Majesty's Government concerning the railway. The Grand Vizier repeated his former conditional assurances; he utterly denied that the suggestions of a third party would induce the Sultan to withhold his assent from the railway; he confirmed his former declaration that he was ready to give Artin Bey an appointment beyond the frontier, and he showed even some degree of willingness to discourage the arrival of Mustapha Bey at Constantinople under the present circumstances. I must observe at the same time that my satisfaction rather than his own conviction appeared to lie at the root of his concessions, and I am not without some degree of apprehension that he may have committed himself to the Sultan more than he chooses to avow.

The language of the Egyptian Commissioners was so far satisfactory, as it showed a spirit of accommodation on their part as to the pending differences; a clear sense of their difficulties under the firman when fairly interpreted; a frank reliance on Her Majesty's Embassy; and an apparent absence of subterfuge or trickery. They appeared to be free from all exaggerated alarm; they expressed no wish to detain Mustapha

Bey in Egypt; they described the Tanzimat discussions as advancing, though very slowly; and they put me freely in possession of that report of their's to Abbas Pasha of which Mr. Murray had sent me a portion. A complete translation of the papers in question is inclosed herewith, and your Lordship will observe with satisfaction that it does not describe Aali Pasha as having assented to the French Envoy's animadversions on the proposed railway.

Upon the whole, my Lord, though I can neither assume the responsibility of asserting that all will go right to the close of this very delicate negotiation, nor deny that there are numerous appearances of intrigue and ill-will amongst those who take part in it on the side of the Porte, I am persuaded that the Viceroy's true interest and fairest prospect of security lies in an undeviating adherence to the terms of the Firman; and that the Grand Vizier, however willing to take advantage of his lapses, will not venture to retract any pledge which he has given to me unless an occasion be furnished by the Viceroy himself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 66.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 12.)

Sir, *Therapia, July 7, 1851.*

YOUR despatches from No. 11 to No. 14, both inclusive, reached me yesterday at a late hour of the evening. The Egyptian steamer "Reshid," which I thought was to start to-morrow, is ordered to go to sea this evening, and I doubt whether it will be possible for me to have any communication with the Viceroy's Commissioners before its departure. Two despatches (Nos. 10 and 11) which I had previously prepared for you are on their way to the Pashas with a request that they may be forwarded by the present opportunity.

The Grand Vizier had apprized me of Mustapha Bey's desire to visit Constantinople. Halim Bey and Rifaat Bey appear to have made a similar request. Whatever may be the cause of these applications I have endeavoured to dissuade the Grand Vizier from consenting to them under the present circumstances. It remains to be seen whether my representations will have the desired effect.

With respect to the railway, your statement that its construction is not commenced in Egypt, and the preparatory arrangements are undertaken exclusively in England, will I trust suffice to divert the Porte from committing itself to any overt act of objection or of protest before I receive Lord Palmerston's answer to my despatches of the 4th ultimo, or your report of the Viceroy's decision with reference to my suggestions by Mr. Doria.

You are no doubt alive to the difference which obviously exists between objecting to a measure and requiring that permission should be asked for its execution; between receiving an intriguer's information and following his advice; between the opposition of any foreign agent and its successful result. Bearing these just distinctions in mind, you will not expect me to go again over the ground which I have beaten in previous parts of my correspondence.

Whether the Porte be sincere or not, I trust that with your assistance I shall eventually succeed in bringing about such an arrangement of the existing differences between the Sultan and his Viceroy as may do justice to both parties and fulfil the views of Her Majesty's Government. You will, I am sure, be as anxious as I can be to avoid giving a tone of controversy without necessity to our correspondence on this subject.

The recent invitation of Artin Bey to a banquet with the occasion of which he had no connexion was certainly a misplaced compliment to that

individual, and I did not conceal my surprise and disapprobation from the Grand Vizier. It may be observed at the same time that among the guests at that banquet was also a member of the Council who had been dismissed from high office not many days before, and present with him was one of the most devoted partisans of Russia, whose frequent access to Reshid Pasha and favour in matters of personal distinction have certainly nothing whatever to do with the exercise of political influence.

Some passages of your despatch No. 14 to Viscount Palmerston and its inclosure will call for a few words of comment from me the next time I have occasion to address his Lordship on Egyptian affairs.

For the moment I confine myself to remarking that you appear to be mistaken as to the Barrage, for the commencement of which I repeat that Mehemet Ali himself solicited in person, as I am assured, the Sultan's permission; and further, that you entirely overlook the concluding paragraph of the Sultan's Firman, by which Mehemet Ali and his successors are formally enjoined to apply to Constantinople for orders on every important matter concerning Egypt. I have to add that in mentioning the Egyptian fortifications in your despatch No. 6 of this year to me, you state in distinct terms your impression that the Sultan's sanction must have been given to their construction.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 66.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 13.)

Sir, *Therapia, July 7, 1851.*

THE endeavour which I made to communicate with the Viceroy's Commissioners while writing to you this morning, enables me to inform you on the authority of the gentleman whom I sent to them, that they do not appear to entertain the immediate alarms expressed in your despatch No. 14 of this year; that they have acknowledged in their report of to-day to the Viceroy the advantage which they have derived from my support; that they manifested no desire to engage my exertions in preventing the arrival of Mustapha Bey at Constantinople; and that they look upon the dismissal of the late Sheriff of Mecca as a matter foreign to their functions and originating, partly at least, in circumstances unconnected with Egypt.

They have had two meetings with the Turkish Commissioners since the departure of Abdurrahman Bey. Some secondary points of the Tanzimat have been discussed with a view to adjustment, and the dilatory progress of the proceedings may be sufficiently accounted for by the annoyances of Ramazan and the well-known habits of Turkish diplomacy.

That the French Legation is more or less active in raising obstructions to the railway cannot be doubted. The Commissioners, however, deny any knowledge of the Porte's assent to their objections, and you are already aware how distinctly the Grand Vizier has assured me in the Sultan's name that far from making difficulties to its construction, the Porte would be ready to assist if necessary in carrying it out from one side of the Isthmus to the other, provided the Sultan's permission were asked, and the expenses defrayed out of the ordinary revenues of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 66.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 14.)

Therapia, July 7, 1851.

Sir,

THOUGH perfectly well aware of the difficulty attending any unusual employment of the steamers which serve in the Red Sea, I have received so pressing an application from the Grand Vizier for the use of a British steam-vessel to convey the newly-appointed Sheriff of Mecca to Djedda, that I cannot with prudence or propriety decline to exert my good offices for that purpose, the more so as I am given to understand that the accommodation thus solicited would be particularly agreeable to the Sultan.

I request therefore that you will have the goodness to make application in the proper quarter on my behalf, that you will apprize me of the result by an early opportunity, and that in case of a successful one, you will let me know at what time the Sheriff and his suite ought to leave the capital in order to reach their port of embarkation at the appointed time.

The new Sheriff is Ahmed Mutalid Effendi, an intelligent and liberal-minded man, of Arabian origin, who has resided at Constantinople for many years and with whom I had occasion to have some personal communication last year.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 66.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 15.)

Therapia, July 7, 1851.

Sir,

YOU may assure the Viceroy of Egypt that my assiduous attention shall be given to the two penal clauses of the Tanzimat which at His Highness' request you have brought under my notice in your despatch No. 13 of this year.

Should Edhem Pasha apply for my support with respect to them, I shall be happy to find myself at liberty, on due acquaintance with the points in question, to place them in the light required by the interests of Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 5 in No. 66.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 16.)

Therapia, July 14, 1851.

Sir,

THE Captain of the Egyptian steamer appointed to start on its return to Alexandria in the course of the day, having called for any despatches which I may wish to forward, I avail myself of the opportunity to inform you of two or three particulars arising out of interviews which I have had with Edhem Pasha and the Grand Vizier respectively since I last wrote to you on the 7th instant.

I learn from the former that of the two penal clauses recommended to my attention by Abbas Pasha, one is settled and the other suspended. It appears to me that the suspended one may be generally recommended in the Egyptian sense, and I hope therefore to have the pleasure of affording

the Viceroy's Commissioners my support in that respect at the proper time. Edhem Pasha having communicated to me a copy of his report to the Viceroy on the subject of M. de Lavalette's conversations, I am happy to find no confirmation of the language attributed to Aali Pasha respecting the railway in that translation of the report which was forwarded to me by you.

From the Grand Vizier I have received a fresh confirmation in positive terms of the Sultan's readiness to give his immediate sanction to the construction of the railway, on permission being asked and assurance given that the expense will be defrayed out of the ordinary revenue of the province.

I had endeavoured, with every appearance of success, to dissuade His Highness from encouraging Mustapha Bey's departure from Egypt under the present circumstances; but I am informed that he is already arrived at Smyrna, and perhaps by this time on the Bosphorus also.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 6 in No. 66.

Edhem Pasha to Abbas Pasha.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

8 Shaban, 1267. (June 8, 1851.)

WE paid a visit to the French Minister, M. de Lavalette, and many words passed. He said that although while France had been so long the faithful friend of Egypt, a little coldness had been latterly shown on the part of Egypt, yet he felt that France did look to things of a personal character, but, steady to her old policy, would not be wanting in protecting the rights of Egypt; and that he, as Minister of France at this place, would disregard entirely matters of a personal nature, and would endeavour to render the relations between the Sublime Porte and Egypt solid and permanent; that indeed the Grand Vizier having a few days ago spoken about the reduction of the army, he had said that it would not do at all to reduce the army to 18,000; and that he had put forward arguments to prove that they would not be sufficient for the protection of the country. He stated that the Porte, however, had a right to the execution of the Articles contained in the Firman issued in 1841, but that they had not pressed it so much in the beginning, in consideration of the late Mehemet Ali Pasha's advanced age and previous position; and that the beneficent Articles upon which the Tanzimat was mainly founded must be carried into execution in a manner suitable to the circumstances and position of the country.

He spoke about the railroad, and said, "I do not see much advantage either to England or to Egypt at present by a railroad. It will be a useless expense. If the distance to India were to be possibly reduced by it to anything worth speaking of, eight or ten days, as we are an ally of England, I would not only approve but propose the railroad. If a proper estimate be made of the expenses and income to be derived from it, it will turn out to be as I say; but if the object in constructing a railroad be to strengthen the ties of friendship with England, the burden of such an interested friendship will eventually become a heavy one at such a great expense. In short, in the same manner as I formerly opposed the railroad, I am again adverse to it for the preservation of the sincere friendship which I have for Egypt. Know also," said he, "that you will encounter great difficulties and opposition on the part of the Sublime Porte on this account."

I replied that the first proposition for a railroad in Egypt was made by the eminent French engineer, M. Fourael, and that a great quantity of iron machinery (or *matériel*) was existing for prosecuting the undertaking of which he was the origin; that it was not England alone who would be benefited by this road, but that it would expedite the communications of all travellers and promote Egyptian trade. That two great

cities like Cairo and Alexandria would be brought into close contact, and that the intermediate towns would be thereby improved and the moral condition thereof ameliorated. These and other advantages were put forward by me, but nothing would satisfy him: he repeated over and over again that he would oppose us in this matter.

Inclosure 7 in No. 66.

Edhem Pasha to Abbas Pasha.

(Translation.)

(Extract.) 9 *Shaban*, 1267. (*June* 9, 1851.)

ON Sunday the 8th Shaban (8th of June), the French Minister, M. de Lavalette, accompanied by his secretary, M. Benedetti, and first dragoman, M. Scheffer, paid me a long visit, at which matters of business were spoken of.

He said that he had been the day previous to call upon Aali Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had returned from the Baths of Brussa, and that he (M. de Lavalette) had spoken about the carrying into execution the Tanzimat in Egypt. That Aali Pasha spoke in a tone of moderation on this subject, and that our business would be easily settled with a due regard to the rights of both parties; but that the question of the railroad would embarrass our affairs and might underhand be productive of danger to us.

He next addressed Hair-ed-deen Pasha through his interpreter, and said that "according to the advices from Egypt, Abbas Pasha still goes on treating us with a marked want of consideration. This bad treatment is indeed an unworthy return for the old good dispositions of France towards Egypt, and for the efforts made by the French Government (on its behalf). It must, needless to say, consequently discontent the nation and the Government."

Hair-ed-deen Pasha replied: "His Excellency the Minister's statement astonishes and surprises me beyond measure, because we all know that the French Nation and Government are highly honoured and esteemed by our Lord, Abbas Pasha. We must therefore conclude that his Excellency's informants have been actuated by bad and malicious motives. If correct intelligence be taken from the other side, that is, from impartial men, I have no doubt that the fact will turn out to be as I have represented it."

The Minister replied: "We all along do not take information from people not worthy of our confidence. Our informants are our own agents, in whom we have necessarily full confidence. The Agent and Consul-General of France in Egypt is a prudent man, naturally mild and unpretending; a man not to take trifles to heart, and who would not deviate from the path of truth to make groundless statements. We must therefore believe what he writes."

Hair-ed-deen Pasha said to this: "As I have just stated, our Lord's (Abbas Pasha's) good dispositions and courteous feelings towards France are, conformably to his ancient relations and friendship, most perfect, and that he would certainly do nothing which may cause discontent to that Government. That it was not to be denied that the Consul-General was a highly estimable person, and that if he was in the habit of complaining of anything, it must arise from the imperfect manner in which his organ of communication had represented matters."

Hair-ed-deen Pasha put forward other arguments to the point, and concluded by saying, "However the matter may be, I will write fully to our Lord on the subject of his Excellency the Minister's friendly remonstrances, by the steamer which is to leave to-morrow (9th June)."

The Minister said: "It is not our intention to claim precedence over the Consuls of other Powers in Egypt, but to be second to no one, and

to be on the same footing with respect to proceedings, consideration, and outward courtesy."

He then returned to our affairs, and with regard to the railroad he made many profound observations in the sense already reported. He warned us over and over again, that that delicate point would be our stumbling block; that the Porte would oppose it by all her means; and that it required but little reflection to see that the opposition of his own Government and that of other friendly Governments would result from this railroad, undertaken not for the advantage of a Government (any public advantage) but for the personal profit of a set of individuals.

I said that every one would be benefited by the railroad; but notwithstanding, he said that according to the representations of the French Ministers from first to last, it was considered that the railroad could be productive of nothing but injury to Egypt, and nothing would satisfy him.

The policy of France in Egypt is to prevent the construction of the railroad, and the complaint is that French agents in Egypt are not treated with the same degree of consideration as before.

No. 67.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 5.)

(No. 230.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July* 18, 1851.

THE Honourable Mr. Murray in his despatch No. 14 of this year to your Lordship, appears to have been under an impression that the Porte intended to oppose the construction of a railway in Egypt. I need not inform your Lordship that Mr. Murray was under a mistake in that respect. He appears to have confounded the Sultan's expectation that his permission should be previously asked by Abbas Pasha according to the Firman, with an intention to gratify France by withholding his consent. The statements contained in other parts of my correspondence will serve to place the matter in its true light, and to them I confidently refer.

Mr. Murray appears to be mistaken also with respect to the Barrage. The Grand Vizier maintains that the Sultan's consent was asked by Mehemet Ali himself, and that the Sultan's name was given to the work in connexion with His Majesty's acquiescence. I am inclined to believe that the Sultan's consent was asked for, but not till after the preparations for a commencement of the work had been matured. It is also to be observed that during Mehemet Ali's lifetime, the Porte may well have found motives in his age and character, to say nothing of its own weakness, for not pressing its rights under the Firman to their full complement.

I have noticed elsewhere the discrepancy between Mr. Murray's version of Aali Pasha's language respecting the railway, and the terms of the report addressed to Abbas Pasha by the Egyptian Commissioners as communicated by them to me.

Mr. Murray is struck with the Egyptian composition of the new French Legation here. If there be more than accident or personal convenience in the fact, which entirely agrees with his statement, I should be tempted to put a wider construction on it, and to presume that the President of France in following out the plans of his uncle, did not lose sight of Egypt as a future element of his popularity; and this I have hinted to the Grand Vizier as an additional reason for him to mistrust, as heretofore, the views of the French Government in discouraging the construction of a railway in that country.

The rumour, mentioned by Mr. Murray, of an intention at the Porte to march an army through Egypt, has reached me from no other quarter.

The Viceroy's Commissioners, to whom I addressed a question on the subject, professed their ignorance of any such plan.

With respect to Mr. Murray's apprehensions of the manner in which his personal position at the Viceroy's Court may be eventually affected by the turn of these affairs, your Lordship requires no remark from me to estimate them at their just value. Her Majesty's Ambassador is exposed to similar contingencies, but that eventuality leaves the performance of his duty meanwhile unaltered and unbiassed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 68.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

(Private and Confidential.)

My dear Lord, *Therapia, July 18, 1851.*

BEFORE I had time to ascertain whether the impression which I seemed to have made on Reshid Pasha with respect to the propriety of Mehemet Bey's remaining in Egypt for the present had taken any distinct shape, the arrival of that young man at Constantinople, together with his relative Halim Bey, was publicly announced. At a private interview which I had with his Highness the night before last, I endeavoured to persuade him, with the view of dispersing the present appearance of manœuvre and intrigue, that it would be well if he persuaded Mehemet Bey to retire to Brussa for awhile. I availed myself of the same opportunity to press anew the expediency of authorizing Artin Bey to go abroad under present circumstances as a private individual, or giving him some Consular or Diplomatic appointment at a distance from the empire.

The Vizier, without rejecting my suggestion entirely, showed little disposition to adopt it as to Mehemet Bey; but he confirmed his readiness to act as I proposed with respect to Artin Bey, either by sending him to Athens, which I objected to, or by making him a Turkish Diplomatic Agent at Turin, which, for the sake of the object, I had ventured to hint as a feasible expedient.

I am told, in diminution of the importance attached to Mehemet Bey's proceedings, that greatly as he was in the Viceroy's confidence at one time, he has not enjoyed that advantage during the present year.

I put Reshid Pasha on the subject of the silver fountain given by the East India Company to Mehemet Ali and presented by the Pasha's daughter, Nazlee Khanum, to the Sultan on her arrival here. I gave him to understand that doubts were entertained of the lady's right to bring away the fountain, and consequently that he might experience some embarrassment if a proper explanation were not to take place.

His Highness replied that he would make it his duty to inquire into the true state of the case, but that he conceived Abbas Pasha's title to the object in question to be without foundation, as he had no interest by law in the personal part of Mehemet Ali's property, which had descended directly to that Viceroy's own children. He added that the Sultan had made presents to Nazlee Khanum of a value far exceeding that of the fountain.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 69.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 235.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July 24, 1851.*

MY attention having been called to a paragraph in the "Journal de Constantinople," stating that troops were about to embark at Salonica for Mecca, and consequently to land in the first instance at Alexandria, I thought it my duty in the present critical state of affairs between the Porte and Abbas Pasha to apply for explanation to the Ottoman Secretary of State. For this purpose I addressed an instruction, copy of which is inclosed, to M. Frederick Pisani, and his report, of which a copy is also forwarded herewith, contains the substance of Aali Pasha's reply.

Having thus ascertained officially both the fact and the object of the intended expedition, I addressed myself to the Grand Vizier, animadverting on the ill-timed reserve which he had used on this occasion, pointing out to him the inconveniences and hazards which were likely to attend the arrival of the Sultan's troops in Egypt under present circumstances, and soliciting his attention to the expediency of suspending their embarkation for a time.

Mr. Alison, who was charged with the delivery of my message to Reshid Pasha, reports that his Highness described the intended expedition as a measure adopted several months ago in consequence of the disturbed state of Arabia; and vindicated the Sultan's right to provide for the tranquillity of his empire, without consulting the feelings or convenience of Abbas Pasha. It appears that he would consent only from regard to my representations to defer the departure of the troops for a few days, observing that the Viceroy's agent had been duly apprized of the Porte's intention to send them.

For your Lordship's more complete information I transmit herewith a memorandum containing the substance of what Mr. Alison was instructed to submit to the Grand Vizier.

I have only to add that Mr. Murray's despatch apprizing me of the rumours prevalent in Egypt, and of the increased apprehensions entertained in consequence by the Viceroy, had been previously shown, with the exception of the closing paragraph, to Aali Pasha by my direction.

The Vizier, in his conversation with Mr. Alison, repeated the assurances given to M. Pisani by that Minister in so far as the Porte's intentions towards Abbas Pasha were concerned. He observed, moreover, that all the leading Powers of Europe, to judge from the language of their representatives, approved of the line which the Porte had hitherto taken in the Egyptian discussions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 69.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. F. Pisani.

Sir, *Therapia, July 21, 1851.*

THE "Journal de Constantinople," a newspaper conducted under the censure of the Porte, announces the arrival at Salonica, and intended embarkation for Mocha, of an irregular Albanian force amounting to 1200 men. This intelligence, taken in connexion with late advices from Cairo, which express the uneasiness prevailing there as to the Porte's intention of sending an army into Egypt, and the public rumours of the Viceroy's approaching disgrace, renders it highly desirable that I should be enabled, on the Porte's own authority, to apprize Her Majesty's Government of the true state of the case.

Notwithstanding the sinister reports which have been spread, the impressions entertained by those who have access to Abbas Pasha, and the countenance given at Constantinople to persons distinguished by their hostility to His Highness, I have hitherto relied with confidence not only on the positive assurances of the Sultan's Ministers, but also on the effects of that just and

conciliatory policy which is clearly prescribed to both parties by their common obligations and interests.

My own personal reliance on these grounds, which find a distinct expression and guarantee in the Firman of investiture originating as to its terms with the Porte's European allies, and communicated at the time to their Representatives, cannot be shaken by any slight appearance or casual incident tending to a different conclusion. But it is of real importance that false impressions should not be left to derive confirmation from successive circumstances without an attempt to correct them by explanation or contradiction, resting on Ministerial responsibility. It is not for the interest of this empire that doubts of its continued tranquillity should be seriously entertained either at home or abroad. It would be manifestly inconsistent with the object which has engaged the Porte to open conferences for the practical application of the Tanzimat to Egypt, if a course of measures tending to excite mistrust and alarm in that province were to proceed from the Sultan's Government. The Porte having given a formal assurance that it seeks neither to depose nor to degrade the ruling Viceroy, His Highness himself having lately furnished signal proofs of his respectful loyalty to the Sovereign, and both parties being mutually engaged by means of an equitable Commission, in settling some secondary points of difference, there would be much room for surprise if the Porte were to select the present critical moment for calling upon the Pasha of Egypt to receive without urgent necessity into that province an armed force neither paid by him nor placed under his direction. If any such intention has been formed, its tendency to confirm suspicion, to embarrass the local authorities, to disturb the existing relations, and to raise unpleasant questions between the Porte and its European allies, must surely have been overlooked.

Not doubting that his Excellency Aali Pasha will enter fairly into the spirit of these remarks and friendly inquiries, I have only to desire that you will read to him the whole of this instruction as soon as you can obtain a hearing, and afford him an opportunity of which in all likelihood he will gladly take advantage, to reply without reserve in such terms as may set the Porte's intentions in a clear point of view, and enable me to remove from the minds of Her Majesty's Ministers any unfavourable impressions which may have been conveyed to them from other quarters.

To convince the Pasha that I do not take up this matter on light grounds, I place herewith in your hands a despatch which I received a few days ago from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Cairo. You will read confidentially the principal passages of it to his Excellency, and solicit his serious attention to the state of opinion in Egypt as therein described, and to the dangerous eventualities so forcibly pointed out by Mr. Murray.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 69.

M. F. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Péra, le 22 Juillet*, 1851.

J'AI lu à Aali Pacha l'instruction que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date d'hier, relativement aux bruits qui courent sur le compte d'Abbas Pacha, et sur l'expédition d'un corps de troupes en Egypte, ainsi que les principaux passages de la dépêche de Mr. Murray y relatifs.

Aali Pacha m'a entendu jusqu'au bout, et puis il m'a dit: "Ma réponse est toute prête, et je viens vous dire toute la vérité. La Porte n'a nullement l'intention ni de déposer ni de disgracier Abbas Pacha; mais aussi il faut que le Pacha remplisse à la lettre toutes les obligations, toutes les conditions clairement tracées dans le Firman d'investiture. S'il s'en écartait, il serait regardé comme un réfractaire. Il est vrai que la Porte va envoyer des troupes en Egypte; mais ces troupes, qui n'ont aucun but hostile contre Abbas Pacha, ne feront que débarquer à Alexandrie pour se rendre à leur destination. Un corps de troupes irrégulières, déjà arrivé à Salonique, sera transporté sur des bateaux à vapeur à Alexandrie, d'où il doit se rendre à Djedda pour aller de là dans le

Yémen. Un régiment d'infanterie régulière sera expédié d'ici à Alexandrie, d'où il doit se rendre à Djoudéidé. Les gorges de Djoudéidé, occupées depuis quelque temps par des Arabes insoumis, le sont aujourd'hui de manière à empêcher les pélerins de se rendre de Médine à La Mecque, et *vice versâ*; état de choses auquel nous sommes obligés de remédier; or, la route la plus naturelle est celle de l'Egypte, que les troupes ne feront que traverser pour se rendre à leur destination. Tel est le but que la Sublime Porte a en vue, et il n'y a là rien qui puisse donner le moindre sujet d'inquiétude. Voilà ce que je vous prie de faire savoir à son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur en réponse à sa communication concernant Abbas Pacha.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.
(Signé) F. PISANI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 69.

Memorandum for Mr. Alison.

THE explanation which I obtained yesterday from the Ottoman Secretary of State respecting the rumoured march of a Turkish army into Egypt has confirmed the impression warranted by his Excellency's preceding assurances, that Abbas Pasha has nothing to apprehend from the Porte as long as he keeps within the limits of the Sultan's Firman. I rely implicitly on the official declaration thus made to me by Aali Pasha, in answer to my inquiries respecting the real object and destination of the troops preparing to embark for Alexandria. I understand that the troops are destined exclusively for Arabia, and that their only business in Egypt will be to cross the Isthmus and to embark at Suez. I am informed, moreover, by the Turkish Minister, that their number will be confined to a regiment of infantry and the 1200 irregulars already in Salonica.

Any doubts which might have been entertained of the Porte's intentions towards Abbas Pasha being thus removed, I have only to express my surprise that the Grand Vizier, while communicating freely with me on the subject of Egypt, and requesting my aid for the conveyance of the newly-appointed Sheriff of Mecca to Djedda, should have allowed me to remain in ignorance of an expedition which, as a mere report, has occasioned much uneasiness and alarm at Cairo. Such unseasonable reserve is the more to be regretted, as other circumstances bearing an appearance of intrigue, and calculated but little to promote a settlement of the pending differences, have recently taken place.

It is quite impossible to overlook the inconveniences and hazards to which the Porte and its friends alike are thereby exposed. The present moment for sending an army into Egypt is surely not selected with the Porte's habitual prudence and discretion. Regard for the Sultan's Representative there is not the only consideration. At this delicate juncture the moral impression likely to be made upon the people in Egypt is also to be borne in mind; nor less so the exaggeration of newspaper reporters and the excited attention of the principal Cabinets of Europe, more particularly that of London.

I venture to hope that the Grand Vizier may still be persuaded to delay the embarkation of the troops. It is highly important that a suitable explanation of their object and ultimate destination should precede their arrival in Egypt. The state of affairs in Arabia is not so urgent as to render this delay a cause of danger to any paramount interests of the Porte. Were the expedition destined for Bagdad, the case would be different. We are in daily expectation of the Viceroy's answer to the reference which was made to him several weeks ago. The introduction of a new and unnecessary complication at such a moment would naturally expose the Porte to a charge of acting, if not with malice, at least with levity and inconsistency.

By acceding frankly to my representations on this occasion the Grand Vizier may best enable me to justify the confidence which I have endeavoured to maintain in his favour, not only at Cairo but in London also.

No. 70.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 207.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 11, 1851.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that I approve of the representations which you made to the Porte as reported in your despatch No. 235 of the 24th ultimo, respecting the troops which the Porte proposes to send through Egypt to Mecca.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 71.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 209.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 11, 1851.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 224, of the 10th ultimo, on the subject of the affairs of Egypt; and with reference to the concluding paragraph of your despatch No. 16 to Mr. Murray, of which you inclose a copy, I have to observe to you that the Porte seems likely to reap rather embarrassments than advantage from giving encouragement to the members of the Egyptian family to flock to Constantinople. These persons will begin by intriguing, and will end by asking for money.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 72.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

(Secret and Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, August* 11, 1851.

IN conversation with me the President said, in allusion to the news just arrived from Constantinople as to the expedition of troops to Mecca, that he trusted nothing would ever occur in the East to interrupt that good understanding which so happily prevailed universally between England and France; that he had not himself the slightest jealousy as to our endeavouring to use our influence in Egypt to promote the certainty and to increase the facility of communication with our possessions in the East; that he never supposed we meant to organize anything of a monopoly of intercourse. "But," he added, "some of the other Powers are very anxious to excite our susceptibility on this point: Austria is incessantly representing that it is strange France should be blind to what is going on under her eyes, and consent to let England get complete possession of Egypt, so contrary as such a course was to what had always hitherto been French policy."

I assured the Prince that it was very satisfactory to me that upon this as upon all other subjects he took so clear a view of what was the real interest of his country, and was so thoroughly alive to the designs of those who were incessant in their attempts to find out some means to

create jealousies between us with a view of interrupting that good understanding which happily existed; but which other parties watched with but little pleasure.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 73.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(No. 379.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 14, 1851.

WITH reference to your Excellency's secret and confidential despatch of the 11th instant, reporting the observations made to you by the President, and the statement which you made in reply, respecting the alleged views of Great Britain in supporting the formation of a railroad from Alexandria to Cairo, I have to state that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve what your Excellency said on that occasion; and I have to instruct you to thank the President for the frankness and openness of his communication, and to assure him that Her Majesty's Government have no other object or wish in regard to the railway through Egypt, than to have thereby the same facilities of transit across that country which are afforded to everyone across France and Germany, and at the same time to assist the development of the natural and commercial resources of Egypt.

Her Majesty's Government could not doubt that the sagacity of the President would at once enable him to see through the thin veil with which Governments who are jealous of the good understanding between England and France endeavour to cover their attempts to sow disunion between the British and French Governments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 74.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 236.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 1, 1851.

HER Majesty's steam-ship "Growler" arrived here the day before yesterday with Mr. Murray's long-expected answers to my despatches of the 18th and 26th of June. Their arrival was preceded by rumours which excited much anxiety and annoyance at the Porte, and which are now sufficiently realized to increase the Porte's displeasure and to place me in a very embarrassing position.

Abbas Pasha has not only declined the advice which I tendered to him through Mr. Murray as the best and only way of securing the construction of the intended railroad without danger to himself or prejudice to our interests here, but adopting instead the advice given to him by Mr. Murray on his own responsibility, he has caused a contract to be signed for that purpose, and has announced its conclusion to the Grand Vizier without any attempt to obtain that permission which, as he had been previously informed by Mochtar Bey, the Sultan expected him to ask in compliance with the terms of the Firman.

Your Lordship will remember that as early as the beginning of June I apprized Mr. Murray of the Porte's intention to protest against the construction of the railway without leave; of my having prevented the execution of this idea by undertaking to recommend a suspension of the work until the Sultan's requisition could be brought under your Lordship's notice; and of my having received the most distinct assurances that His

Majesty, far from impeding the construction of the railway if his permission were duly asked, would promote its progress and extend it across the Isthmus, provided the expenses of the enterprise were defrayed from the revenue of Egypt, without the imposition of any fresh burthen on the people of that province.

Considering the state of the Sultan's feelings towards Abbas Pasha on other questions, and the opposition made to the project of a railway in Egypt, by France openly, by another Great Power secretly, I thought there was room for congratulation in the prospect thus offered of obtaining our end with so slight a sacrifice on the Viceroy's part, and none at all on ours, but on the contrary, with decided advantage to our general policy in this part of the world.

Mr. Murray informed me in reply that there was nothing to suspend in Egypt, as the negotiations between Nubar Bey and the engineer were conducted in England; and that it remained with your Lordship to decide upon the expediency of supporting the Sultan's view.

My report to your Lordship upon the same subject, inclosing a copy of my despatch to Mr. Murray, was forwarded to London on the 5th of June, and the absence of any instruction in reply has necessarily left it doubtful at the Porte whether I performed my promise of writing in the sense required of me as a substitute for the intended protest.

Under these circumstances, I communicated to the Grand Vizier, as soon as I could get them out of quarantine, such portions of Mr. Murray's despatches as I thought best calculated to soften the prevailing irritation, and to remove any suspicions injurious to British influence which might be entertained of unfair dealing on my part.

Conceiving it better to avoid the risk of an altercation, which must have increased the Vizier's vexation as well as the awkwardness of my position, and to postpone a formal interview till after the receipt of the Viceroy's instructions to his agents, I directed Mr. Alison to see the Grand Vizier in my name, and to ascertain, as far as he could, the tendency of his Highness' mind on learning the purport of such explanations as Mr. Murray had offered, together with all the admissions and protestations which could be elicited from the correspondence in mitigation of the Viceroy's inattention to the Sultan's requirements respecting the railway. A translation which I had received from Mr. Murray of a letter addressed on that subject by Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier, was communicated at the same time, though the original has not yet arrived; and Reshid Pasha was informed that the Viceroy deferred entirely, in principle, to the Sultan's view of his exclusive right to the power of life and death.

I beg to refer your Lordship to Mr. Alison's account of the manner which these communications were received by Reshid Pasha. A copy of his report is inclosed herewith.

I propose to see the Grand Vizier myself before the messenger's departure on the 5th instant; and meanwhile I have the more reason to be satisfied with not having waited upon him sooner, as there were evident appearances of his having intended to produce a sort of formal conference at the time when Mr. Alison presented himself in my place.

The Viceroy's Commissioners, though still without their instructions, have since waited on him, and judging from their statements of what passed, I am confirmed in the impression derived from Mr. Alison's report, that the Sultan's Government will revert to the former intention of a protest, and reserve the adoption of any stronger measure till afterwards, making perhaps meanwhile some kind of reference to those Powers who took part in the settlement of Mehemet Ali's rebellion.

Being anxious to convey the earliest information of this state of things to England, I avail myself of the kind offices of an English gentleman starting for London to-day by the way of Trieste, to forward this despatch to your Lordship. Much that I wish to add must be reserved, from want of time, for the messenger.

I have no doubt that the French Envoy will encourage the Porte not only to protest but to appeal to the Five Powers.

Your Lordship's penetration will not overlook the prejudice accruing to Abbas Pasha's interests from his being brought into immediate con-

flict with the Sultan's authority as reserved by the terms of the Firman of investiture, or the embarrassing disadvantage under which I labour of being called upon to plead his cause on grounds which place us at variance with the policy so ably and successfully pursued by Her Majesty's Government ten years ago on behalf of the Sultan's rights.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 74.

Mr. Alison to Sir Stratford Canning.

Constantinople, July 31, 1851.

Sir,

IN pursuance of your Excellency's instructions I waited this morning upon the Grand Vizier and communicated to his Highness those parts of Mr. Murray's correspondence which relate to the subject of capital punishment, now under examination between the Egyptian Commissioners and the Porte, and relative to the resolution come to by Abbas Pasha to commence the railroad between Alexandria and Cairo, independently of the Sultan's sanction. His Highness' Musteshar, Fuad Effendi, was present at our interview.

The Grand Vizier, who listened attentively to my communication, declared that he was grieved and astonished at the result of the reference made by your Excellency to Egypt on the subject of the railroad; that Mr. Murray might at least have waited for the instructions from England after having set aside those sent him from Constantinople; and that he had thus complicated a question which the Porte had shown itself foremost in promoting under the conditions required by it. They were, therefore, pursued his Highness, free from their engagement, and your Excellency is also absolved from yours. In saying this he did full justice to the endeavours made by you to bring the matter to an amicable solution in the interest of both parties, while he regretted that Mr. Murray, in counselling the Pasha in this course, had taken into consideration the Egyptian view of the question only instead of consulting the general interests of an empire which Great Britain had always been foremost in protecting, and which he trusted that your Excellency, on whose good offices they firmly relied, would still continue to support.

The Grand Vizier then addressing himself to Fuad Effendi and myself alternately, recapitulated the principal features of the recent communications held with your Excellency on this subject.

He stated that Mochtar Bey having been instructed to inform the Vali Pasha that it was requisite for him to apply for the Sultan's sanction for the construction of the projected railroad, Abbas Pasha had replied that he did not consider himself bound to do so. The Porte had upon this drawn up a protest against the Vali; but that out of deference alone to the assurance given by your Excellency that you would endeavour to procure the suspension of the undertaking until instructions could be received from England, he had obtained the Sultan's sanction for suspending the protest; that the efforts thus made by your Excellency having been rendered fruitless by the precipitate course adopted in Egypt, he was grieved and astonished at the responsibility Mr. Murray had thus assumed in opposition to the instructions sent to him. Fuad Effendi observed that he could not have served the views of those who are adverse to Abbas Pasha's interests in this quarter more efficiently, had he even been paid for doing so.

With reference to antecedent applications from Egypt for the Royal sanction to great public works, the Grand Vizier remarked that the fortifications of Alexandria having been undertaken before the issue of the hereditary Firman, the Porte, alive itself to the expediency of their completion, had made no allusion to them; but that Mehemet Ali had on

his visit to Constantinople applied for and obtained the Royal sanction for the Barrage. Reshid Pasha was himself in Paris at the time, and recollects Sami Pasha telling him that he was engaged in procuring engineers to conduct the works.

The circumstance of Fund Effendi's presence, and the emphatic manner in which the Grand Vizier went over the proceedings with your Excellency concerning the railroad, gave me the impression of an anxiety on His Highness' part to justify himself before the Sultan for having induced His Majesty to suspend a measure which he had resolved on adopting.

His Highness did not evince any interest in the admission now made by the Vali of Egypt, of the exclusive right vested in the Sultan of ordering the execution of capital punishment, but rather treated the subject with a degree of indifference, having the appearance of excluding all present hope in favour of any modifications in the sense of Abbas Pasha's previous assumptions.

He requests that your Excellency will communicate to him a copy of the translation of Abbas Pasha's letter to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ALISON.

No. 75.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 237.)

Therapia, August 4, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAD scarcely closed my last number, forwarded by way of Trieste, when your Lordship's despatch of the 9th ultimo, concerning the Egyptian railway, was put into my hands. On the following day I communicated its contents to the Grand Vizier; and Mr. Alison's report, transmitted herewith in copy, contains a statement of what passed on the occasion. To-day I waited in person on his Highness, who told me calmly, but firmly, that neither he nor the Sultan could put up with the insulting manner in which Abbas Pasha had acted. He said that it was not a question of railway or no railway, the Porte being still quite ready, as before, to sanction and promote the construction of the railway, but a question of duty on the Pasha's side, of right and dignity on that of the Sultan. He assured me that whatever might be the views of France, Austria, or Russia, in this matter, they would have no effect upon the Porte. He maintained that Mehemet Ali had asked leave for the Barrage; that no other work of great public importance had been constructed in Egypt since 1841 except the fortifications, which had been commenced some time before; that your Lordship, in advising the Porte to insist on the demolition of a part of those works, had required more than the Porte itself now required with respect to the railway; that the terms of the Firman were clearly in favour of the Porte's demand; that the Viceroy had been duly admonished by Mochtar Bey; and that the Porte would have protested formally two months ago if I had not promised to apply for a momentary suspension of the enterprise to your Lordship and Mr. Murray. He concluded by informing me that Abbas Pasha would be summoned to dissolve the contract signed with Mr. Stephenson, and to abstain from renewing it until the Sultan's permission should be officially granted.

I abstain from troubling your Lordship with the remarks and arguments by which I endeavoured to divert the Grand Vizier from his purpose. They could not in reality be more than a repetition of what he had already learnt from my communication of Mr. Murray's report and of your Lordship's instruction, which was itself only an enforcement of reasons urged upon M. Musurus and by him submitted to his Government. I am able, however, to state with comparative satisfaction, that as

far as I can judge from the Vizier's language, the Viceroy will be addressed with becoming moderation; that instead of being required to cancel the contract, he will only be called upon to suspend its execution; and that no reference will be made in the present stage of the business to foreign Powers. Reshid Pasha spoke on these points, especially on the second of them, with a tone of reserve, attributable to his knowledge of the Sultan's sentiments and to his ignorance of those of the Council. But I venture to hope that our influence over his mind is not so entirely shattered but that my personal entreaties may prevail in some degree to restrain him from going beyond the strict necessities of the case, as involving the Sultan's rights and a due respect for the Firman of investiture.

Notwithstanding the present serious embarrassment which my instructions to Mr. Murray were calculated to avert, and the severe mortification which Abbas Pasha's own imprudence or some ill-considered counsel has brought down upon him, I shall not relax in my endeavours to bring His Highness' interests into harmony with those of the Porte and to remove the obstruction which has unfortunately been raised to the immediate commencement of the railway.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 75.

Mr. Alison to Sir Stratford Canning.

Constantinople, August 3, 1851.
Monday night.

Sir,

I HASTEN to inform your Excellency that in pursuance of your instructions of this evening I waited upon the Grand Vizier to communicate to his Highness the opinions expressed by Viscount Palmerston, as contained in his Lordship's despatch dated the 9th of July, and to endeavour to ascertain the course likely to be pursued by the Ottoman Ministry after being put in full possession of those opinions. I found his Highness fully prepared for the communication, by other intelligence already conveyed to him by M. Musurus. The Capitan Pasha and another gentleman were present at our interview.

The language held by Reshid Pasha in reply tended so directly to commit the Sultan's Government to a course diametrically at variance with the opinions put forward by Viscount Palmerston, that I considered it advisable to draw his Highness' attention to a careful interpretation of the despatch in which they were contained.

I will convey to you the Grand Vizier's reply as concisely as possible, the whole tenour of his conversation being simply a repetition of the same thing.

"The language put forward in this communication," observed his Highness, "is not founded on fact. It is starting from a false point to assert that the Porte ever opposed or even entertained the intention of opposing the construction of a railroad in Egypt. My official declaration to you ought to set that question at rest.

"It is also fallacious to suppose that the Porte may have been influenced by the counsels of the Powers quoted by Lord Palmerston as hostile to the construction of the railroad. The Porte is ready to authorize, promote, and assist its construction. The intriguing statements put forward in Egypt on this point need not be further dwelt upon.

"His Excellency Sir Stratford Canning has, since the last year, counselled the Porte to be careful in offering any disparagement, or of being wanting in consideration towards the Vali of Egypt. I believe that you also were the channel of this communication."

I replied that I could not tax my memory on the subject, but that I was aware that your Excellency had always urged that point.

"I am resolved then," continued the Grand Vizier, "equally to protect the Porte against any disparagement on the part of the Governor of Egypt. I have declared to you formally that the Porte is ready to grant permission for the construction of the railroad under the conditions attached to it. I now formally announce to you that Abbas Pasha shall not be permitted to construct it without having previously obtained the Sultan's sanction. We will not accept the views communicated by you on the question of His Majesty's rights. I maintain that those rights are inherent in the Firman which conferred on the family of Mehemet Ali the hereditary government of Egypt, and I am confident in the grounds of my assertion."

It may be important for your Excellency to be put in early possession of the language so emphatically held by the Grand Vizier, as he is to see the Sultan to-morrow in conjunction with the other Ministers before the hour appointed for your interview with him.

I may add that with reference to that part of Viscount Palmerston's despatch respecting the fortifications, the Grand Vizier observed that his Lordship had officially communicated to the Ottoman Minister in London his counsels that the Porte ought to insist on the demolition or reduction of those defensive works. "If," observed the Grand Vizier, "Her Majesty's Government consider the Porte justified in ordering the destruction of extensive works erected at an enormous outlay, how can Viscount Palmerston contest their right to exercise their legitimate influence in an undertaking comparatively small, and in a sense consistently with the dignity of the Sultan and favourable to the avowed interests of Great Britain."

The Grand Vizier dwelt upon some details connected with the general subject which it is needless for me to recapitulate as he will have an opportunity of repeating them to your Excellency to-morrow. He has put off his visit to the Porte in order to be at home to receive your Excellency at 4 P.M.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ALISON.

No. 76.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 230.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 4, 1851.*

THE French Envoy has on more than one occasion of late opened a conversation with me on the subject of the Egyptian Railway. His object apparently was to prevent my taking an unfavourable impression of the policy of his Government, or of his own personal sentiments towards England, from any rumours which might reach me of the language held by him on that subject to the Turkish Ministers. The general substance of what he said on the several occasions to which I allude was simply this. His former residence in Egypt had enabled him to know the precise merits of the railway question; that knowledge had convinced him that the burden to be imposed upon Egypt by the construction of the railway would greatly exceed any advantage likely to accrue from it to Great Britain. Were the case otherwise he would be the first to promote and recommend the adoption of the enterprise; as it was, he continued here, as formerly elsewhere, to oppose it; his opposition, however, was merely of a moral character: anything approaching to intimidation was remote from his thoughts; and finally he conceived that we greatly exaggerated the importance of a railway which at best would only affect a small

portion of the distance between England and India, and the receipts of which would be found altogether unequal to the expenses.

Having, to avoid the risk of unnecessary complication on a delicate question, abstained from opening myself on the subject of Egyptian affairs to any of my colleagues, I preserved, as far as I could with civility, the same course of conduct with respect to the French Representative. I thought it sufficient to acknowledge the friendliness of his overture and the moderation of his sentiments, as he had done me the honour to describe them; to make him understand that I could not by any means assent to his opinions on the subject, and that while I saw no solid objection whatever to the improvement in question, but on the contrary strong motives for adopting it in the interest of Egypt as well as of commerce, whether general or British, I felt a well-founded conviction that the measure would be finally adopted and carried into effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—I ought to have stated above that M. de Lavalette aims more particularly at procuring a reference to the Five Powers.

S. C.

No. 77.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 240.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 5, 1851.*

THE state of conflict into which Abbas Pasha has allowed himself for the first time to be brought with the Sultan cannot be expected to advance the settlement of the pending differences, either as to those points which are open to fair discussion or as to those in which His Majesty's favour has clearly need to be solicited. I am greatly mistaken if the truth of this remark be not as obvious to the perception of the Viceroy's Commissioners as to my own. It was not till yesterday that they were rejoined by Abdurrahman Bey, who arrived with His Highness' instructions respecting the questions of capital punishment and the railway. Mr. Alison saw them by my direction the evening before. They called upon me yesterday accompanied by Abdurrahman Bey. I beg to refer your Lordship to Mr. Alison's report for what took place at his interview with them. A copy of it is inclosed herewith. The substance of their conversation with me remains to be stated here.

With respect to the railway their disappointment and perplexity could not be concealed. They had written to the Viceroy in support of my advice. His Highness, instead of listening to them, had ratified his contract with the engineers, and declared that he saw no reason for asking the Sultan's permission. His letter of announcement and explanation to the Porte was so unlikely to produce a favourable impression, that they debated whether it would not be prudent to keep back the original, and only decided, with my concurrence, on presenting it for reasons irrelevant of its contents. The Viceroy left it optional with them to present or retain the letter.

It appeared very evident at the same time that in their apprehension the Viceroy was not prepared for standing up to his present position; and I have little doubt that ultimately they will feel the propriety of again advising, and he, the necessity of adopting, that course which he would have best consulted his interests by adopting in the first instance.

I hope, though I cannot yet engage my word, that the Porte will be reasonable enough to afford him a decent bridge for repassing Mr. Murray's Rubicon.

There is a passage in the Viceroy's letter to the Porte which might

perhaps be used for this purpose if it were not unhappily clogged with objectionable matter. I allude to that clause which intimates the Viceroy's readiness to have applied for the Sultan's permission if the railway had been prolonged to Suez, but which intimates still more distinctly that no such permission is thought necessary for the road from Alexandria to Cairo, and that the longer road would be too unprofitable for Egyptian interests and of too political a bearing to be undertaken on grounds of general utility without reference to Constantinople.

On matters connected with the Tanzimat I should under other circumstances have expected every facility for an arrangement satisfactory to Egypt, from the deference shown in principle by Abbas Pasha to the Sultan's exclusive right of life and death. Even as it is, I am far from despairing of a favourable issue, though hardly to the extent solicited by the Viceroy. Mr. Murray's suggestion of a life-tenure subject to revocation for cruelty or injustice would I fear be attended with much unnecessary inconvenience and eventual humiliation to the Viceroy himself. But some less objectionable modification of the idea may be found, and I have reason to think that some latitude in that respect is left to the Commissioners in their secret instructions from Cairo. Be that as it may, they are to present the Viceroy's letter to the Grand Vizier to-day, and they will put me in possession of all the points of difference concerning the Tanzimat before they exhibit their ostensible instruction on that subject and request permission to go on with the conferences.

The question of reducing the Egyptian army is in abeyance for the moment, and the Commissioners are of opinion that an addition to the Nubian part of it, as proposed by Reshid Pasha, would answer no good purpose. The establishment of a more effective police force is still under consideration. There is less reason to regret any additional difficulties now in the way of the Porte's compliance with Abbas Pasha's application for an increase of his army beyond the standard of the Firman, as your Lordship's expressed opinion is unfavourable to His Highness' pretension in that respect, on the ground at least of right.

I cannot conclude without mentioning that Hair-ed-deen Pasha, the Viceroy's confidential representative, declared to me in presence of his colleagues, that if I would undertake to persuade the Porte to show its good will as to the Tanzimat, he was himself ready to return to Cairo, and would engage to bring back to Constantinople the Viceroy's excuses to the Sultan, and his request to be allowed to enter upon the construction of the railway.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 77.

Mr. Alison to Sir Stratford Canning.

Constantinople, August 4, 1851.

Sir,

I CALLED yesterday evening upon Hair-ed-deen and Edhem Pashas, pursuant to your Excellency's desire, to ascertain whether they had received their despatches by the Egyptian steamer. They do not expect them before this evening.

The conversation of these gentlemen turned naturally upon the subject which occupies their attention, and upon the increased embarrassment of their position, owing to the recent intelligence from Egypt. They assured me that they had done what lay in their power to induce Abbas Pasha to demand the sanction of the Sultan's authority for the construction of the railroad, and yet hoped that the terms of the original letter to the Grand Vizier, received in translation, might at all events serve to allay the irritation its tenour was calculated to produce.

They more than ever find it necessary to invoke your Excellency's good offices on behalf of their master, brought thus into open contact

with his Sovereign, and request you to be watchful over the proceedings of the Porte with respect to him, as they themselves have no means of penetrating into the Ottoman Councils.

They dwelt upon the general excitement produced in Egypt by the present state of things; upon the eagerness of the people to be endowed with institutions of the nature of which they are wholly ignorant, and the position of Abbas Pasha, abandoned by all his relatives with the exception of one who is secretly planning his overthrow. The Egyptian Commissioners do not apprehend any successful movement in Egypt for the ruin of Abbas Pasha, but they do fear that the present appearances may involve the country in scenes of violence and bloodshed.

Saïd Pasha had already some time ago received a letter which they have reason to believe encouraged him in the hope of replacing the present Governor; while the young Princes here had extensive means of fomenting discontent in the country through their numerous adherents on estates embracing upwards of a hundred villages.

I observed to them that your Excellency was already aware of the precarious state of affairs in Egypt, and that the conciliating policy you had adopted had arisen out of an anxious wish to avert the calamities apprehended by them, and that they might rely upon the continuance of your endeavours.

I could not elicit from these gentlemen the reasons which could have induced Abbas Pasha to place himself in open opposition to the Sultan in a question involving His Majesty's dignity and conceived rights; of emperilling his own position, abandoned as he is by the whole family of Mehemet Ali, and of exposing the province to all the horrors of intestine warfare. They simply urge that the continuance of the present state of things may be speedily attended with the consequences adverted to, and they trust that your Excellency will endeavour to put some remedy to it.

They promised to send Abdurrahman Bey to Therapia soon after his arrival.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. ALISON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 77.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 17.)
(Extract.) *July* 23, 1851.

IF the Viceroy had hesitated or delayed in completing this part of the transaction, while the other was under course of completion in England, he would only have rendered himself ridiculous without any countervailing advantage; and I certainly plead guilty to having advised him to sign the contract at once, and then to reconcile the Sublime Porte to the matter by writing the most deferential letter possible to announce the commencement of the undertaking, and to express a hope that it would receive His Majesty the Sultan's favour and protection.

All this he has done; and the Rubicon being now passed, it only remains for me, in explanation of my share in the transaction, to mention or rather to recapitulate the circumstances and the motives that guided my conduct.

No. 78.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 241.)

Therapia, August 5, 1851.

My Lord,

HER Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt maintains in his correspondence that the information given to me respecting the alleged fact that Mehemet Ali applied previously for the Sultan's permission to construct the Barrage is incorrect, as shown by reference to dates. I have in consequence made another attempt to ascertain the real state of the case, and I believe myself fully warranted in stating that the facts are as follows:

Mehemet Ali Pasha's visit to Constantinople was between the beginning of Redjeb 1262, and the 24th of Shaban of the same year. During that visit he asked for and obtained permission of the Porte to construct the Barrage.

The ceremony of laying the first stone took place the following year on the 23rd Rebi-ul-akhir, 1263, and two days afterwards a letter was addressed to the Porte, announcing it, and requesting the Sultan to allow his name to be given to the work.

The works before Mehemet Ali asked permission were merely preparatory works; but the formal construction was only permitted after he had visited Constantinople and obtained permission.

The dates are derived in part from a paper communicated to me in Turkish by Reshid Pasha, and in part from Mr. Murray's despatch to me of the 23rd ultimo.

I abstain from occupying your Lordship's time with a longer series of remarks on the railway question, with respect to right or precedent, as I could add but little in further elucidation of those points to what I have already stated to Mr. Murray, and submitted to your Lordship in previous parts of my correspondence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 79.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 242.)

Therapia, August 5, 1851.

My Lord,

IN another despatch of this date I have alluded to a clause in Abbas Pasha's letter to the Grand Vizier, characterizing a railroad between Cairo and Suez as unprofitable to the internal interests of Egypt, and bearing upon important political considerations. This view of the road, which I had previously thought was to be in due season the complement of the railway between Alexandria and Suez, has fixed my attention the more deeply because it stands in striking contrast with the terms in which your Lordship described that railway to the Turkish Envoy in London, when urging upon him the futility of the Porte's objections to the Viceroy's plan.

Your Lordship described both the one railway and the other as having a "purely commercial character," and as being "calculated to add to the prosperity of Egypt, by increasing the number of travellers who may pass through the province, and by affording additional facilities for the transport of commodities from one part of the country to the other."

The Viceroy, on the contrary, observes in his letter to the Grand Vizier, that is, to the Porte, that a railway between Cairo and Suez, as it would "yield no advantages for the internal good of the province, while

it would have a great political bearing, would evidently require a previous authorization" from here.

Now it must be obvious to your Lordship that in case of our wishing hereafter to obtain the completion of the railway from port to port, as promised to me conditionally by the Grand Vizier, the Viceroy's opinion may be quoted in opposition to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government and to the interests of the British Nation. Unfortunately, it may be quoted with the more effect if the Viceroy should bear in mind the part taken by Her Majesty's Agent in the whole of the late transactions, if not in the composition of the letter itself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 80.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 16.)

Foreign Office, August 18, 1851.

Sir,

WITH reference to that passage in your despatch No. 14, of the 15th of June, in which you state that the Porte "never once interfered to forbid" or "ventured to offer a remonstrance" against the Barrage of the Nile, I have to state to you that in his communications with Sir Stratford Canning, the Grand Vizier maintains that the Sultan's consent to the undertaking was asked by Mehemet Ali himself, and that the Sultan's name was given to the work in connexion with His Majesty's acquiescence. This assertion is not inconsistent with the dates, Mehemet Ali having arrived at Constantinople in the month of July 1846, and the first stone of the dam having been laid in April 1847.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 81.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 20. Confidential.)

Alexandria, August 2, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter addressed by the Viceroy's second interpreter in Alexandria to His Highness' private secretary in Cairo, reporting a conversation that had just taken place between himself and the French Consul-General on the subject of the railroad.

It is needless for me to observe that the letter was never intended for my perusal, and as I have obtained access to it secretly, no allusion can be made to its contents in communicating with the French Government or with their Diplomatic Agents.

As it must be presumed that the French Consul-General speaks the sentiments of his Government, and as the report to which he alludes in the commencement of the conversation, was nothing more or less than a remonstrance or protest against the railroad, transmitted to him from Paris to be read to the Viceroy, it will perhaps surprise your Lordship to find in this document sentiments so much at variance with the friendly and cordial assurances that Her Majesty's Government are constantly receiving from that of France.

We must not however overlook the fact, that from the inaccuracies and contradictions that abound in the statements made by the French Consul-General, some portion of them must probably owe their origin to pique or to his own petulance of disposition. Indeed it is most singular that the French Consul-General, in alluding to the pernicious influence

and political domination likely to arise from the presence of eight or ten English engineers employed in constructing a railroad, should have entirely omitted to notice the fact that at this very moment French engineers and artillery officers are engaged in instructing the Egyptian soldiery to defend those very fortifications which were constructed by Frenchmen and planned in Paris; that the Commander-in-chief is a Frenchman; and that there are eight or nine Frenchmen in the Egyptian service now enjoying the pay and rank of a Bey or General.

If my imaginative colleague is so alarmed at the prospect of the admission into Egypt of these few railway engineers, what would he have said, and how would "la Grande Nation" have thundered, if English engineers had constructed the fortifications, and if the finishing touch had been given to them by the Duke of Wellington instead of Marshal Soult.

The French Consul-General, wisely passing over the fortifications, repeats the often-refuted statement that the Barrage and the canals in Egypt were made by the permission of the Sultan, and then goes on to say that the Sublime Porte disapproved of the railroad, and has refused it to the reiterated appeals of Her Majesty's Ambassador, which is so far from being the truth, that the Sublime Porte gave his Excellency the most positive assurances not only that she would accede to the making of the railroad between Alexandria and Cairo, but even to its continuation to Suez.

It is true that she desired as a preliminary to insist upon the Sultan's permission being asked; but this takes away from the question its character of political and commercial utility, and reduces it to a question of form and prerogative.

I will leave your Lordship to draw your own inferences from the amusing and self-complacent panegyrics on the philanthropic and disinterested views of France in her foreign policy, and also from his allusion to the small principalities of India, while he omitted all mention of Algiers and Tunis; and I will pass on at once to that portion of his address in which he refers to the discrepancy between my conduct here and that of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I trust that your Lordship will have drawn a very different inference from the perusal of my last despatches explanatory of the course that circumstances had compelled me to follow, and that your Lordship will have gathered from them, that however harsh and unfair towards Egypt may have appeared to me some of the late measures and pretensions of the Sublime Porte, I have done everything in my power to induce the Viceroy to be guided by the friendly and mediatorial counsels of Her Majesty's Ambassador.

With respect to my being privy or a party to the signing of the contract with the engineers here, it appeared to me to be simply a necessary part of the transaction intrusted to Nubar Bey in London, and being aware that the objects of his mission were known to your Lordship, and that both he and Mr. Stephenson, the engineer, had had interviews with your Lordship, and having received no instructions by the last three mails to interfere in advising delay, it was impossible for me to believe that I was acting contrary to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in being present at the completion of the engineering contract here.

Supposing that I had adopted a contrary course, the complication that must have ensued would have placed all parties concerned in a most ridiculous light, without at all improving the aspect of the Viceroy's relations with the Sublime Porte; for if Nubar Bey, acting under the instructions he has long since received, had signed contracts in London for the delivery of 10,000 or 12,000 tons of rail, and afterwards His Highness had declined to sign the contract here with the agent of Mr. Stephenson, the latter would naturally have withdrawn from the transaction, offended and disgusted, and there would have remained the glaring absurdity of the material for a railroad purchased and the engineering department wanting; and the Sublime Porte would have had exactly the same grounds, be

they good or bad, for finding fault with the Viceroy for the purchase of the material in England, as they can now have for complaining of his signing the engineering contract here.

All that remained then for His Highness at this stage of the transactions was to follow the course which he adopted, namely, to write to the Sublime Porte a most respectful and deferential letter, stating his reasons for the construction of a railroad through one of the Sultan's most wealthy provinces, to be paid for solely by the resources of the country, and to request His Majesty's favourable protection to the undertaking.

With respect to the French Consul-General's prophecies of the commercial and financial results to Egypt of the proposed railroad, they seem to me entitled to much the same weight as his observations on the political status; at least this much I know for certain, that if His Highness had been unwilling to risk his own funds in the undertaking, and if political combinations had allowed the employment of foreign capital therein, more than one company in England were prepared to take it on a lease of a term of years, and to construct and complete it at their own cost.

One important fact connected with this affair it is my duty to bring under your Lordship's notice, namely, the statement that all the other foreign Powers who gave their adhesion to the Firman of 1841 were hostile to the construction of a railway in Egypt, and would not recognise the right of the Viceroy to make it without the previous sanction of the Porte.

One of those Powers at least has committed itself to a different view, through the medium of its responsible Agent here.

Several months ago, when the proposal for the construction of a railroad became the subject of frequent discussion here, in consequence of the surveys made by Mr. Stephenson, and his subsequent interviews with the Viceroy, the Prussian Consul-General called upon His Highness and informed him that the wood employed as sleepers for railroads was to be obtained more cheaply and of a better quality in Prussia than elsewhere; and he accordingly requested His Highness to permit that article to be supplied from Prussia.

His Highness, after informing the Prussian Consul-General that the price and the quality of all materials used in the railway must be previously sanctioned by the chief engineer, Mr. Stephenson, added that if in that gentleman's opinion the samples of Prussian timber sent united the advantages of cheapness and quality beyond that of any other nation, he would have no objection to entrust the supply of that article to Prussia.

Acting upon this conditional promise, with more precipitancy than prudence, it appears that the Prussian Consul-General sent official communications home, the result of which was, that advertisements appeared in many of the Prussian newspapers, to the effect that all persons wishing to compete for the supply of timber for the Cairo and Alexandria Railway might send in their tenders to the Prussian Consul-General in Egypt.

Since the occurrence of these events, the agent of Mr. Stephenson sent to complete the contract here has informed His Highness that even in England, where the freight from the Baltic is so much lower than it could possibly be in Egypt, iron sleepers have lately been found to be much more cheap and durable than wood; and moreover it was his belief that if wood should be required at all it could be procured at a lower price from Norway, Sweden, or Trieste, than from Prussia.

Upon receiving this information it seems that His Highness intimated to the Prussian Consul-General that the supply of wood would not be required from Prussia; an intimation at which the latter was and is so highly incensed, that he accuses the Viceroy of having broken faith with him, and he will probably be found among the most active opponents of His Highness in respect to the railway.

This subsequent misunderstanding, however, cannot alter the important fact that he in addressing official communications home regarding the supply of the timber, previous to the meeting the question of the Sublime

Porte's preliminary sanction, did by that act show that he tacitly acknowledged His Highness' right to make the railway, and that Prussia was prepared to reap her portion of the commercial advantages attending its construction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 81.

Nubar Bey to Abbas Pasha's Private Secretary in Cairo.

Mon cher Bey, *Alexandrie, le 19 Juillet*, 1851.

JE me suis rendu chez le Consul Français, avec lequel j'ai eu une très longue conversation que je vais tacher de transcrire aussi fidèlement que possible.

J'ai fait savoir à M. le Consul que si à notre dernière rencontre j'avais répondu négativement à la question qu'il m'avait faite au sujet du chemin de fer, c'est que je me trouvai moi-même dans l'ignorance de ce qui s'était passé chez Son Altesse; que le lendemain seulement, ayant été de nouveau rendre une visite à M. d'Anastasy, j'avais appris de lui que le contrat pour les ingénieurs qui devaient diriger les travaux avait été passé entre Son Altesse et les ingénieurs envoyés par Mr. Stephenson.

"Hé bien!" me répondit le Consul, "je suis fâché pour Son Altesse de ce qu'elle a agi avec autant de précipitation; lorsque je lui ai fait exprimer le désir que j'aurais eu de me rendre auprès d'elle, c'était pour lui rendre compte d'un rapport qui m'avait été adressé, et dans lequel l'on détaillait tous les désavantages qui résulteraient pour Son Altesse et pour le pays, de la construction de ce chemin de fer.

"La réponse que Son Altesse avait la bonté de mettre un vapeur à ma disposition ne m'est parvenue que quatre jours après; ayant appris dans l'intervalle que le contrat avait été signé, tout ce que j'avais à dire à Son Altesse à ce sujet devenait donc inutile, car à quoi cela servirait-il à présent que j'aille lui démontrer qu'elle a agi légèrement, qu'elle s'est inconsidérément jetée dans une entreprise dont elle ressentira dans la suite tous les désagrémens et tous les dangers."

Là-dessus, M. le Consul a pris le cahier du rapport et m'en a lu la conclusion, qui revenait à peu près à ceci:

"Le chemin de fer, considéré sous le point de vue commercial, est une entreprise absurde; un capital immense engagé sans profit, les recettes pourront à peine suffire à l'entretien; son utilité pour le pays nulle. Considéré sous le point de vue politique, ce chemin de fer indique une tendance marquée de Son Altesse à laisser prendre aux Anglais une influence pernicieuse, dont tôt ou tard elle aurait à se repentir."

Voilà, à peu près, si je m'en souviens bien, la conclusion de ce rapport, auquel M. le Consul devait ajouter encore quelques réflexions verbales.

"Tout cela," me dit-il, "devient donc inutile, puisque Son Altesse ayant pris une mesure à laquelle j'étais bien loin de m'attendre, ce rapport et les instructions que j'avais reçues ne pourraient plus avoir aucun effet."

"Je suis fâché, M. le Consul," lui dis-je, "que vous n'ayez pu communiquer à Son Altesse tout ce que vous venez de me dire,—je me permettrai seulement de vous faire remarquer, que quant à la question commerciale, il faudrait une étude particulière pour pouvoir prononcer avec connaissance de cause sur les avantages ou désavantages que pourrait présenter un tel chemin de fer;—pour moi je pense que ce n'est pas sans raison que nous voyons l'Europe couverte de nombreux réseaux de chemin de fer, qui vont toujours en s'agrandissant; il est donc tout naturel de croire, que serait-ce même une perte pour le Gouvernement, une route carossable ou en fer, ne peut, tôt ou tard, que contribuer à la civilisation et au bien-être du pays et des populations; enfin, dis-je, la rapidité de communication n'a point fait du tout de tort jusqu'à présent.

"Quant à la question politique, il me semble qu'il n'y en a pas ici,—

déjà le transit existe; en temps de paix pourrait-on empêcher les Anglais de passer pour aller aux Indes? Il est indifférent à présent qu'ils passent en bateau à vapeur, voiture, ou bien par un chemin de fer;—d'ailleurs, ce chemin de fer, ainsi que nous l'avons vu déjà pratiquer en Europe, peut se défaire dans l'espace d'une demi-heure, et intercepter ainsi toute communication."

"Je ne crois pas," me dit M. le Consul, "qu'il y ait pour le Gouvernement une entreprise plus onéreuse; d'abord, veuillez me dire quel avantage, quel profit pourra retirer le Delta d'un chemin de fer qui reliera le Caire à Alexandrie, passant par la limite du Désert? Les provinces, qu'y gagneraient-elles?" "Et la Haute Egypte?" lui répondis-je. "Croyez-vous," me dit-il, "que l'on ira transporter les céréales par cette voie; le négociant fera son calcul, et ne se servira point d'un moyen de transport qui lui sera bien plus coûteux que celui des barques; d'ailleurs un chemin de fer n'est point fait pour transporter des céréales; où sont les centres manufacturiers qui en profiteront? où sont les fabriques, les grandes villes? L'Egypte est essentiellement agricole, et un chemin de fer n'est pas ce qui peut lui convenir."—"Si donc," dis-je à M. le Consul, "au lieu de faire suivre au chemin de fer la limite du Désert, on lui fesait traverser une partie du Delta, et reliait ainsi une des plus belles et plus riches provinces à Alexandrie, le pays n'en profiterait-il point?" "Quant à moi," me dit-il, "je crois fermement que les recettes couvriraient à peine les frais d'entretien, à tel point que si ce chemin de fer devait être fait avec des actions, je n'en prendrais même pas une, de crainte d'avoir ensuite à débourser pour les dividendes désastreux que donnerait le résultat; considéré sous ce point de vue, le chemin de fer est une folie; d'ailleurs la question principale se trouve être la question politique; il est indubitable que Son Altesse en accordant le chemin de fer, ne l'a fait que dans le but d'être agréable aux Anglais. Ceux-ci, pourquoi y tiennent-ils autant? Serait-ce parcequ'au lieu de 24 heures que l'on met présentement entre Alexandrie et le Caire, on n'y mettrait plus que six? non, certainement; un jour de différence sur les 44 que l'on met entre les Indes et l'Angleterre ne vaut pas même la peine d'en parler. Le chemin de fer attirera-t-il plus de voyageurs? Non, le nombre sera toujours le même, et personne ne se donnera la fatigue d'aller jusqu'aux Indes pour le plaisir de passer quelques heures en chemin de fer en Egypte; il y a donc une autre raison cachée qui pousse l'Angleterre à demander si instamment la construction de ce chemin de fer; et la voici: Pour faire ce chemin de fer on se servira d'ingénieurs Anglais; une fois terminé, comme il est déjà établi pour le transit, le service se fera par des Anglais; l'on ne pourra point confier aux mains des habitans l'entretien d'une route d'où dépend la vie de tant de personnes, il faut encore là un matériel Anglais. L'influence change, la politique aussi, l'argent répandu fait qu'à la fin Son Altesse se trouve obligée de passer par là où l'on voudra, et quelque temps après elle verra, mais trop tard, qu'elle n'est plus maîtresse chez elle, et qu'elle s'est donné un maître exigeant, là où elle ne demandait qu'un appui. La végétation pousse vîte en Egypte; aujourd'hui c'est un arbrisseau, demain c'est un arbre; quelques années seulement ont suffi pour faire cette transformation. Vous savez, d'ailleurs, la fable de Lafontaine (il voulait parler de celle où une chienne pleine demande à une autre de lui prêter son chevreuil pour mettre bas, et qui, ensuite, aidée de ses petits, refuse de le rendre à son propriétaire); c'est, comme je vous l'ai déjà dit, l'acte le plus impolitique qu'ait jamais pu faire Son Altesse, et elle s'est engagée dans une voie qui la mènera loin.

"Passons à présent à la position que Son Altesse s'est faite par cette conduite, vis-à-vis de la Porte. Cette dernière ne s'est point encore prononcée au sujet de ce chemin de fer; elle le désapprouve, puisqu'elle l'a refusé déjà aux instances réitérées de l'Ambassadeur Anglais, qui, reconnaissant à la Porte le droit de le faire exécuter, s'était d'abord adressé à elle; aujourd'hui cette matière est traitée entre la Porte et les Commissaires envoyés par l'Egypte. Je ne puis vraiment me rendre compte comment Son Altesse a pu prendre une décision aussi précipitée, avant même que d'avoir connu le résultat des négociations. C'est aller contre le

Droit des Gens, et Son Altesse n'a pu agir ainsi que dans la certitude que le Gouvernement Anglais le soutiendrait, car sinon elle aurait agi avec une folie désastreuse.

"Voyons à présent si le Gouvernement Anglais, qui a aussi des intérêts majeurs à Constantinople, voudrait se brouiller complètement avec la Porte pour soutenir le Viceroi. Cet acte de Son Altesse dans un moment pareil, c'est-à-dire, au milieu des négociations, veut absolument dire, 'Messieurs, je me moque de tout ce que vous pouvez dire et faire; pendant que vous parlez, moi j'exécute;' mais Son Altesse a-t-elle le droit de dire cela? et peut-elle éluder les Traités signés par les Puissances qui déclarent qu'il n'est point possible au Viceroi de faire construire un seul bâtiment de guerre (à plus forte raison un chemin de fer, qui a une portée bien plus grave) sans la permission de la Porte.

"Du temps de Méhémet Ali, le Barrage et des canaux même n'ont été faits qu'avec l'adhésion du Sultan. Celui-ci peut se considérer comme offensé de la conduite de Son Altesse, et le Viceroi, en agissant ainsi, n'a fait rien moins que lever l'étendard de la révolte; et quant à moi, d'après les usages Européens, je ne donnerai que vingt-quatre heures aux Commissaires Égyptiens pour sortir de Constantinople, puisqu'au moment où ils sont à traiter, leur chef tranche la question, se moque du Droit des Gens, et en agit à sa propre tête.

"Voilà les complications que peut amener la conduite de Son Altesse; ainsi donc par cet acte elle s'est révoltée contre son Souverain, et s'est aliénée les quatre autres Puissances.

"J'aurais dit tout cela à Son Altesse si j'avais pu la voir à temps. Qui l'aurait cru, cependant? Je me souviens que lorsque Son Altesse annonçait qu'elle avait l'intention de faire construire un chemin de fer, je la demandai dans une conversation que nous avons eu ensemble, si Son Altesse se servirait pour cela d'ingénieurs étrangers; non, m'a-t-elle répondu, les ingénieurs qui se trouvent dans le pays sont capables et en nombre suffisant pour diriger tous les travaux. Telle a été sa réponse, et confiant dans sa parole, j'étais tranquil à ce sujet. Qu'arrive-t-il aujourd'hui: tous les ingénieurs du pays sont mis de côté, ce sont les ingénieurs Anglais qui en sont chargés, et l'affaire devient une question Anglaise; à présent que le contrat est signé, il n'est plus possible de revenir là-dessus; aller donc dire à Son Altesse qu'elle a fait une absurdité serait peine perdue."

"Quant à moi," dis-je au Consul, "il me semble qu'il n'y a rien de changé dans la position de l'Égypte. Les ingénieurs d'après leur propre contrat même ne sont employés que provisoirement, et s'en iront une fois le chemin construit; déjà l'administration du transit existe, ses employés peuvent suffire au service du chemin de fer, tous les machinistes des bateaux à vapeur du Nil sont Anglais, remplacez-en trois ou quatre par des machinistes capables de diriger les locomotives, et vous avez toujours le même nombre d'employés. Pour ce qui est de l'assentiment de la Porte, il me semble avoir entendu dire qu'elle ne s'y opposerait que tout autant qu'il serait construit avec l'argent étranger, ce qui signifie clairement qu'elle y consentirait si les dépenses comme cela sera, étaient faites par le Gouvernement Egyptien.

"Pour ce qui concerne nos Commissaires, ils se sont rendus à Constantinople pour discuter les Articles du Tanzimat, et non la construction du chemin de fer."

"Le Pacha," me répondit le Consul, "doit avoir entre ses mains le compte-rendu des négociations qui se poursuivent à Constantinople; il doit savoir par les lettres de ses Commissaires, soit par Abdurrahman Effendi, qu'outre la question du Tanzimat, l'on a soulevé à Constantinople l'affaire du chemin de fer; Son Altesse ne peut l'ignorer; les rapports que j'ai reçus de Constantinople m'en parlent; l'on me dit même que l'on était très étonné de ne pas voir se retourner l'émissaire envoyé à Son Altesse. La question du chemin de fer rentre d'ailleurs dans celle du Tanzimat. Son Altesse en précipitant les choses s'est mise dans la position d'un homme qui veut se soustraire à la domination de son suzerain et se rendre indépendant. Pour moi je considère ce chemin de fer ni plus ni

moins que la question d'Orient remise sur le tapis. La Porte certainement aurait fini par y donner son adhésion, seulement elle aurait pris ses mesures, elle aurait fait des conditions, elle aurait empêché le germe de la domination Anglaise de s'introduire en Égypte; domination qui relierait par une voie continue de possessions, l'Angleterre et les Indes. Voilà ce que la Porte aurait fait; qui sait les conditions aux quelles le Pacha l'a accordé? car je ne puis croire qu'il se soit engagé dans une pareille entreprise pour le simple et pur plaisir de l'Angleterre; c'est impossible qu'il ne lui ait pas demandé par contre quelque chose, et qu'il n'ait pas traité avec elle. Son Altesse fesant ce chemin de fer, l'Angleterre se sera sans doute engagée à la soutenir contre les vexations de la Porte. Son Altesse ne sait donc pas dans les bras de qui elle s'est jetée; elle ne pense donc pas que le Protectorat de l'Angleterre est mille fois plus lourd que la domination de Constantinople; ne voit-elle pas devant elle l'exemple des Princes Indiens, et tous ces petits Etats que Angleterre envahit, en commençant toujours de la même manière: aujourd'hui, c'est une route jusqu'à Suez; demain ce sont des stations; ensuite un bateau à vapeur sur le Nil, puis un autre portant pavillon Anglais; demain ce sont des barques sur le Canal Alexandrien, enfin une administration entière, à part, jouissant de prérogatives, et ne reconnaissant point la jurisdiction du pouvoir local. Mehemet Ali a si bien reconnu le danger d'une telle institution, qu'il a consenti à un sacrifice pécuniaire pour s'approprier le transit, s'engageant à faire faire lui-même le service; encore n'est-il point parvenu à se saisir de la malle, qui continue toujours à passer par l'entremise d'agens Anglais; et voilà qu'aujourd'hui Abbas Pacha, son petit-fils, abandonne la politique de son grandpère, qui était un homme bien autrement politique, et va se jeter dans les bras de son ennemi avoué, de celui qui a le plus d'intérêt à s'approprier son pays, et laisse de côté la France, sa protectrice naturelle, dont les intentions pacifiques et désintéressées sont connues, qui n'a pas besoin de s'agrandir, et dont les vues philantropiques ne peuvent point porter d'ombrage. La France ne fesait servir son influence et sa protection qu'à apaiser les différends qui pouvaient s'élever entre la Porte et le Viceroi.

"La Porte voyait, il est vrai, avec jalousie ce Protectorat de la France; mais elle la supportait, certaine qu'elle ne chercherait point à envahir l'Égypte et à aliéner ses droits; mais croyez-vous qu'elle verra avec le même œil le Protectorat de l'Angleterre? Croyez-vous qu'elle supportera tranquillement que l'Angleterre prenne une telle influence jusqu'au point de dominer le pays?"

"D'après ce que vous venez de me dire," répondis-je à M. le Consul, "je résume: Le chemin de fer ne devient une question politique que parcequ'il est fait par des ingénieurs Anglais; fait par d'autres ou par ceux du pays il n'a plus aucune conséquence. Pour ce qui est de la concession du chemin de fer, qu'aurait pu faire la Porte à l'Angleterre; il aurait été peut-être imprudent de l'attendre, dans la crainte que l'une des premières conditions de la concession aurait pu être de faire accéder l'Angleterre à toutes ses vues contre l'Egypte et son Viceroi.

"Quant à ce qui est de l'envahissement fortuit de l'Angleterre, puisque le transit existe déjà, je ne puis comprendre en quoi le chemin de fer y peut contribuer; pour moi il n'est qu'une voie plus rapide de passage; les voyageurs Anglais et la malle passeront comme ils passent en France, comme ils passent ailleurs. Son Altesse en fesant le chemin de fer ne s'engage nullement envers l'Angleterre, et puisque vous dites vous-même qu'il doit y avoir des conditions entre le Gouvernement Anglais et Son Altesse, ces conditions devront être respectées de part et d'autre.

"L'Angleterre peut bien faire des empiétements sur les possessions des petits Princes des Indes. Ces pays sont trop éloignés du centre politique et trop insignifians pour qu'on ne la laisse point faire; mais la position géographique de l'Egypte, son importance, la mettent à l'abri d'un pareil sort."

"Tenez," me dit le Consul, "il est évident que le Pacha croit en ce moment n'engager que son petit doigt, et qu'il est libre de le retirer aussitôt que l'on le lui serrera trop fort. Hé bien! il se trompe; c'est

absolument une roue d'engrénage: après le doigt, c'est la main, après la main le bras, et puis le corps qui est pris et brisé sans merci.

"Croyez-vous que l'Angleterre raisonne avec les petits Souverains qu'elle protège? Croyez-vous qu'elle agisse selon son droit? Non, presque toujours elle veut ce qu'elle veut; mais lui direz-vous, ce n'est pas juste; elle vous répondra, 'moi je ne discute pas, je veux que cela soit ainsi, et cela sera.' Quelquefois même elle ne répond pas du tout. Le Pacha, pourra-t-il empêcher l'Angleterre d'agir comme bon lui semble? Et croit-il pouvoir lui résister? Cela serait absurde.

"Le chemin de fer, considéré comme vous venez de le faire sous le simple point de vue de route, est, il est vrai, d'une portée nulle; mais cependant vous remarquerez qu'il y a traité avec l'Angleterre, qu'il y a des conditions, et par conséquent un but politique. Expliquez-moi donc la conduite de l'Angleterre dans cette occasion. Elle n'est point conséquente. Comment vous, Sir S. Canning, vous êtes le premier à exiger dans un but philantropique, que le Tanzimat soit introduit en Egypte; c'est vous qui le premier, réuni à Rechid Pacha, le poussez à soulever cette question. Donc, vous reconnaissez le droit de Constantinople, et c'est au moment où l'on discute avec les Commissaires des articles qui sont compatibles avec la nature du pays, que l'on traite de l'adhésion de la Porte et la construction du chemin de fer, que vous, M. le Consul Anglais en Egypte, vous poussez le Pacha à se déclarer contre ce droit, et le faites agir inconsidérément, et que vous, Angleterre, vous voulez empêcher que le Tanzimat ne soit introduit dans les pays. Ou je n'y comprends rien, ou il y a un feu caché là-dessous. Il n'est pas possible et naturel que l'Angleterre se contredise ainsi purement et simplement pour faire gagner quelques heures aux voyageurs des Indes; mais enfin l'Angleterre ne figure pas seule dans le Traité de 1841; il y a quatre autres Puissances, et ces quatre, réunies à la Porte, lui demanderont compte de sa conduite. Il faudra bien alors qu'elle s'explique et réponde. Je ne sais qui a pu faire croire à Son Altesse que la France était impuissante. Elle est, il est vrai, dans un moment de crise, mais c'est précisément alors qu'elle est capable de tout faire; déjà elle a donné des preuves, et elle n'est pas encore tellement sous la dépendance de la Démagogie pour qu'elle ne puisse se relever fière et se faire respecter.

"Je ne parle point de toutes les petites humiliations que j'ai eu à supporter depuis que je suis ici, ma dignité ne me permet point de les rappeler; mais l'on se trompe si l'on croit que la France restera indifférente: cet acte de Son Altesse va réveiller tous les esprits; l'Angleterre sera forcée de répondre catégoriquement à la demande qui lui sera faite par les Cinq Puissances; voyons alors si elle préférera abandonner les intérêts majeurs qu'elle a à Constantinople et soutenir le Pacha; voyons à quel de ses deux Agens elle donnera la préférence, car bien certainement ou Sir S. Canning ou Mr. Murray sera désavoué; si c'est ce dernier, c'est alors que le Pacha verra où son imprudence et sa précipitation l'ont entraîné.

"J'ai parlé peut-être un peu vivement, mais je vous dis tout cela parceque je pense que vous êtes vous-même partisan de l'Angleterre;"—"Je ne suis, M. le Consul," lui dis-je "ni partisan de l'Angleterre, ni de la France, ni d'aucune autre Puissance; je suis le partisan de Son Altesse; je suis son serviteur, et son intérêt est mon seul mobile."

"Je dois vous dire alors," reprit le Consul, "que la route suivie par le Viceroi lui sera préjudiciable, que l'affaire a grandi, et par ce dernier acte a pris de telles proportions, qu'il est impossible que les Puissances Européennes ne s'en mêlent; à présent il ne me reste plus rien à faire ici; tout se traitera à Constantinople, que Son Altesse fasse ce qu'elle voudra, qu'elle démissionne Mr. Nottinger et mette à sa place Figaro; qu'elle renvoie les ingénieurs Français et les remplace par des Anglais.

"Je n'ai jamais refusé au Pacha l'appui et les conseils de la France, je les lui ai donné toutes les fois que Son Altesse me les a demandés: dorénavant je n'ai plus rien à dire. Que Son Altesse sache seulement que la France est encore forte, et qu'elle peut faire sentir sa puissance!"

Là-dessus je me suis levé et j'ai quitté le Consul.

Je me suis empressé de transcrire aussitôt cette conversation le plus fidèlement qu'il m'a été possible.

Veuillez avoir la bonté, M. le Boy, de la porter à la connaissance de Son Altesse, et de me croire, &c.

(Signé) ARAKEL NUBAR.

No. 82.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received August* 18.)

(No. 21.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, August* 3, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information copy of a despatch which I addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on the 23rd of July, relative to the discussion pending between the Sublime Porte and the Egyptian Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 82.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 17.)

Sir, *Alexandria, July* 29, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatches from No. 8 to 15 inclusive, all of which (with the exception of from Nos. 11 to 14 which shall be answered separately) refer to the pending discussions between the Sublime Porte and the Government of Egypt. The two chief points treated by your Excellency in these despatches are the privilege of carrying into execution a capital sentence delivered by a legitimate tribunal; and secondly, the question of the railroad from Alexandria to Cairo. With respect to the first of these it is neither my wish nor my province to dispute what your Excellency has written to show that the power of life and death is one of the highest and most sacred attributes of royalty. The power that he has hitherto exercised and still exercises, is, as your Excellency truly states it, nothing more than ordering for execution any criminal sentenced to death by regular course of law, and all that His Highness hopes and expects is, that this power should not be taken from him. I am quite aware that Great Britain cannot dictate to the Sublime Porte on this head, but it seems to me that having a deeper interest in the tranquillity of this province than any other European Power, and having been the chief agent in the settlement of the Egyptian question in 1840—41, she has a right to advise and even to remonstrate against any measure which, however plausible may be its abstract right, would tend to throw Egypt into confusion and interrupt the present peaceful and steady course of our Anglo-Indian intercourse.

Sir, with respect to this clause I have carefully read the two papers inclosed to me in your Excellency's despatch No. 9, namely, that sent in by the Egyptian Commissioners and the reply of the Turkish Council, and I feel bound to say that the former seems to me plain, practical, and statesmanlike, and at the same time respectful to the Sultan; the latter a vain-glorious, wordy document which overlooks the practical points in debate, and rests some of its arguments on a basis so totally at variance with truth that they never could have been ventured in any other quarter than that of a Sovereign writing to a vassal who dared not reply; neither will I take up your Excellency's time by pointing out many of these fallacies, as they must be better known to your Excellency than to myself. To suppose that in the eyes of Fellahs, Bedouins, and Berbers, the strength of the Egyptian Governor would appear greater from the fact of his having been deprived of the power of inflicting capital punishment, and of

his "being subject in all things to the royal will and pleasure of His Gracious Majesty, to whom the Empire belongs," is a proposition so strange that one is surprised that the Council should have committed it to paper.

It is very true that the European Powers and those who have studied and understood the balance of power in Europe, know the Viceroy of Egypt only as the hereditary Governor of a Turkish province, but it is also no less true (although a truth too unpalatable to be told in the Turkish Divan) that the great mass of the Arab population of the provinces in Egypt, especially those of Said and Soudan, and the Bedouins in the Eastern and Western Desert, know little of and care little for His Majesty the Sultan: they know Mehemet Ali, by whose indomitable energy they were subdued and the whole country brought under subjection; and they well remember with what promptitude and severity they have been punished whenever they have made an attempt to plunder or pillage.

The prestige of his name and of the system which he introduced has not yet departed from his family successor, and to this may chiefly be attributed the vast difference that exists in respect to security, prosperity, and tranquillity, between Egypt and those other provinces of the Turkish Empire, Kurdistan, Hedjaz, &c., to which the Council points with such blind self-complacency as models of reformed administration.

I think your Excellency will agree with me that until the Sublime Porte can show any other province under their own immediate government in which once or twice a-month a string of 200 camels can cross 84 miles of desert with no other guard than the ordinary Arab camel-drivers, and bearing the richest Indian merchandize, and sometimes four, five, or six hundred thousand dollars in specie without the loss of a dollar, it would be wiser in them not to indulge so much in these self-laudatory phrases, which can deceive no one but themselves.

But although the Sublime Porte may have an abstract right even according to the Firman of 1841, to issue regulations tending to reduce Egypt to a level with Hedjaz, Kurdistan, and those other provinces, it seems to me that Great Britain ought to oppose and remonstrate in the strongest language that diplomatic usage will permit, against any measure which might tend to interrupt or endanger the security of her present safe and easy intercourse with Egypt; neither do I see how the Representative of any European Power can conscientiously support the depriving Abbas Pasha of this most important delegated trust, when it is remembered that every one of them is compelled to confide it to the Governors of its distant colonies.

Having premised these observations on the question of right and on the wisdom of exercising that right, I now proceed to inform your Excellency of the steps that I have taken in consequence of your instructions, and of the result attending those steps, from which I trust your Excellency will see the pains that I have taken to bring my own views of what is just and advisable in this matter into conformity with your Excellency's instructions, and also that the Viceroy in this, as in other questions, has shown the greatest readiness to be guided by your counsel.

On the arrival of the advices brought by the "Growler" from Constantinople, His Highness called together a Council of the highest officers, and after submitting the matter under discussion to their consideration, it was resolved that several of the points connected with it, especially those appertaining to the religious law, should be referred to the Ulema. These worthies, like doctors of law in other countries, differed and debated, and were so long in forming an opinion, and so tedious in delivering it, that I lost all patience when I learnt that my reply to your Excellency's despatches was deferred by their prolixity. I took the liberty therefore of reminding His Highness that as he had neither the power nor the wish to arrogate to himself any of the privileges of royalty, he could not claim the one in question as a matter of right; that whatever *religioso-legale* sentence the Ulema here might pronounce, and by whatever authorities they might support it, these would be at once overruled by the authority of the Sultan (who is not only the political but the religious chief of the

empire), and by that of the Sheik-el-Islam, who is the chief expounder of the religious law.

I showed him therefore that he could ultimately gain no definite advantage by such a course, while he would lose that which would result from an appeal to the favour of the Sultan, supported as that appeal would be by your Excellency's exertions on his behalf. His Highness has agreed to embrace this view of the question; and in the letters which he sends by this mail (translations of which I hope to be able to send to your Excellency), His Highness abandons all pretensions to this privilege as a right or claim, and only requests its continuance as a favor from the Sultan and as a means for enabling him to preserve this province in its present state of security and tranquillity.

I trust that your Excellency will support this request with all your influence, and if you find an insurmountable obstacle in the determination of the Sublime Porte not to delegate irrevocably so high a trust, it would seem a simple method to preserve the Sultan's prerogative and dignity, if it were settled that His Majesty should grant this privilege for life to each succeeding Viceroy in the Firman of investiture, with a clause that in case of the permission being abused by cruelty and injustice it should be immediately withdrawn.

If your Excellency can succeed in effecting such a compromise you will, in my humble opinion, thereby render an essential service to the Sublime Porte, to Egypt, and to England.

I come now to the matter of the railway, and before entering into it in detail I will beg your Excellency's permission to reply to two paragraphs in your despatch No. 12, which show that you are under the impression that two of my former statements are incorrect and contradictory.

In this despatch your Excellency repeats for the second time, that Mehemet Ali applied in person for the Sultan's permission before commencing the Barrage. Your Excellency can only have this information from some of the officials at Constantinople, and I have an assurance directly contrary from the Viceroy himself; it is only therefore by a reference to facts and dates that it can be proved which of these sources of information is correct. As soon as I received your Excellency's despatch containing the before-mentioned statement, feeling vexed that Abbas Pasha should have misled me in a matter which is quoted on both sides as a precedent, I requested His Highness to send an officer to examine all the official records concerning the Barrage and to bring them to me in the original Turkish. His Highness at once agreed, and I have these papers now before me; their contents and dates are as follows—the dates being according to the Mahomedan year, the present year being 1267 (1851):

The orders were sent to Sami Pasha, then in Paris, to make the contract with Mougel Bey, the engineer of the Barrage, in 1261 (1845).

The orders to the Kiaja Pasha at Cairo to commence the work, seven months later in the same year (1845).

The piers of the Barrage in the month Rabiah-el-Evvel, 1262 (1846).

Driving piles for superstructure, Rabiah-el-Akhir, 1263 (1847).

Placing the concrete cement on do., Zil Hadj, 1263 (1847).

Ceremony of laying the foundation stone, 23 Rabiah Akhir, 1263 (1847).

Date of letter to Sublime Porte announcing do., 25 do., 1263 (1847).

From these dates your Excellency will perceive that the Barrage contracts were made and the work commenced nearly two years before any announcement of it was made to the Sublime Porte; and when it was announced it was in a letter of compliments now before me, in which a hope is expressed that the work would redound to the honour of the Sultan's reign; and the only permission asked is that His Majesty would allow his name to be given to the undertaking.

As Mehemet Ali did not go to Constantinople until some time after the ceremony above referred to, it is impossible that he could "personally" have asked permission until the work was half-completed. All these facts must be perfectly well known to Kiamil Pasha and others of those who

surround the Vizier, so I am quite at a loss to know how any of them could have ventured to make the confident assertion quoted in your Excellency's despatch.

In the closing sentence of the same despatch your Excellency observes that a phrase in my despatch of the 27th March last states in distinct terms my impression that the Sultan's sanction must have been given to the construction of the fortifications of Alexandria.

If your Excellency will do me the honour to refer to the passage in question, I think you will admit that when taken with the context, it is clear that the tacit sanction of the Sultan is alluded to when I wrote—"As neither the English Government nor the Sublime Porte thought fit to make any remonstance against their construction and extension, it must be presumed that they received the Sultan's sanction."

By coupling the English Government with the Sublime Porte I merely referred to that sanction which is inferred by the silence of a party in respect to an undertaking against which he has a right to remonstrate. I thought that both England and the Sultan had a perfect right to remonstrate against those fortifications which might some day shut the one out of its communication with India, and the other out of his own province; but I never intended to intimate that the Viceroy of Egypt had previously asked permission.

Having made these observations in defence of my accuracy and consistency, I proceed to the question of the railway, and not to keep your Excellency in any suspense in respect to its issue, I have the honour to inform you that it must be considered as a *fait accompli*, the contract for the engineering department having been signed on the 12th instant between the Viceroy's Foreign Minister and the agent of Mr. Stephenson.

I fear your Excellency may be disappointed at my not having remonstrated against this measure until the permission expected by the Sublime Porte had been asked and obtained; but under the circumstances of the case it was impossible for me to do so without nullifying all that I had previously said or done in this matter, and making the Viceroy a laughing-stock and a bye-word in England. For before the arrival of your Excellency's last despatches, His Highness had already sent renewed instructions to his agent in England to complete the necessary contracts for rails; and Mr. Borthwick (Mr. Stephenson's agent) had arrived with directions from his principal, to the effect that he must sign the contract for engineering, and return as soon as possible.

If the Viceroy had hesitated or delayed in completing this part of the transaction while the other was under course of completion in England, he would only have rendered himself ridiculous without any countervailing advantage; and I certainly plead guilty to having advised him to sign the contract at once, and then to reconcile the Sublime Porte to the matter by writing the most deferential letter possible to announce the commencement of the undertaking, and to express a hope that it would receive His Majesty the Sultan's favour and protection. All this he has done; and the Rubicon being now passed, it only remains for me to mention, or rather to recapitulate, in explanation of my share in the transaction, the circumstances and the motives that guided my conduct.

Your Excellency is aware that this railroad has been the theme of discussion for some years past; the British public took a deep interest in it, and so early as December 1848, I was instructed by Lord Palmerston to press the measure upon the Egyptian Government. I have done so ever since to the best of my ability, and I do not believe that it ever occurred to his Lordship or to any other party interested for or against the measure, to consider a reference to Constantinople as a necessary portion of the question.

The concluding paragraph of the Firman had been so completely overlooked in practice and usage, both on the part of the Sublime Porte and Egypt, that it seemed to be a dead letter, and such obsolete clauses are to be found in the acts, statutes, and public papers of all countries.

I trust that your Excellency is now satisfied from what I have written, that Abbas Pasha is correct in stating that amidst all the great works made in Egypt by his predecessors and himself, including the

great canal, the Barrage, and the fortifications, no previous permission had ever been asked, and the clause in the Firman referred to has never been adduced, although one at least of those works was one bearing tenfold the character of a political undertaking, more than a railroad between Alexandria and Cairo.

I do not mean to say that this clause in the Firman is inoperative, because it has been disused, nor to deny that the Sublime Porte has a right to renew and enforce a privilege that it has neglected, but, on the other hand, I do think that the custom and usage hitherto observed is not without its weight, and that the Viceroy was entitled to use the powers and privileges used and exercised by his predecessors, until a formal announcement of the intention of the Porte to curtail them by enforcing the disused clause, was made to him.

Such was the view taken by His Highness, and it would have been retracting all that I had ever said and nullifying all that I had ever done, if I had combated or remonstrated against His Highness' resolution. I felt, moreover, that I had the tacit sanction of Her Majesty's Government for the course I was pursuing, even to the last; for it is now more than two months since the Viceroy's Agent has been in England, whither he purposely went to make the necessary contracts and preparations for the railroad.

During that period he has had frequent intercourse with Lord Palmerston, and the chief engineer appointed to the railroad has had an interview with his Lordship on the subject.

As I have had no hint from his Lordship that the railroad should be delayed, or that the previous sanction of the Sublime Porte was requisite, am I not justified in supposing that Her Majesty's Government considered this as an internal improvement which the Viceroy had a right to make if he had the means and the will to do so?

Having said this much in explaining my own course of conduct, I need only add in reference to this matter, that as the most effectual means remaining for meeting your Excellency's wishes and facilitating your mediatorial exertions, I have with no little difficulty persuaded His Highness to write by this mail a most respectful letter on the subject to the Sublime Porte, a translation of which I hope to be able to send you, and the contents of which are as humble, loyal, and unobjectionable as you could desire.

That a great outcry will be raised at first we must be prepared to expect, especially on the part of the French who have so long and so steadily opposed this measure, but I trust that its clear and manifest advantage to the commerce and produce of Egypt will be appreciated by all sensible people, and that the clamour will soon subside.

With respect to the continuance of the railroad from Cairo to Suez across eighty-four miles of desert, spoken of to your Excellency by the Grand Vizier as a measure which he was willing to support, I must honestly confess my opinion that it would be of use only to England, and that if made at present it would not repay to Egypt an interest of 2 per cent. on the expense incurred in making it. For this reason I have not thought it my duty to advocate it, nor shall I do so until I receive positive instructions to that effect.

I gather from the general tone of your Excellency's despatches, that you are of opinion that His Highness Abbas Pasha alarms and disquiets himself unnecessarily as to the designs of the Sublime Porte in regard to him, and I trust that your Excellency's prognostications of the future may prove correct.

Certainly the letters written by His Highness on this occasion must show a disposition to do everything in his power towards a reconciliation; at the same time I am bound to mention to your Excellency that the same causes which occasion the disquietude of himself and his family occasion also an evident triumph to his enemies.

The French party here, several of the Consuls-General, and others who have regular correspondents at Constantinople, declare that the Sublime Porte are resolved by some means or other to depose Abbas, and that even if he gets over successfully these two matters of the railway and

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power of life and death, other clauses and claims will be brought against him, until he is worried either into resignation or some act of insubordination.

While upon the subject of His Highness' fears, I must express my regret that your Excellency should have considered my remarks upon the Sheriff of Mecca as intimating any connexion between him and Egypt. The analogy between the two cases was in some particulars so striking as to make His Highness remark it to me in conversation, for the Sheriff's sons had been sent to Constantinople, where they had lately been caressed and loaded with honours and titles; he himself had been lulled into security by compliments and promises. The Viceroy never expressed any opinion as to whether the Sheriff deserved his fate, but he merely alluded to the honours paid to his sons at Constantinople just before his fall, as a warning to the family of Mehemet Ali, who were now experiencing similar treatment there.

It is quite natural that the Viceroy's Commissioners should know nothing of an accidental observation that occurred in a private conversation between His Highness and myself.

With respect to the late Sheriff, it is very possible that he may have been disaffected to the Sublime Porte, and that they may have been justified in dismissing him from his post, but whether the manner of doing so was consistent with the civilized and enlightened principles professed by the present Administration is more doubtful.

The Sheriff, who had been gratified by the Nishans bestowed upon his sons at Constantinople, and by the compliments and friendly assurances addressed to himself, came down to Djedda at the express invitation of the Governor to meet his two sons at a banquet, which he was to give them in honour of a new schooner arrived for the Sheriff at Djedda. The unsuspecting Sheriff accepted the invitation, and coming with a small train, was received with a salute of cannon and all the honours due to his rank and station. No sooner were he and his sons and suite on board to partake of the Governor's hospitality, than the latter, pulling out a Firman from his pocket, told him that he was deposed, and was to proceed a prisoner with his family to Constantinople. The Turkish soldiers being in attendance, resistance was hopeless, and the Sheriff resigned himself to his fate.

How far this act will contribute to the Sultan's honour and glory in Arabia, where the rites of hospitality are so sacredly respected, it is not for me to say; but your Excellency may easily believe that such an example would not fail to produce a disagreeable impression upon any Prince within the Ottoman Empire who happened to have the misfortune to be out of favour at the Sublime Porte.

I believe I have now touched upon all the points referred to in your Excellency's last despatches; and it only remains for me to add that the Viceroy is extremely grateful for the exertions which your Excellency has made to extricate him from the difficulties of his position, especially those arising from the intrigues of his family; and he feels confident that if those exertions are continued in the same friendly spirit, they will ultimately succeed, and place him in the situation which he wishes to occupy as a useful, loyal, and devoted vassal to His Majesty the Sultan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 83.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 22.)

Alexandria, August 6, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 11, 12, and 13, all of which refer to the pending discussions between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

With respect to No. 11, in which I am instructed to represent to Abbas Pasha that it is not unreasonable that the Sultan should require that none of his subjects should be put to death without his own special authority, your Lordship has already been informed in my despatch No. 21, that the Viceroy has conceded that point as a claim of right, and has requested His Majesty to continue to him that authority as an act of favour, and for the maintenance of the tranquillity of the province. I have so often expressed my opinion to your Lordship on this subject, that it is unnecessary for me to repeat it here; and if the Sublime Porte persists in refusing to entrust the Governor of this country with the authority for executing criminals convicted of capital crimes, a very short space of time will suffice to show, whether I have been mistaken in the disastrous consequences which I, in common with all my colleagues, anticipate from the measure.

Your Lordship truly observes that if this regulation is not found incompatible with the maintenance of order among the Arab tribes in Asia Minor, there seems no evident reason why it should not be applicable to the Arabs of Egypt. But, my Lord, it is precisely because it is found incompatible with the maintenance of order among the Syrians, Arabs, and elsewhere, that we, and all who are interested in the tranquillity of Egypt, so strongly deprecate its introduction here.

If the Sublime Porte could point to one single province, at a distance only of 300 miles from the capital, in which there is even one-half the security of life and property existing in Egypt, we might have less just cause for alarm than we now entertain. But it is notorious that not only in the more remote districts, but also in the immediate neighbourhood of the largest towns in Asia Minor, such, for instance, as Smyrna, Aleppo and Damascus, robberies and murders unpunished, and disorders unrepressed, are matters of daily occurrence. We cannot but feel surprised at the pertinacity with which the Sublime Porte insists on forcing upon Egypt a regulation which has hitherto been attended with such signal failure elsewhere.

The Viceroy, seeing that the exclusive right is claimed by the Sultan as a prerogative of sovereignty, and also that that claim is recognized by the European Powers who were parties to the Firman of hereditary investiture, has had no alternative but to abandon the point as a matter of right.

If, however, the Sublime Porte determines, in spite of his entreaties, to withdraw from him the exercise of this authority, His Highness has desired me to inform your Lordship that he must be held no longer responsible to the extent that he now is for the safety of the travellers, mails, treasure, and other goods that now regularly cross the Desert with such uninterrupted security.

He will doubtless do all that lies in his power, with his curtailed authority, to prevent the depredations of the Arabs; but if those exertions should be found insufficient, and damage, loss, or interruption should ensue, His Highness hopes that the British Government will address complaints and demands for indemnity on such subjects to the Central Power, which has deprived him of the authority that he has hitherto enjoyed in maintaining the tranquillity of the country.

With reference to that part of your Lordship's conversation with Nubar Bey, inclosed to me in despatch No. 12, which regards the Egyptian army, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Viceroy has assured me that he would most gladly avail himself of your Lordship's suggestion of substituting a rural police, for such portions of the present military force as are employed in keeping order in the provinces, if he could find any practical method of doing so. But it is found here, by experience, that police duty can only be intrusted safely and effectually to Turks, and of these His Highness has not even a sufficient number for the police service of the large towns; and he has in vain attempted to obtain an additional number from Turkey, where the present system of enlistment prevents the Turks from coming over here to take service, without being constantly liable to their being recalled thither for enlistment.

I have already mentioned this difficulty to Her Majesty's Ambassador, and his Excellency has candidly informed me in reply, that the Sublime Porte would certainly not exempt any of their subjects from military duty in Turkey upon the plea of their being engaged in police service in Egypt.

On the other hand I am obliged to agree with the Viceroy in believing that Arab Fellahs in the provinces would be found totally unequal to this duty; for those of their own kindred, race, and language would entertain no fear or respect for them at all, unless they were, as now, furnished with military equipments and commanded by Turkish officers.

Your Lordship, in conversing with Nubar Bey upon the subject of the army, observed that it was highly improbable that the Abyssinians and other roving tribes to the southward of the Soudan, would make inroads on those Egyptians provinces, unless the Egyptians first attacked them.

In illustration of this point I beg to inform your Lordship that I have lately received a letter from Mr. Petherick, Her Majesty's Consular Agent at Khartoum, who writes as follows:—

"The Abyssinians in great numbers have made descents westward as far as the Blue River on the Egyptian Territory, passed the northern boundary in the direction of Takha, and have committed extensive ravages, plundering and burning in every direction. It is said that upwards of 100 villages have been sacked."

I think that when your Lordship reflects that the Government of Sennaar is separately and specially intrusted to the Viceroy of Egypt, you cannot but feel sensible that the presence of a considerable force of Egyptian soldiery is requisite in those provinces to check such depredations; and to protect not only the territory of the Sultan, but the property and lives of the numerous European merchants who are engaged there in the senna, ivory, and gum trade.

On this subject, as on that of the power of life and death, His Highness submits himself, if necessary, to the letter of the Firman; but he strongly protests against the short-sighted policy which would insist upon the literal fulfilment of the terms of that document, to the detriment of material interests so grave and important.

With respect to the railroad, it is a matter of great satisfaction to myself to find that although I have been left for some time without instructions, I have acted so completely in accordance with your Lordship's views.

Your Lordship in your conversation with M. Musurus, has anticipated and overthrown all the arguments brought forward by the French Consul-General, as reported in the despatch which I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship on the 2nd instant; and the Viceroy will, I am sure, feel deeply indebted to your Lordship for the efficient and timely support that you have given him in an affair which his enemies are already calculating upon as the cause and precursor of his downfall.

I beg again respectfully to remind your Lordship of the necessity existing for taking into early consideration the arrangements which it may be advisable to make with the Egyptian Government for the conveyance of Indian passengers, goods, and mails by the railroad; for I entertain but little doubt that the Sublime Porte, finding itself compelled with good grace to concede its construction, will next be desirous of insisting on a right to regulate its internal arrangements, as if it had been paid for out of the Imperial Treasury.

As such a course seems to be as much at variance with justice as with the views expressed by your Lordship to M. Musurus, it would seem that the readiest means of obviating the discussion of such a question, would be to enter at once into negotiations on the subject with His Highness, who will be, I am sure, ready to afford to British commerce every facility that it can reasonably require from the undertaking.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 84.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 22.)

(No. 28.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 12, 1851.*

I HAVE reason to believe that overtures have been lately made by the French Mission here to the Russian Government, with a view to obtain the co-operation of Russia in affording support to the Sultan in the differences which have existed for some time between His Highness and the Viceroy of Egypt.

It does not appear, however, that the Imperial Cabinet have shown any disposition to encourage the views of the French Government in this question, or that any hope has been held out to them of the influence of Russia being exerted at Constantinople in concert with that of France in opposition to the policy pursued by the Pasha of Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 85.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 17.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 23, 1851.*

I HAVE received your despatches to No. 22 of the 6th instant.

I have to observe to you with reference to the present state of the discussion between the Porte and Abbas Pasha respecting the construction of the railroad through Egypt, that as the Porte makes no objection to the construction of the railway, and only stands out upon a point of form and etiquette, and as it would rather seem by a comparison of dates, that Mehemet Ali did ask permission of the Sultan for the dam across the Nile before the work was actually begun, it would be wiser for the Pasha to yield on this point to the wishes of the Sultan and to apply for a permission which has been promised beforehand.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 86.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 223.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 23, 1851.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 242 of the 5th instant, in which you advert to certain expressions which Abbas Pasha in a letter to the Grand Vizier, makes use of respecting the advantages or disadvantages of a railroad between Cairo and Suez, I have to state to your Excellency that I cannot be answerable for the opinions and expressions contained in that letter. What I said to the Turkish Envoy in London, as reported to your Excellency in my despatch No. 176 of the 9th ultimo, is the truth. The line from Alexandria to Cairo would of course pay the best, and be the most useful to Egyptian commerce; but the line from Cairo to Suez would probably pay interest on the cost of its construction, for not only would there be a great number of passengers who would use it, but there is good reason to think that if railway communication were established between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, a great deal of the commerce which now goes round the Cape of Good Hope would pass through Egypt.

One would really suppose from the vast importance attached at Constantinople to the construction of this Egyptian railway, and from the manner in which the plan has been discussed, that no person in that capital had ever before heard of a railroad, and that the one now under consideration was the first thing of the kind ever made in the world, instead of railroads being, as they now are, the common means of locomotion all over Europe and North America, and even in some of the West Indian Islands. There cannot be a more striking instance of the backwardness of the intellectual and social condition of Turkey than the fuss which has been made about so common an undertaking.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 87.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 18.)

Foreign Office, August 27, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 22, of the 6th instant, containing observations on the various points alluded to in my despatches Nos. 11, 12, and 13, respecting the discussions pending between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt; and I have to observe to you with reference to what you say as to the power of ordering sentenced criminals to be executed, that if disorders and insecurity prevail in some parts of Asia Minor, those evils do not arise from the necessity of referring to Constantinople for authority to execute a convicted and condemned murderer, but from the circumstance that offenders are not apprehended and brought to trial, or if brought to trial are not condemned. It is the certainty of punishment that deters men from committing crimes; and if the people of Egypt are well convinced that murder will be punished by death, on due conviction before a court of law, that certainty of punishment will be equally effectual for the purpose of preventing crime, whether the order for execution shall come from Alexandria or from Constantinople.

With regard to the establishment of a police force, it is difficult to understand why no men should be found in Egypt capable of acting as police constables, or why Turks alone should be fit for that duty. The qualities required for the performance of the duty of police constables are, intelligence, activity, bodily strength, firmness of purpose with temperance of manner, and there seems no reason why these qualities should not be found in Egypt just as much as in Turkey; and if inconvenience would arise, as it probably might, from employing such policemen in the district of their birth, to keep their own friends and relations in order, the Province of Egypt is quite large enough to allow of arrangements by which men belonging to one district should be employed in another district.

The letter which you quote from the Consular Agent at Khartoum certainly states that the Abyssinians have made an inroad into the Egyptian territory; but it remains to be ascertained whether that inroad was not provoked by some previous aggressions on the part of the Egyptians; and the argument would be stronger in favour of the retention of a larger force than 18,000 regulars for the Egyptian army, if it were shown that during the time when the army was at the reduced number of 18,000, the Abyssinians were in the habit of invading Egypt, and that since 1849, when the army was raised to its present amount, these Abyssinians have made no attacks.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 88.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 27.)

(No. 24.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, August* 18, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 14, inclosing your despatch to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, recommending that a portion of the fleet under Sir William Parker's command should visit Alexandria, in order to afford the Viceroy the moral support of their presence, in case His Highness should be exposed to any menace or danger from without, on account of his having made the contracts for the railroad between Cairo and Alexandria, without having previously asked and obtained the sanction of the Sublime Porte.

However convinced I may feel that it is not by making use of open force that the Sublime Porte will signify their displeasure against the Viceroy, I am nevertheless assured that this instance of the friendly interest which Her Majesty's Government takes in his safety and welfare will be both highly gratifying and no less serviceable to him.

For it cannot be concealed that a general impression has lately been gaining ground that (chiefly owing to this affair of the railroad) His Highness' cause was becoming desperate, and that while the different parties who were bent upon his downfall had thereby gained number and strength, there was no quarter to which he could look for support sufficiently effectual to enable him to withstand so formidable a combination; and those most jealous of the influence of England have not failed continually to represent to His Highness, that provided that she could ultimately obtain the railroad from the Sublime Porte, she would not scruple to sacrifice the man who had voluntary undertaken to make it, and at whose expense it must be constructed.

By the last mail which reached this port from Constantinople I have received no official despatches, but only a letter from Abdurrahman Bey, the Dragoman of the Egyptian Commissioners in that city.

The contents of that letter (which I was desired by the writer to communicate to the Viceroy) vexed and alarmed His Highness not a little, inasmuch as they stated that the language held to the Commissioners by Her Majesty's Ambassador was so much at variance with the distinct and explicit opinion expressed upon this subject by your Lordship in your interview with M. Musurus; for the Viceroy having been made acquainted with those opinions of your Lordship, expected that when the intelligence of the signing of the contract reached Constantinople, Her Majesty's Ambassador would support His Highness' rights in regard to that question in language as explicit and decided; whereas it appears (according to the contents of this letter) that his Excellency, although receiving the Commissioners with courtesy and promising the continuance of his good offices, expressed his regret at the Viceroy's having signed the contract without previously obtaining the Sultan's sanction, and thus identified his views on this question rather with those of the Sublime Porte than with those expressed by your Lordship both to M. Musurus and to myself.

I cannot of course attach the same credit to the authority of this letter from Abdurrahman Bey as would be due to an official despatch; nevertheless there are other particulars mentioned in it which lead inevitably to the conclusion that at the date which it bears, namely, August 5, 1851, Her Majesty's Ambassador could not have pressed upon the Sublime Porte forcibly and distinctly, your Lordship's views as conveyed in your interview with M. Musurus, and in your despatch to his Excellency on the 9th July, 1851.

For instance, in reporting an interview between the Egyptian Commissioners and the Grand Vizier, it states that Reshid Pasha made use of the following expressions:

"It seems that Mr. Murray has had much to do in this affair, and I must confess that I do not well explain to myself the motives of his

conduct. Mr. Murray must be anxious to obtain a sort of popularity in England, or must be desirous of being recalled from his post."

Now, my Lord, I do not see how it is possible that the Grand Vizier could have used these expressions if he had been in possession of the contents of your Lordship's conversation with M. Musurus and of the purport of your Lordship's despatch of the 9th July to his Excellency.

I must do Abbas Pasha the justice to say, that hitherto on every point of this interesting and to him highly critical discussion, he has not scrupled to sacrifice his own opinion, and even what he considered his undoubted rights, to the counsels tendered by Her Majesty's Ambassador; and in the single instance in which he has departed from that course, namely, the railroad, as his conduct has met with your Lordship's support and approval, his claim to the friendship and protection of Her Majesty's Government seems to be indisputable. I have good reason to believe that that protection will require to be efficiently given until the questions now at issue are finally settled, for I can find in the advices which reach His Highness from Constantinople, no symptom of a conciliatory spirit in the proceedings of the Sublime Porte.

The Egyptian Commissioners report that in a recent discussion which they had with the appointed Council touching the penal enactments in cases of sedition and turbulence, the Council (while sanctioning one of the regulations in the Egyptian Code regarding this subject) objected to a clause containing some such expressions as the following:

"Should malicious and evil-disposed persons be found guilty of illegally assembling with seditious intent towards the local Government, their punishment shall be so and so."

The Turkish Council insisted upon erasing the words "local Government," and substituting in their place, "the authorities duly constituted by His Majesty the Sultan."

The Egyptian Commissioners report that having had an interview with Her Majesty's Ambassador with a view to obtaining his support in procuring the omission of this unnecessary change, his Excellency expressed his opinion that it was a matter of little importance and not worth disputing about, and the question was not settled when their report left Constantinople.

I frankly own that I cannot regard that question as being of so little consequence as it may appear at first sight; a feather in the air will indicate the direction of the wind as truly as the top of a pine tree, and the change insisted upon by the Council shows nothing more or less than a desire on their part to accustom the population of Egypt to look immediately to Constantinople, even in all such matters as the administration of internal police.

Now as the expressions "local Government," and "Egyptian Government," are to be found in all the despatches addressed by the Governments of the European Powers to their Representatives here, and have never been construed as referring to national independence, I cannot see upon what grounds, excepting those I have before mentioned to your Lordship, the Sublime Porte insist upon the change in question.

If all the clauses in the Turkish and Egyptian Codes are to be debated and remodelled in this spirit, the discussion must be protracted to a great length, and the result must be the depriving the hereditary Governor of Egypt of the means of carrying on a vigorous and efficient administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 89.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 29.)

(No. 37. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 19, 1851.*

THE Swedish Chargé d'Affaires called upon me yesterday morning, and communicated to me confidentially a despatch to Baron Stjerneld, which he had received under flying seal from the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, giving a most serious character to the differences which have existed for some time between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt; and representing Her Majesty's Government as having given much more support to the latter than His Highness had really received.

The despatch represented the Porte as having thought of applying to the Four Powers for their interference, and of having entertained the idea of superseding the Pasha; and it stated that Artin Bey had offered to undertake that duty with the support of six cavasses.

I therefore thought it advisable to endeavour to see Count Nesselrode, and, in case his Excellency should have received similar accounts, to offer him any explanations in my power as to the part which had been taken by Her Majesty's Government in the accounts to which they relate.

I was glad however to learn from his Excellency that the information which had been communicated to me by my Swedish colleague was quite inconsistent with his last despatches from M. Titoff, which described the affair of the railway as being completely settled, and the power of life and death as being the only serious question which remained at issue between the Sultan and the Viceroy.

His Excellency said, however, that he understood your Lordship had afforded considerable support to Abbas Pasha, whereas the Russian Government had abstained from all interference in these questions. I said that I believed your Lordship had afforded the Pasha some support in the railway question, as His Highness had clearly a right to undertake that work; but that you had no wish that he should glide into independence, or arrogate to himself, in defiance of the Porte, such a right of sovereignty as the independent exercise of the power of life and death.

Count Nesselrode did not reply to these remarks but dismissed the subject generally by saying that the accounts which had led me to call upon him were evidently exaggerated, and that he had no fear of the differences between the Porte and the Viceroy leading to any serious results.

I may add that the despatch to Baron Stjerneld spoke of Reshid Pasha as acting under the influence of journals paid by himself, and as pursuing a course of policy which was likely to add greatly to the embarrassments and difficulties of the Turkish Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 90.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 225.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 3, 1851.*

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Buchanan, reporting his communications with the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh and with Count Nesselrode, on the subject of the questions in agitation between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 91.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 228.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 6, 1851.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatches to No. 243 of the 5th ultimo inclusive.

I inclose herewith a copy of a memorandum drawn up in this office, containing a comparison of the provisions contained in the Tanzimat and in the Code d'Abbas.

I am, &c.

Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 91.

Memorandum on the Tanzimat and the Egyptian Code.

IT is difficult to compare the Tanzimat and the Code d'Abbas, both from the difference of the forms in which the two codes are drawn up and from the difference of their general character.

The Tanzimat, while laying down a series of regulations, seems to have something of the character of a Constitutional Charter, setting forth the mutual relations of the Sovereign and of the subject, and acknowledging the rights of the latter.

Thus the Tanzimat, asserting (I, 1) that the "sujets de la Sublime Porte tous reconnaissent cet Empire comme leur supérieur religieusement légal;" and that (III, 7), "tous doivent obéissance aux ordres de Sa Majesté," states that (II, 1) "tous les sujets de l'Empire Ottoman jouissent des droits que leur accorde la loi religieuse, c'est-à-dire, sûreté pour leur vie, pour leurs propriétés, et sûreté pour leur honneur. Chacun, grand ou petit, peut prétendre d'après l'indépendance que lui accorde la loi religieuse, à ses droits et réclamer leur exécution." And further, it is laid down as a rule (III, 1), that "l'Empire ne pourra mettre la main sur les biens et les propriétés de personne. D'aucune manière il ne sera permis à personne, grand ou petit, de s'emparer des biens ou propriété d'autrui, ou même d'y attenter."

The Code d'Abbas, on the other hand, does not contain any reference to the Sovereign, or acknowledgment of the rights of thes ubject, and confines itself in the main to laying down a code of regulations affecting crime and labour. In so doing the Code d'Abbas addresses itself to a form of Government and to circumstances not contemplated in the Tanzimat, inasmuch as it deals with a country in which the Government enters largely, as proprietor and speculator, into agricultural and commercial operations; a country possessed of a peculiar and distinct form of interior government; and one whose physical peculiarities require peculiar arrangements for the security and success of agricultural operations.

For this reason the Code d'Abbas contains a series of provisions to which no reference is made in the Tanzimat, and which it may be convenient to enumerate at the outset.

Internal Government.

The village Sheik is bound to obey the call of the Mudir (Provincial Governor), § 9. In case one village revolts, or attacks another, the Sheik is liable to the punishment of the galleys (§§ 11, 14). During the conscription he is answerable for his village (§§ 54, 56). He is responsible for the payment to the Fellahs of the Government pay (§ 6). It is his duty, in conjunction with the Nazir (District Governor), to look after repairs to the river-banks (§ 61). If he, or the Nazir, harbours or encourages robbers, he is to suffer the bastinado in public (§ 73); and he is charged with the

duty of preventing robberies in his village, and is made responsible for stolen property (§ 74).

In case a Sheik or Nazir be attacked or killed, the guilty parties are to be tried according to the Religious Code, and punished with death. If the guilty persons be unknown, suspected persons may be arrested and beaten in order to force confession. In case the family of the deceased require further reparation, if fifty men in the village swear that they do not know the murderer, the price of blood is to be paid by the village *en masse*.

Duties of Government Officers.

These officers in effecting sales of produce belonging to Government are made answerable should the purchaser become a bankrupt (§ 17). An officer is forbidden from trading "dans le sphère de son administration" (§ 18). In case of ill-health or old age he may retire, and "il lui sera alloué une retraite." Should he resign without giving cause, inquiry is to be made; and if he has not misconducted himself, he is permitted to retire, but receives no pension (§ 20). Various penalties according to the offence are appointed for neglect of duty on his part (§ 21, 22). Those speculating in "les affaires dont la gestion leur est confiée," are liable to punishment and dismissal (§ 33). If an officer without proper authority shall imprison any one or hinder him from working, he is liable to fine (§ 34). If found guilty of partiality or of animosity towards private individuals, he may be degraded; and if while acting on such motives he should cause a person to be beaten or to be killed, he is liable to the galleys for life, unless he redeem himself by the payment of blood (§ 39). Regulations are laid down as to the applications to be made by Government employés for stores from the Government magazines (§ 65), and penalties named for the waste of Government materials (§ 66), and for the appropriation of Government moneys entrusted to his keeping (§ 67); and if he levy more than is properly due, he must make restitution and loses grade (§ 68).

Fellahs.

Provision is made to prevent Fellahs from taking to flight and concealing themselves among the Bedouins (§ 8).

River and Canal Embankments.

Each village is bound to provide persons to take charge of and to repair these works (§ 62). Penalties are appointed on a village cutting off the supply or causing an inundation in a neighbouring district (§ 60). One village is bound to assist another in the case of the bursting of a bank (§ 61).

Agricultural Regulations.

There are in the Code d'Abbas a series of clauses relating especially to agricultural operations and to offences connected therewith (§§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7), which are not adverted to in the Tanzimat.

The above are the principal provisions in the Code d'Abbas which relate to matters peculiar to Egypt, and of which no mention is made in the Tanzimat. As far as principle is concerned, there does not seem anything in them inconsistent with the principles laid down in the Tanzimat. But in dealing with a system of Government conducted through the agency of Mushirs, Nazirs, and Sheiks, as organized by Mehemet Ali, with a class of officials connected with Government speculations and works, and with a peculiar system of agriculture such as that of Egypt, the Code d'Abbas necessarily takes up a different ground from that occupied by the Tanzimat.

Coming now to a comparison of such provisions in the two Codes as appear to relate to the same subject, the first important point is

The Constitution of Provincial Governments.

The Tanzimat (III, § 6) states that "dans chaque province le gouvernement réside dans trois catégories d'employés," those classes being, 1. "Les juges chargés de la surveillance et de la conservation de la loi religieuse et de la loi civile;" 2. Civil officers charged with "la surveillance de la tranquillité publique et de la garde des lois organiques du pays;" and 3. "Les officiers du fisc."

The responsibility attaching to persons in the employment of Government is particularly alluded to in the Tanzimat (III, § 4, 5), and the duty of selecting proper agents is inculcated (III, § 4), and a rule is laid down by which persons so employed, if accused of negligence, are to be tried, and if found guilty, are to be punished by dismissal (III, § 5).

On the other hand, the Code d'Abbas contains no general clause defining the form of Government. That Code refers only to the administrative system of Mushirs, Nazirs, and Sheiks; all other Government officers being referred to as "préposés du Gouvernement," or as "employés;" and the principal characteristic of its provisions is a desire to protect the Government from acts of fraud on the part of its agents.

In judicial matters the Tanzimat provides (I, § 2) that murders are to be tried at Constantinople before the "Cheik-ul-Islam," and cases of sedition (I, § 7) by the Supreme Council of Justice. If the cases of sedition occur in the provinces, the trial is to take place before the Municipal Council "et puis envoyé au Mouchir, qui fera exécuter la sentence s'il la trouve juste, et qui en donnera connaissance à Constantinople. Cependant si la peine de mort doit être portée, il demandera la permission."

In the Code d'Abbas the only clause relating to the trial of offences (§ 23) states "Les Divans des Gouverneurs de provinces, ou les autres Divans, peuvent juger tous les procès hors ceux qui comportent la peine de mort, des galères, et de la réclusion. Cependant on peut appeler de leur jugement au Meglesse Akham."

It would be impossible within moderate limits to give a comparative statement showing the manner in which the two codes deal with the various forms of crime, but the following points should be noticed:

Cases of Murder.

The Tanzimat (I, 1) ordains that there shall be a fair trial of such cases. If conviction follows, "il sera appliqué la loi du talion, et la sentence religioso-légale." But even if the relations of the murdered person are willing to accept the price of blood or to forgive the offender, the penalty of death is pronounced against any Government officer who shall permit "un acte si horrible."

The firman of the Sultan is declared necessary before capital sentences, either at Constantinople (I, § 2) or in the provinces (I, § 3), can be carried into execution; and it is provided that Government officers disobeying in this particular shall be punished (I, § 4).

In case a murdered person has no heirs, the Tanzimat states (I, § 12), that "comme dans ce cas le procès concerne l'Empire et retombe sur lui, l'application de la peine du talion, soit en ce qu'elle exige la mort du meurtrier, soit en ce qu'elle concerne son rachat, sera dévolue aux ordres."

The Code d'Abbas differs from the Tanzimat by adhering to the practice of allowing the compromise of "the price of blood" sanctioned by the religious code. According to the general plan on which it is drawn up, this code (d'Abbas) defines the course to be pursued in various cases of murder. Thus § 12 refers to the case of deaths the result of a dispute about canals; § 16 to the case of deaths caused by an incendiary; § 40 to the case of prisoners; § 39 to the case of Government officers causing death by improper punishment of a prisoner; § 17 to the case of a Nazir or Sheik; and § 50 to cases of infanticide. In all these cases the Code

d'Abbas orders the offence to be tried according to the Religious Code, which permits the practice of the "price of blood."

The punishment of deaths resulting from an attack made by one Sheik on his Nazir, or on another Sheik, is fixed at the galleys for life (§ 14).

The Tanzimat (I, § 13) directs that in cases of accidental homicide, the offender shall be tried and punished according to the Religious Code; but further, in case there be any doubt as to the innocence of the party causing death, "il subira, d'après les règlemens constitutionnels, un an de galères, les fers aux pieds." The Code d'Abbas simply ordains (§ 41) that in such cases the price of blood is to be paid.

The Tanzimat (I, § 15) refers to the case, not mentioned in the Code d'Abbas, of persons hiring others to attempt the lives of third parties; and sentences the persons hiring and the persons hired to imprisonment in the galleys for periods varying from 1 to 5 years and from 1 to 3 years respectively.

The principle laid down in the Tanzimat that "le meurtrier est considéré criminel par la loi civile," and the infliction of a farther penalty on this account "après avoir satisfait aux exigences de la loi religieuse;" (I, § 11), does not appear to be referred to in the Code d'Abbas.

It is to be remarked with reference to the penalties for the crime of murder as laid down in the two codes, that the principle on which the Tanzimat proceeds, of rejecting the practice of the payment of the price of blood seems to be a step in advance, and one congenial to civilized usages, by putting an end to compromises and pecuniary arrangements between the family of a murdered person and the murderer. And, generally, it would seem as if the Tanzimat was intended to assert an intention on the part of the Porte that crimes against the person should be taken cognizance of, not only by the Religious Code but by the Civil Code.

Cases of Sedition.

The Tanzimat (I, § 5) divides offences of sedition into two classes, those of word and of deed. The first class are subject to a punishment varying from 1 to 5 years at the galleys. The second class of offenders are to be punished by death "suivant la loi pénale." But the Sultan is to have the power of commuting the capital sentence into one of the galleys for life.

By I, § 16, persons resisting "par les armes aux agens de la force publique," are liable to punishment at the galleys varying from three months to three years in duration; and in cases where wounds are inflicted, the guilty person is sentenced to five years hard labour at the galleys.

The Code d'Abbas enacts (§ 11) that in cases of revolt and sedition the Sheik who is the principal instigator shall be condemned to the galleys for life, and the other Sheiks for three years. Their partisans, including the Fellahs, are to receive 400 "coups de dgildé;" and persons from other villages aiding and abetting are to have three years at the galleys, and be taken as soldiers if they are young. By § 29, persons forming secret societies for criminal purposes, are liable to a punishment of from two to five years at the galleys.

Highway Robberies.

When not accompanied by assassination, are by the Tanzimat (I, § 9) punishable by seven years at the galleys. By the Code d'Abbas (§ 78) the punishment is the galleys for life.

The Tanzimat (I, § 14) fixes penalties for persons hiring assassins. The Code d'Abbas contains no reference to this crime.

Arson.

The Code d'Abbas (§ 15, 16) appoints penalties for incendiaries. In all cases restitution is to be made, and where the fire is wilfully caused,

corporal punishment and confinement at the galleys for limited periods and for life, according to the amount of property destroyed, are the penalties. Where the fire is accidental, if the person who caused it is unable to pay the value of the property destroyed, he is to receive from 200 to 500 dgildés.

The Tanzimat makes no mention of the crime of arson.

False witnessing is referred to in the Code d'Abbas (§ 38), but not directly in the Tanzimat. The punishment according to the Code d'Abbas is exile "à perpétuité au Soudan." *Note.*—False accusations are however by the Tanzimat (II, § 2) in some cases punishable by imprisonment for periods of from five to forty-five days.

Assaults.

By the Tanzimat (I, § 17), assaults according to their character are punishable by confinement at the galleys for various periods. If death ensues, "la peine prononcée par la loi religieuse *et la loi pénale* sera infligée." According to the Code d'Abbas (§ 43, 53), in these cases "la loi religieuse doit être appliquée." If the assaults are with "armes non meurtrières," the Tanzimat (II, § 7) fixes the punishment at from fifteen days to three months' imprisonment, and adds "ils pourront être punis suivant la loi religieuse, de trois coups de bâton jusqu'à 79."

Thefts.

The Tanzimat makes very little allusion to this crime, further than ordering that the stolen property should be restored. If the thief be in Government employ he is to be dismissed, if not, he is to be "exilé dans une autre ville pour un an" (III, § 1). In cases where the stolen property "est de quelque centaines de piastres," but in which there is not sufficient proof of the theft to secure conviction according to the Religious Code, the Tanzimat (III, § 11) condemns the thief to a term at the galleys varying between three months and three years.

The Code d'Abbas enacts with respect to this crime, that the thief is to make restitution (§ 69). If the stolen property is worth 100 piastres, he is to receive a "coup de dgildé" for each piastre (§ 70). If it is worth 100 to 1000 piastres, if the offence be a first offence, the robber is to have from two months to a year at the Government works, "sans être rétribué, mais seulement nourri." If the amount stolen is not recovered, the period may be extended to a year and a half (§ 71). If the stolen property be worth more, and if it is not a case of an old offender, the punishment is two to five years at the galleys; if an old offender, as much as ten years; and if a fourth offence, the galleys for life (§ 72).

The enactments of the two codes as regards these several points have been recapitulated in order to give a view of the different way in which they treat the same crime. Both codes refer frequently to corporal punishment, the Tanzimat under the title of "coups de bâton," the Code d'Abbas under that of "coups de dgildé." Neither code contains any definition of the instrument of punishment. In one Article (II, 5) the Tanzimat states that the blows are to be "appliqués debout, et sans frapper pour causer la mort." And the Code d'Abbas (§ 46) orders that an officer "qui frappera un délinquant de plus de coups qu'il n'est permis, ou, le frappant dans des endroits qui peuvent causer la mort, le fait mourir, sera jugé et condamné d'après la loi religieuse."

There is a marked difference in the character of the punishments mentioned in the two codes. The Tanzimat generally gives offenders varying periods at the galleys, and only in the cases of injuries to reputation (II, § 2), disorderly conduct in streets (II, § 5), small assaults (II, § 7), and false weights (III, § 19), makes specific mention of punishment by "coups de bâton," the highest number of blows sanctioned being seventy-

nine. In the Code d'Abbas, on the other hand, the great majority of offences are to be punished by the "coups de dgildé," and the number of blows sanctioned goes as far as 500.

In one case also the Code d'Abbas seems to sanction this punishment being applied as a torture and to extort confession, where it ordains (§ 47) that in the case of the murder of a Sheik, suspected persons "seront emprisonnés et battus, sans pour cela que le bâton cause leur mort, jusqu'à ce qu'ils avouent leur crime."

Conscription.

The Tanzimat does not allude to the conscription. The Code d'Abbas (§ 54) provides penalties for Sheiks or others evading it, and for unfair enforcement (§ 56).

Audit of Official Accounts.

The Tanzimat (III, § 3) contains a clause ordering a regular system for the audit of accounts, and making all persons receiving public moneys eventually accountable to the Supreme Council of Justice. There is no such enactment in the Code d'Abbas.

Criminals Employed on Public Works.

The Tanzimat ordains (III, § 15) that monthly reports respecting persons so employed are to be sent to the Council at Constantinople.

It may be remarked in conclusion, that the whole spirit of the Tanzimat as compared with the Code d'Abbas, is to refer towards a supreme and central authority. Thus the reservation by the Sultan of the power of authorizing the infliction of capital punishments, his power of commuting that punishment in certain cases, the system of reference and report to Constantinople with respect to the employment of prisoners, and the arrangements with respect to a general audit of official accounts, are calculated to keep up a feeling of the Sultan's authority throughout his dominions. The absence of any such provisions from the Code d'Abbas, together with the careful abstinence from any allusion to the supreme authority, may not entirely without reason be assumed to denote a jealousy of the supremacy of the Porte.

It is true, however, that neither code professes to lay down and define the form of Government or the entire machinery by which it is to be carried into effect. But it is impossible to read the Tanzimat without realizing a certain conception of a sovereign and central authority to which reference is to be made in important matters, while the Code d'Abbas assumes rather the character of a police code, independent of any particular form of Government.

No. 52.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 244.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August 8, 1851.*

I LEARN from Salonica, that the Albanian force of 1200 men mentioned in one of my preceding despatches, embarked there for Alexandria a few days ago. I have not yet heard of the departure of the regiment of infantry brought hither from Varna for the same destination. Mr. Bennett rates the strength of this regiment at 3000 men.

Subsequently to the date of my despatch to your Lordship on this subject, I made another application to the Grand Vizier for a further detention of the troops. His Highness' answer is recorded in Mr. Stephen Pisani's report, transmitted herewith in extract for your Lordship's

information. It is probable that the regulars are detained to accompany the new Sheriff of Mecca to his destination.

A report having reached me that other Albanian irregulars, to the number of several thousand men, were to follow, I made inquiry of the Grand Vizier, and was happy to learn from his Highness that the rumour was wholly unfounded. I availed myself of the opportunity to draw his attention to the mutinous and sanguinary character exhibited by the Albanians at Salonica, according to Mr. Blunt's account, and to submit to his serious consideration the inexpediency and danger of employing such troops in their present undisciplined condition.

I forward herewith a copy of a despatch which I lately addressed on this subject to Mr. Murray.

I have, &c,
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 92.

M. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

(Extract.) *Pera, July* 30, 1851.

IN obedience to your Excellency's directions, I communicated to the Grand Vizier your instruction of this day's date, and urged his Highness to suspend a few days longer the departure of the troops destined to go to Arabia through Egypt. His Highness said in reply, that out of deference for your Excellency's representations, he had taken upon himself to delay their departure from Constantinople until Saturday next; but that he has it not in his power to postpone their expedition beyond that term, without a previous reference to the Council.

After this he added: "Tell the Ambassador, with my compliments, that I sincerely regret to see the extent to which England supports Abbas Pasha. While she recommends us not to disparage the Pasha of Egypt, and urges us to act with moderation, she allows him to scorn his Sovereign and act contrary to the conditions and the terms of the Firman of investiture."

* * * * * *

"The Porte contends that her right is very clear; what she requires of the Pasha is a full and complete allegiance to his Sovereign, and submission to the conditions of the Firman, as sanctioned by England herself as well as by the other Powers."

Inclosure 2 in No. 92.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 17.)

Sir, *Therapia, July* 28, 1851.

I HAVE not yet received any acknowledgment of the despatches which I addressed to you on the 18th and 25th of last month. The long absence of Her Majesty's steam-ship "Growler," by which they were forwarded to you, is not a little inconvenient; and the rumours which prevail here since yesterday morning, of Abbas Pasha's resistance to the Sultan's demands, increase my anxiety to hear from you.

The Porte, meanwhile, is preparing to carry into effect its intention of sending a body of troops to Arabia. 1200 Albanian irregulars are ready to embark at Salonica; and a regiment of regular infantry arrived this morning from Varna, with the view of either proceeding to Mecca by Alexandria, Suez and Djedda, or of replacing another regiment having that destination.

Taking the regiment at its full complement, the whole numerical force of the expedition would be 4,400 men; but as the effective regular force is generally a third short of the numbers on paper, the amount may perhaps be reduced by 1000 without much risk of error.

Though I conceive the Sultan's right to send an army through Egypt is unquestionable, and though any act of aggression against the Viceroy, so long as he respects the conditions of the Firman, would be wholly inconsistent with the Porte's official declarations to me, I have thought it advisable under present circumstances, to call upon the Turkish Ministers for explanation. The answer which I have received from the Ottoman Secretary of State agrees with what I have stated above as to the number and destination of the force to be employed on this occasion. His Excellency informed me, moreover, that the disturbed condition of Arabia, and the occupation of certain passes on the way to Mecca, by Arabian tribes which do not acknowledge the Sultan's authority, had made it incumbent upon the Porte to send reinforcements to that Peninsula. He repeated at the same time his former assurances with respect to the ruling Viceroy and the Porte's intentions towards him, asserting that His Highness has nothing whatever to apprehend as long as he fulfils the obligations of the Firman, and that the Sultan's troops will only traverse the country between Alexandria and Suez.

The reasonable and satisfactory nature of this explanation might fairly have decided me to take no further step, especially as I could not endeavour to impede the passage of an expedition undertaken on such urgent grounds, and about to proceed by the natural and shortest way to the scene of its operations, without placing myself in a suspected and unfavourable light towards the Sultan and his Government. Taking, however, into consideration the apprehensions expressed in your correspondence, and the erroneous construction which might be placed on the appearance of the Sultan's forces, though only in transit and of limited numbers at Alexandria, and having also at heart the Pasha's tranquillity of mind and the favourable adjustment of the pending differences, I determined to obtain, if my representations could obtain, a suspension of the intended measure, or at least a delay in the departure of the troops.

This I have done in so far as a brief delay is concerned. The Albanians at Salonica are to be detained for a few days, and I am assured that the regiment of regular infantry will not embark before the end of this week. Sufficient time will thus at all events be given for the arrival of the Porte's explanations at Cairo, before the troops themselves appear in the harbour of Alexandria. It is still possible that I may prevail on the Turkish Ministers to suspend the departure of the regulars till after the return of Abdurrahman Bey, or the receipt of your answer to my despatches by Mr. Doria. But they can hardly be expected to incur so great a responsibility without much reluctance, and I cannot myself be insensible to the awkwardness of urging an act of complaisance on grounds which lay me open to the charge of confounding two things essentially different, and requiring the sacrifice of a positive duty to what is in truth little more than a plea of courtesy and personal consideration.

The disturbances in Arabia may possibly be exaggerated. It is nevertheless true that to a certain degree they have been known to exist for some time past; and if the tribes of Arabian origin have a general connexion with each other, the tranquillity of Bagdad and Bussorah may depend in some measure upon the submission of those which border on the Red Sea coast.

Under any circumstances I trust that you will succeed in relieving the Viceroy's mind from groundless alarm, and if necessary in dissuading him from the adoption of any precipitate or compromising measure.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 93.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 248.)

Therapia, August 19, 1851.

My Lord,

THE pending differences between Abbas Pasha and the Porte continue to wear a very serious, not to say threatening, aspect. The Pasha's Commissioners, when they waited upon the Grand Vizier with His Highness' letter and instructions conveyed to them by Abdurrahman Bey, were received with mildness and affability; but they were distinctly informed at the same time that the Porte was by no means prepared to brook their master's announcement that he had concluded the railway contract without permission, though previously admonished of the Sultan's just expectation on that point. The communication of their instructions, which could not, it seems, be avoided without much inconvenience and disadvantage, appeared to have little effect in softening the awkward impression, involving as it did a question of the Sultan's dignity and Imperial right. Allusion had been made in one part of them to the disturbed state of His Majesty's Asiatic provinces on the side of Aleppo and Bagdad. Offence was taken at the unfavourable comparison established between the Porte's Administration there and the Viceroy's Government in Egypt. Even His Highness' frank recognition in principle of the Sultan's exclusive right to the power of life and death was barely allowed to counterbalance his pretension to enjoy the privilege for life as a special concession due to the requirements of his local authority.

My previous communications with the Grand Vizier, after receiving Mr. Murray's despatches by the "Growler," had no doubt a considerable share in moderating the Porte's resentment, and the Egyptian Commissioners had been enabled thereby to prepare for a greater ebullition than actually took place at their audience of his Highness. Hair-ed-deen Pasha, who is most in the Viceroy's confidence, was prevented by indisposition from attending. To him, as well as to his colleague, Edhem Pasha, it is due in justice to state that they appeared to be fully aware of the imprudence into which the Viceroy had been unfortunately betrayed, and by no means blind to the hazards which in consequence attended upon his future course of proceeding. They expressed a firm reliance on my desire to serve them; they fully admitted the difficulties in which I was scarcely less involved than themselves by the Viceroy's precipitancy respecting the contract; and they were anxious to make me understand that although His Highness was warranted by the assurances which he had received from other quarters in reckoning upon my support with regard both to the railway and to the Tanzimat, he would in all likelihood be content to ask the required permission, if I could satisfy his expectations as to the question of penal authority.

Judging from their language, I had ample reason on the whole to believe that they saw the dilemma in its true light, and were ready to concur with me in advising Abbas Pasha to adopt the course best calculated to spare him the perils of an open collision with the Porte.

Turning from them to the real facts and merits of the case, I could not overlook the false position in which His Highness had been placed, and the extreme disadvantage under which both his servants and his friends had now to labour in consequence. There was no doubt as to the railway; that point was definitively conceded by both parties. The questions really in debate were of another kind. Would it be advisable—would it be safe for the Pasha to persist at any risk in refusing to ask the required permission? To what degree could I hope to obtain such assurances respecting the Tanzimat as might fairly serve to redeem any pledge supposed to have been given on our side, and to operate as an inducement with the Pasha to waive his pretensions to construct a railway on his own exclusive authority?

Unfortunately, the Porte had already committed itself to a distinct

assertion of the Sultan's right to insist on permission being asked in connexion with certain conditions. Admitting even that the clause of the Firman of investiture, which formally prescribes the obligation of referring to Constantinople for permission on all important questions concerning Egypt, be of doubtful application in this case, the Porte holds high its own interpretation of the instrument; its allies deliberately abstained from giving their guarantee to the Firman; and whether collision or foreign intervention were to result from the Viceroy's continued resistance, much certain inconvenience, to say the least of it, and much eventual hazard would ensue not only to the parties themselves, but most probably to European interests also.

Abbas Pasha, on the other hand, has already admitted the principle of asking permission for a railway between Cairo and Suez; and such are the peculiarities, in point at least of expense, of novelty and of interference with other works, attaching to the railway from Cairo to Alexandria, that the same principle may be applied to the latter road without subjecting His Highness to any obligation of asking the Sultan's permission for local measures of ordinary improvement in future.

With respect to the penal enactments of the Tanzimat, the Viceroy has virtually thrown himself upon the good will and favourable consideration of his Sovereign, whose disposition to meet his wishes will naturally be best conciliated by even a late compliance with that demand which is warranted by the Porte's construction of the Firman, and treated here as an essential part of its supreme right and Imperial dignity.

If these decisive considerations be fairly stated, I can hardly have erred in applying my exertions, on the one side to facilitating the Viceroy's compliance with his Sovereign's demand announced to him formally in a categorical shape, and on the other to obtaining, if possible, those assurances of good will hereafter on the points most urged by His Highness, which would harmonize generally with your Lordship's opinions, and offer a fair prospect of satisfaction to the Egyptian Government.

Such is the twofold object which in communicating with the Viceroy's Commissioners, in writing to Mr. Murray, and in arguing with Reshid Pasha, I have constantly kept in view and do not yet lose sight of, notwithstanding the great additional difficulties created by the premature conclusion of the railway contract. I have so far succeeded as to moderate the tone of the Porte's declaration, and to retard the execution of its final intentions; to prevent the contract from being subjected to an immediate demand for its revocation, and to afford the Viceroy time for repairing his error with the least practicable detriment to his future interests. I do not yet despair of obtaining in private those further conciliatory assurances, which as I am led to believe would make an agreeable impression on His Highness' mind. The Egyptian Commissioners have informed me that the opinions submitted by them to the Viceroy coincide with those which they have heard from me; and I trust that Mr. Murray will feel himself at liberty under circumstances of so grave a character, and seemingly so little foreseen by him, to join his strenuous efforts to mine, and to exert the whole weight of his influence in order to extricate the Pasha from his present embarrassment, and to avert the evils which an obstinate and unnecessary adherence to abstract views of questionable right may shortly entail upon him.

Copies of my latest despatches to that gentleman are inclosed herewith for your Lordship's information. If the course which I have therein recommended be at all distasteful to the Pasha, the circumstances out of which it has sprung will no doubt be taken into consideration, and I hope made use of to reconcile His Highness to its adoption.

The times of Mehemet Ali no longer exist, and the issue of a conflict between Egypt and Turkey would now be more likely to turn on the moral, than on the military or naval relations of the respective parties. The contest itself, independent of its issue, would be a calamity of no small extent; and while the chances of its occurring may be estimated by the declared readiness of a majority in the Council to pronounce the Viceroy's deposition at once, how doubtful is the prospect of His Highness' appealing with advantage to the Five Powers may be inferred from the difficulty

which I have experienced in dissuading the Grand Vizier from resorting to that measure on the present occasion. It is moreover to be observed that the French Minister is also an advocate of the same expedient.

His Excellency has in the meantime been informed officially, as the Grand Vizier assures me, that the railway is a measure definitively accorded.

The formal answer prepared for Abbas Pasha will no doubt receive the Sultan's sanction in the course of to-day or to-morrow. It is to be communicated to me, accompanied with a declaration as to the construction of the railway; but I fear it will not be in my power to forward a copy of it to England by the Oriental steamer which goes to sea to-morrow.

In transmitting it to your Lordship by the first succeeding opportunity, I shall report the substance of what passed at an interview which I had with Reshid Pasha the day before yesterday on the subject-matter of this despatch. Time is wanting to perform this duty at present. The discussion was attended with unusual warmth on his side, and he appeared to be excited by an impression that the great interests of our alliance with Turkey were endangered, and in some degree sacrificed for the moment by too eager a pursuit of one local object, which might have been equally well secured by other and less exceptionable means.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 93.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 19.)

Sir, *Therapia, August 16, 1851.*

THE Egyptian Commissioners having apprized me of their intention to dispatch a steamer to Alexandria in the course of the day, I avail myself of the opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your correspondence to No. 20 inclusive, and at the same time to inform you, as I do with much unfeigned concern, that Abbas Pasha's communication of his railway contract without asking the Sultan's permission for the construction of the road, has produced the worst possible impression here, and completely paralyzed my means of serving His Highness' interests in the manner which I had explained to you, under a conviction of the danger to which he would be otherwise exposed. The railway itself was not in question. The repeated assurances given to me in the Sultan's name by Reshid Pasha, left no room for doubt on that head. My object in writing to you on the 18th of June was to induce the Viceroy, with your assistance, so to shape his language to the Porte respecting the two points of the railway and capital punishment, as to enable me to obtain a settlement of the pending differences on terms essentially favourable in practice both to his views and to our interests.

The extent of my disappointment in these respects, and of the hazard to which His Highness is at present exposed, not only as to certain points of authority, but as to the very existence of his authority in Egypt, may be estimated by the following facts. Though put immediately in possession of your explanations and of Lord Palmerston's arguments in so far as they supported the Pasha's views, the Grand Vizier at once declared his determination to require the revocation of His Highness' contract with Mr. Stephenson, and to make an appeal to the Five Powers with whose cognizance the original Firman of investiture had been promulgated. When the Council of State was called to deliberate upon the question at issue, a majority of its members expressed their opinion that Abbas Pasha had violated the conditions of the Firman, and ought to be deposed. The full exertion of my influence as Her Majesty's Representative was necessary to persuade the Grand Vizier, and by his means the Sultan, to desist from their intention of requiring that the contract should be cancelled, and to be contented with insisting on permission being requested previous to the commencement of the works. It was no less necessary for the

Grand Vizier and his immediate friends to employ their ascendancy in the Council in order to obtain a decision limited for the present to what I have stated above.

Even the terms of the Viceroy's letter to Reshid Pasha and His Highness' instruction to his Commissioners contained objectionable passages. The allusion made in the letter to those disturbances which have unsettled of late a part of the Sultan's Asiatic provinces irritated, and could not fail under the circumstances to irritate, the susceptibility of the Ottoman Ministers. The readiness declared in the former to ask permission for a railway destined to traverse the whole Isthmus, though conceding the principle, placed in strong light the Pasha's resistance as to the shorter railway actually in question; and carried with it, moreover, an air of delusion, by the use of terms implying that no such railway could ever be thought of in the interest of Egypt, to say nothing of the bar which those expressions, recorded in so important a document, establish to the eventual completion of the railroad from Alexandria to Suez for British interests.

The actual state of the matter, according to my information, is this:

A Vizierial letter in answer to the Pasha's letter has been adopted by the Council, and is now before the Sultan for approval. I have not been allowed to take any part in the composition of this important paper, though a copy of it is to be communicated to me with a written declaration, pledging the Porte to sanction the construction of the proposed railway on permission being asked, and assurances given as to the exclusively national character of the funds to be employed in constructing it. The tenour of this reply, if my entreaties have really had the effect which they seem to have, will prove to be considerate, though firm and explicit. The Viceroy will be peremptorily required to desist from entering upon the commencement of the railway until the Sultan's permission be obtained. The subsequent conduct of the Turkish Government towards Abbas Pasha will depend upon His Highness' decision in this respect. My belief is, that if he resists the Sultan's demand it will be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent his immediate deposition. My hope is, that if he complies with a good grace, it may still be in my power to promote, though no longer to their full extent, his wishes with respect to those parts of the Tanzimat which he conceives to be essential to the efficacy of his administration.

Such is the choice of difficulties to which Abbas Pasha is now unfortunately reduced, notwithstanding my constant efforts from the beginning to avert a dilemma so painful to his feelings and so injurious to his interests. I am bound, therefore, in conscience to express my earnest desire that he may be prevailed upon to extricate himself with becoming frankness and promptitude from a position which is already no less unprofitable to him than hazardous. This he will best do, in my judgment, by applying candidly to the railway as now intended the same principle which he has declared that he would be ready to apply to the longer one between Suez and Alexandria. His declared motive for the change would naturally be the very obvious one of reconsidering the question out of respect for the settled expectation of his Sovereign definitively announced to him in the most formal manner.

I am greatly confirmed in this view of the subject by my communications with the Viceroy's Commissioners. They write for themselves by the present occasion; but it would justly surprise me to find that they had written in a sense materially differing from the opinions which I have expressed to you.

Hair-ed-deen Pasha has apprized me of his intention to repair to Egypt in person with the Grand Vizier's reply, which will probably be sent to Mochtar Bey in two or three days. If no steamer should arrive in the interval from Egypt to replace the boat which starts to-day, I propose to request Captain Stoddart's aid for the conveyance of the Pasha to Alexandria in Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Growler." In either case I shall make it a point to write to you again at the same time.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 93.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 20.)

Sir, *Therapia, August* 16, 1851.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON in a despatch which I received from his Lordship yesterday, expresses an opinion varying from mine with respect to that clause of the Firman of investiture which enjoins the Pasha to refer to Constantinople for permission as to any important question affecting the interests of Egypt. His Lordship appears to consider it as not imposing upon the Viceroy any positive obligation to apply for the Sultan's permission to construct a railway between Cairo and Alexandria. On the other hand, Her Majesty's Secretary of State inclines to the opinion that Abbas Pasha is not borne out by special considerations more than by right, in claiming the exercise of sovereign power with respect to the execution of capital sentences.

It may be desirable for you to point out to the Pasha, in communicating with him on the present state of his affairs, that the Porte has taken its decision on the former point, though well aware of the different opinion entertained respecting it in London, and that my exertions to promote his views as to the Tanzimat will have little foundation to rest upon except his compliance with the Sultan's requisition as to the railway.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 93.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 21.)

Sir, *Constantinople, August* 18, 1851.

THE newly-appointed Sheriff of Mecca, Abou Mutaleb, embarks to-day with his suite for Alexandria. At his Excellency's or Eminency's request I have furnished him with a letter to Commander Rennie, of the Honourable East India Company's steam-ship "Victoria," and he is duly apprized of the necessity of reaching Suez on or before the 8th of September.

The Porte was gratified by your obliging attention to its request conveyed through me, and if you wait, as I trust you will, upon the Sheriff on his passage through Cairo, he will probably express to you his sense of the accommodation with his own lips.

The regiment of regular infantry, reported to be about 3000 strong, will embark and follow the Sheriff in two or three days.

I presume that the Albanians are already arrived at Alexandria.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 93.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 22.)

Sir, *Therapia, August* 18, 1851.

THE Turkish squadron, composed of one ship-of-the-line, several large frigates, some under steam, and a few smaller vessels, amounting in all to twelve or thirteen sail, under the immediate command of the Captain Pasha, is to put to sea in the course of this week.

Considering the present critical state of affairs between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt, I have thought it my duty to apply for information to the Ottoman Secretary of State respecting the object and destination of this movement. His Excellency has assured me in reply, that the squadron is not sent out with any view to the affairs either of Egypt or

of Tunis, and he has explained to me the nature of its real object, which will confine its operations to the Archipelago.

In stating this result of my inquiry to you, for the Pasha's satisfaction, I cannot of course be expected to answer for any ulterior destination which may hereafter be given to the Ottoman squadron, in consequence of any further complication in the differences unhappily existing between the Sultan and his hereditary vassal.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—One of the sailing frigates above mentioned is armed like a 74 line-of-battle ship.

Inclosure 5 in No. 93.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 23.)

Sir, *Therapia, August* 18, 1851.

MY despatches of the 16th instant arrived accidentally at Constantinople too late to be forwarded with those of the Egyptian Commissioners; I therefore avail myself of the Sheriff Abou Mutaleb's kindness to forward them by the steam-frigate in which his Eminence is to embark to-day. They will be under charge of Mehemet Aga, a Mussulman cavass employed in this Embassy.

Having had a conversation of some length with his Highness at a late hour last night, I am able to inform you that the draft of his answer to Abbas Pasha's letter is still with the Sultan, and that the impressions conveyed to me of its contents and of the Porte's existing sentiments with regard to the Tanzimat, lead me to apprehend that the Viceroy will be summoned to ask for the required permission without any accompanying assurance as to meeting his wishes in the latter respect.

I have done all in my power by explanation, argument, and entreaty, to obtain facilities for reconciling Abbas Pasha to the necessities of his case, and extricating him from the hazardous embarrassments in which he is now unfortunately placed, on terms the least irksome to his feelings and the best adapted to the interests of his administration. I am not without hope that my repeated and urgent representations will have some additional effect in that sense, though, to speak plainly, the Grand Vizier's language is at present far from encouraging. At all events I am convinced that the wisest course for the Pasha to pursue at the present embarrassing juncture is to ask the permission that will be now formally required of him, and to rely in general on the good offices of the Embassy for gaining as much in favour of his views on the other points as a fair estimation of his statements and the Sultan's revived goodwill towards him may warrant. You will naturally suppose that I am not ignorant of the opinion expressed by Lord Palmerston in favour of the Viceroy's right to construct the railway between Cairo and Alexandria without asking the Sultan's permission. But his Lordship could hardly have been aware when expressing that opinion, of the peremptory attitude taken by the Porte; nor can the consequences which the present state of the affair immediately threatens be overlooked with any degree of prudence or indeed with safety. Admitting even that the abstract right be with the Pasha, His Highness would obviously expose his interests to imminent peril by carrying it without necessity to an extreme.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 94.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 19.)

Foreign Office, September 6, 1851.

Sir,

I INCLOSE herewith a copy of a memorandum* drawn up in this office, containing a comparison of the provisions contained in the Tanzimat and in the Code d'Abbas.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 95.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 255.)

Therapia, August 24, 1851.

My Lord,

WHILE the Porte's reply to Abbas Pasha has been under consideration between the Sultan and the Council, I have had three several interviews with the Grand Vizier and one with Aali Pasha for the purpose principally of correcting exaggerated impressions and obtaining the least objectionable decision.

With respect to the main point, namely, that of requiring the Viceroy to suspend his operations for constructing the proposed railway, my efforts from first to last have been wholly unavailing. It was no small matter that the Council had been diverted from going to the extremity of deposing His Highness at once, and that the Ministry had been persuaded not to demand, as originally intended, the formal abrogation of his contract with Mr. Stephenson. More than this I have found it impossible to obtain. The Vizier was highly irritated; he not only resented the Viceroy's conduct as insulting to the supreme authority, but he deplored the manner in which he conceived that the long-standing policy of Great Britain towards the Sultan's Empire had been apparently sacrificed without necessity to a partial interest and to the pretensions of a provincial Governor. My arguments in contradiction to these assumptions, though urged with earnestness corresponding to his own, appeared to have little effect upon his mind. He seemed even to reproach me personally with having failed in applying to Mr. Murray for a temporary suspension of the proceedings, as your Lordship may remember that I did with the view of preventing the adoption, as threatened, of a formal act of protestation.

My subsequent endeavours to produce a milder course of proceeding as to form and detail, and thereby to open a better prospect of reconciling the adverse views without danger to our own more immediate object, have not been unattended with a certain approach to success. I argued from the Vizier's declaration of a wish rather to reclaim than to humiliate Abbas Pasha, that even in summoning him to ask permission for the railway, he ought in consistency to employ the most considerate terms, to impose no further conditions, and to give the most favourable assurances of good will as to other pending questions in the event of His Highness' compliance. I argued also from the regret which he had expressed as to your Lordship's apparent departure in this instance from the usual course of British policy towards the Sultan and his empire, that he would do well not to widen the divergency of which he complained, by harsh and intemperate proceedings, but strive, on the contrary, to prevent any further complications, and to treat the existing subject of complaint as a casual and detached incident unlikely to produce any permanent changes of a political description.

None of these discussions between Reshid Pasha and myself, at one

* See Inclosure in No. 91.

of which the Secretary of State was present, terminated with any decisive admission on his part. I could nevertheless perceive that an impression favourable to my reasoning remained upon his mind; but it was also perceptible that he had committed himself to the Sultan, and that he was not uninfluenced by feelings of responsibility towards his colleagues and the Council.

The letter prepared for Abbas Pasha appears to have been submitted for further consideration. The Grand Vizier will not allow me to see it before the Sultan has given his final sanction to its contents.

Whatever opening the Porte may decide on leaving for an adjustment, satisfactory to Abbas Pasha, of those questions which concern the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt, it is not to be expected that any direct assurances upon the subject will be conveyed to His Highness under the present circumstances. It is not impossible that the Grand Vizier may authorize me to hold out some prospect of the kind, and I desire it as an inducement for the Viceroy to put himself in harmony with the Sultan; His Highness' Commissioners having assured me that the real motive of his willingness to make the railway at any hazard, was to be supported by England in trying to retain his present amount of authority in judicial matters. But as Reshid Pasha looks with a jealous eye on England's partiality to the Viceroy, and is informed by M. Musurus that your Lordship does not side more with his Highness on the question of capital punishment than on that of his army, the hope which I still entertain of being at liberty to encourage His Highness' expectations respecting the Tanzimat, is not, I confess, of a very sanguine complexion.

If in addition to the Council's inclination it be true that the Sultan is highly incensed against Abbas Pasha, there is the stronger reason for wishing to have the means of reconciling the latter to a seasonable compliance, and also, unfortunately, the greater difficulty in persuading the Porte to act with moderation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 96.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 260.)

Therapia, August 25, 1851.

My Lord,

A COUNCIL was held yesterday at the Porte with respect to Egyptian affairs. My earnest and repeated endeavours to obtain the revisal of the Vizierial letter prepared for transmission to Abbas Pasha in the hope of reconciling it with His Highness' pretensions, or at least of reducing it to the most limited expression of the Sultan's demand, consistent with a distinct articulation of the demand itself, have to all appearance produced no effect whatever except that of a brief delay.

The interpreter who saw both the Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha separately on my part this morning, reports "that the result of yesterday's Council was a full confirmation of the former decision not to modify any of the conditions already known to your Excellency, which are inserted in the letter to be addressed to Abbas Pasha, and that the demand of the Porte respecting the railway is to be expressed in decided and peremptory terms."

The Council, on the other hand, has sanctioned the proposed communication to me of the Porte's confirmed intention to sanction the construction of the railway when permission shall have been asked in the terms required.

I still entertain a hope that some assurances of an eventual willingness to meet the Viceroy's wishes on certain points of the Tanzimat

will be given. But the Sultan is described as being highly irritated by the conduct of his vassal, and I cannot venture to reckon upon any satisfactory result.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 97.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 261.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 25, 1851.*

MONSIEUR DE TITOFF communicated last night to Aali Pasha a copy of a despatch addressed by Count Nesselrode to the Russian Consul-General in Egypt. The Turkish Ministers describe this despatch as expressing regret at the differences existing between Abbas Pasha and the Porte, and a hope that the Pasha will acknowledge his error and pay due obedience and respect to his lawful Sovereign.

Monsieur de Titoff's account of the despatch in conversation with me last night was somewhat less unilateral than the Turkish description of it, though manifesting no indication on the part of Russia to side with the Viceroy, and, if I understand him right, composed in ignorance of the signature of the railway contract.

The language of M. de Lavalette, though altogether friendly to England, is still decidedly opposed to the railway in principle; and in case of an appeal to the Five Powers, which he evidently desires, the opinion of France will no doubt be given against the Viceroy's right to enter upon the construction of the railway between Alexandria and Cairo without permission from the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 98.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 229.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 9, 1851.*

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that I approve of the communications which you made to the Grand Vizier as reported in your despatch No. 244, of the 8th ultimo, respecting the Turkish troops about to be sent to Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 99.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 230.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 9, 1851.*

WITH reference to that passage in your Excellency's despatch No. 246, of the 9th ultimo, in which you refer to the disturbed state of the Pashalics of Mosul and of Bagdad, I have to instruct your Excellency to draw the attention of the Porte to the contrast between the state of these Turkish provinces and the state of Egypt, where travellers can go in full security and in every direction.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 100.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 25.)
My Lord, *Cairo, September 4, 1851.*

SINCE I had the honour of addressing my last despatches to your Lordship, I have received several official communications from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, the contents of which place me in a very embarrassing position.

I entertain, however, a strong hope that his Excellency has sent you copies of those of his despatches to me which he would consider the most important to the settlement of the pending question between the Sublime Porte and the Egyptian Government; and if he has done so I may expect by the mail now due from England, further instructions from your Lordship for my guidance.

In so far as your Lordship's sentiments are concerned, I cannot complain of any want of distinctness, for they have been most explicitly stated to M. Musurus, to Her Majesty's Ambassador, to Nubar Bey, and to myself.

But his Excellency affirms that the Sublime Porte, paying no regard to them, is prepared to depose Abbas Pasha, and to employ force against him if he perseveres in constructing the railroad without having previously asked and obtained the Sultan's consent.

It is quite clear that his Excellency has adopted altogether the views of Reshid Pasha on this subject, for not only has he openly declared them to the Egyptian Commissioners at Constantinople, but he writes to me in the same sense, candidly admitting that his opinion differs from your Lordship's in this matter; and he urges me to press upon the Viceroy the necessity of asking the permission, as being the only means of saving him from being disgraced and deposed.

His Excellency indeed intimated to me that "your Lordship could scarcely have been aware when expressing your opinion on this subject, of the peremptory attitude taken by the Porte;" but I cannot subscribe to this view of the case, for I believe that your Lordship would form your judgment upon a careful examination of its merits, and that your opinion thereon would not be altered by the attitude of the Porte, however menacing it might appear.

It has for some time past been a matter of notoriety that Reshid Pasha has owed his continuance in office chiefly to the support of Her Majesty's Ambassador. If therefore his Excellency had used to the Vizier language as firm and distinct as that used by your Lordship to M. Musurus, it is difficult to suppose that the attitude of the Sublime Porte (*i.e.* of Reshid Pasha) would not have been less peremptory.

But as the language used by the Ambassador to the Egyptian Commissioners and to myself is exactly and entirely in accordance with the views of the Vizier, it is no matter of wonder that the latter should assume a peremptory tone.

It is some time since I first informed your Lordship that in my opinion Reshid Pasha had resolved upon the fall of the present Viceroy; every incident that has occurred during the present discussion has confirmed me in this conviction. The time and manner chosen for the introduction of the Tanziaut; the welcoming and employing Artin Bey and every other malcontent fugitive from the service of Abbas Pasha; the invitations given to all the junior members of the family to go over to Constantinople; and lastly, the attitude taken in respect to the railroad, all these have been nothing else than parts of a great scheme which embraces in the first place the deposition of Abbas, and subsequently the reduction of Egypt to the position of an ordinary province, whose revenues would be added to the Imperial Treasury.

I am perfectly aware that Reshid Pasha has repeatedly disclaimed all those views and intentions to Her Majesty's Ambassador, and that his

Excellency has given credit to the disclaimer; but I cannot help entertaining a conviction that in this instance partiality to a polite and affable Minister with whom he has long been upon friendly terms has dimmed his usual sagacity, and induced him to believe professions in contradiction to facts.

For instance, with respect to Artin Bey, whose peculations while he was Minister in Egypt were notorious, and who is well known to be the leader of all the intrigues carried on at Constantinople against the Viceroy, I have repeatedly cautioned the Ambassador against the character and proceedings of this artful and unscrupulous intriguer, and urged him to point out to the Vizier the impossibility of any equitable or amicable arrangement of the Egyptian Question, if Artin Bey were permitted to take a part in the discussions; and also the impropriety of allowing an individual dismissed for malpractices, to exercise an influence in the Councils of the Divan, and to be a frequent guest at his Highness' house.

In answer to these suggestions, his Excellency has more than once informed me that the Vizier had given him the most positive assurances that Artin Bey was tolerated, but that he enjoyed no estimation or influence whatever; that he would send him away whenever and wherever his Excellency desired, and similar assurances.

In spite of all these phrases, I see by the last reports of the Egyptian Commissioners, that this Artin Bey is still the Vizier's right hand in all that concerns the Egyptian Question; that he passed four or five hours in that Minister's private residence one evening during the drawing up of one of the latest documents that emanated from the Porte; in short that he is one of the most active and influential of his Highness' counsellors in all that concerns Egypt.

Of course I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the Commissioners' report, but it is confirmed by all the intelligence that reaches the Viceroy from other sources, as well as by the intelligence transmitted to my colleagues from Constantinople.

With respect to the question of "asking permission," Her Majesty's Ambassador, acting of course upon the information given him by the Sublime Porte, instructed me to urge the Viceroy to concede it upon the ground of precedent, stating that Mehemet Ali had applied for the Sultan's permission before making the Mahmoudieh, the Barrage, and the Fortifications.

Upon my mentioning this to the Viceroy, he agreed that if such could be proved to be the case he would at once consent to admit that construction of the Firman, and to follow the example quoted; but he positively denied that his grandfather had ever asked such permission in the manner stated by the Sublime Porte.

On my representing this reply to the Embassy, his Excellency, still resting the argument on the basis of precedent, repeated (of course on the authority of the Turkish Divan) his former affirmation still more strongly, instructing me to urge the Pasha accordingly.

In answer to this despatch I had no resource left but to cause the official records here to be searched for the letter specially stated by the Porte to have been written by Mehemet Ali asking permission to commence the Barrage. I then forwarded a copy of that letter to Her Majesty's Ambassador, and proved to his Excellency by its date and contents, that it was written a year and a half after the commencement of the Barrage, and that it asked no other permission than to be allowed to connect the Sultan's name with the work which he had commenced.

Within a few weeks of the signing of the railway contract and before the commencement of the work, the Viceroy wrote a similar letter couched in language still more respectful and deferential to the Sultan.

So far from being accepted, this letter seems to have increased the animosity entertained against Abbas Pasha by the Sublime Porte, and the demand for his suspending the undertaking until he has asked and received permission, is reiterated in a more peremptory and menacing tone than before.

The Grand Vizier finding that the ground of precedent chosen by

himself had given way under his feet, resorted to the argument of might, *sic volo, sic jubeo*; and the Ambassador's last despatch to me concludes with these words: "Admitting even that the abstract right be with the Pasha, His Highness would obviously expose his interests to imminent peril by carrying it without necessity to an extreme."

From what has preceded I trust that your Lordship will see that Abbas Pasha is indeed exposed to imminent peril if he is left unsupported to the tender mercies of the Sublime Porte; whatever he does is misconstrued; whatever he says is misinterpreted; and if they find that they cannot goad him into open rebellion by slights and oppressive demands, they will undermine him by forcing upon him impracticable clauses in the Tanzimat, seducing his officers, and promoting disaffection and intrigue in his family. To say the truth, he has not either the commanding abilities or the talented advisers necessary to enable him to withstand so formidable a combination, and as one of the principal causes of his present difficulties has been his decided leaning to English interests, so it is more than ever certain that unless he is effectually supported by England he must fall.

I am sure your Lordship will believe how painful it is to me to write anything that bears the semblance of censure of the conduct of my superior officer at Constantinople, but in a case of such importance, and one wherein his Excellency's views have so widely differed from those expressed to me by your Lordship, I have no resource but to follow implicitly the course pointed out to me by the chief of the department in which I have the honour to serve.

Meanwhile it is a task of no little difficulty for me to reply to the pointed inquiries of the Viceroy, when he says: "Sir, what am I to think of you English? You tell me one thing as being the sentiments of Lord Palmerston and of Her Majesty's Government, and the Ambassador communicates to my Commissioners and to myself through you, sentiments exactly opposite—which am I to believe?"

Your Lordship will see that it is not easy for me to advise under these circumstances, for if I urge him now to ask the permission required, I am thereby receding from the ground taken up by your Lordship, and disowning those rights which you have declared to belong to the Viceroy. If I urge him to refuse the demand, I am held responsible for recommending a course which Her Majesty's Ambassador informs me will lead to the Viceroy's deposition, and possibly to political complications of a most serious kind.

My belief is however that when the Vizier made his last communications on this subject to Her Majesty's Ambassador, he was not aware that Her Majesty's Government was so much in earnest respecting this matter, and that when His Highness learns that a portion of the British fleet is at Alexandria, his tone will be less peremptory on the subject of the pending discussion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 101.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 26.)

My Lord, *Cairo, September 6, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 15, dated August 4, 1851, respecting capital crimes in Egypt, and requiring information as to the number of executions that have taken place during the last five years.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the reply to the inquiries which I addressed to the Egyptian Government on this subject, and I hope that it will be found to contain most of the information desired.

Your Lordship will observe that in the years 1262, 1263, 1264, answering to 1846, 1847, 1848, there were inflicted forty-seven capital punishments; and during the three years of the Government of the present Viceroy only twenty-five have been inflicted.

This must certainly be considered a small average of capital punishment in a country containing upwards of 4,000,000 inhabitants; and whatever defects may be imputed to the Viceroy, a love of bloodshed is certainly not one of them.

In answer to your Lordship's inquiry as to the cases in which the Sultan or his delegate can remit or commute a sentence of death pronounced by a court of justice, I believe that he can do so in every case excepting one, *i. e.*, the murder of a free Mussulman having heirs or such relations as are admitted to be his legal representatives. In this case if the murder be proved, and the sentence recorded by a legal tribunal, neither the Sultan nor his delegate can commute or pardon, unless the heirs consent to accept the "price of blood."

I believe it is a canon of Islam that the Sultan himself cannot lawfully contravene the religious law or issue a decree at variance with it, unless with the sanction of a fetwa, or sentence pronounced by the Sheik-ul-Islam, who is the Chief Mufti of the empire.

It would trespass on the bounds of a despatch, and fill a volume of considerable size, were I to attempt to describe in detail all the provisions respecting capital crimes which are to be found in the Penal and Religious Mussulman Codes, and also the various changes and modifications which have been made therein of late years by the increased and exclusive privileges assumed by the Sultan. I trust, however, that the information herewith sent will embrace the objects contemplated in your Lordship's despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 101.

Stephan Bey to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

Le Caire, 4 Septembre, 1851.

M. l'Agent et Consul-Général,

JE m'empresse de vous prévenir qu'à la réception de la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser sous la date du 19 Août dernier, j'ai écrit à son Excellence le Président du Conseil Civil, pour le prier de me donner les renseignemens que vous me demandez sur quelques points de pénalité et sur leur application en Egypte.

Son Excellence vient en conséquence de m'envoyer une note mentionnant les divers crimes qui comportent la peine de mort d'après la loi Musulmane, et le nombre de criminels qui ont dû subir cette peine pendant les cinq dernières années.

Je me fais un devoir de vous la transmettre avec la traduction en Français, et vous prie d'agréer, &c.

(Signé) STEPHAN BEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 101.

Memorandum on Capital Crimes in Egypt.

(Traduction.)

Exécutions à Mort.

EXECUTIONS ayant eu lieu sous les Gouvernemens précédens, depuis l'année 1262 jusqu'à l'année 1264,—17.

Exécutions ayant eu lieu depuis l'année 1265, où commença le gouvernement de Son Altesse Abbas Pacha jusqu'à ce jour,—25.

Cas où la peine de mort est prononcée par la loi:

1. Le Meurtre, toutes les fois que les coupables se sont servis contre leurs victimes d'une arme occasionnant la séparation de certaines parties du corps.	Les individus qui ont encouru cette peine sous le gouvernement de Son Altesse Abbas Pacha n'en ont été frappés qu'après que leur crime a été prouvé par témoins et reconnu par sentence de Cadi.
2. Le Brigandage sur grand' route.	Ce cas ne s'est pas présenté sous le gouvernement de Son Altesse.
3. L'Adultère et la Fornication en état de mariage.	Idem.
4. Atteintes à l'ordre et à la paix publique définies par la Loi Mahométane.	Idem.
5. Le Meurtre par Strangulation.	Ce cas ne s'est pas présenté sous le gouvernement de Son Altesse.
6. L'Homicide au moyen de substances vénéneuses.	Idem.

La peine de mort dans les six cas précédens ne peut être appliquée qu'après une vérification judiciaire remplissant toutes les conditions imposées par la Loi Mahométane et d'après le fetwa prononçant la condamnation de l'accusé.

Ont le droit de poursuivre les coupables:
1. Les parens de l'individu tué.
2. Le Sultan, ses délégués, et les Cadis dans les diverses provinces, toutes les fois que la victime n'a point de parens, l'autorité publique étant considérée comme représentant la famille de cette dernière.

La peine de mort ou une indemnité convenable peut alors être prononcée contre le coupable, selon que celui-ci, en commettant le crime, s'est servi ou non d'une arme occasionnant la séparation de certaines parties du corps.

Il n'est pas permis au Gouvernement de pardonner au criminel dans le cas où l'intérêt public aurait à en souffrir.

No. 102.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 263.)

Therapia, September 4, 1851.

My Lord,

A MONTH has elapsed since I informed your Lordship of the very unfavourable impression produced on the Turkish Government by Abbas Pasha's abrupt and unauthorized conclusion of his railway contract. The disposition subsequently evinced by a large proportion of the Council to depose His Highness at once admits of no doubt as to the manner in which that transaction is viewed at Constantinople. Your Lordship need not be told that under such circumstances, British influence was sure to undergo a considerable depression, and that the partisans of Turkish alliance with Great Britain have no small difficulty in maintaining the policy to which they are attached.

My efforts to induce the Porte to take a different view of the Viceroy's proceeding, and to adopt your Lordship's opinion of His Highness' right in that respect, were naturally employed at a great disadvantage; and the only effects which could be reasonably expected from them were a certain degree of mitigation, and a postponement of any measures tending

to commit the Sultan to a new system of foreign connexion. My success as to the former of these points, however useful in affording Abbas Pasha an opportunity of reconsidering his position towards the Porte, is by no means adequate to my wishes; and I can only state with respect to the latter, that appearances continue on the whole to warrant a reliance on the known sentiments and professions of the Grand Vizier.

I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that after much delay and frequent references to the Sultan and to his Council, the Grand Vizier's reply to Abbas Pasha's letter, notifying his conclusion of the railway contract, was consigned to His Highness' Agent yesterday. A copy of this important missive was at the same time communicated to me by Aali Pasha; it was accompanied with a written statement explanatory of the Porte's intentions with respect to the railway. Translations of both these papers are inclosed herewith.

The Viceroy's confidential Commissioner, Hair-ed-deen Pasha, embarks to-morrow for Alexandria with the Vizierial letter. The conferences, which have for their object the adaptation of the Tanzimat to Egypt are meanwhile suspended. Edhem Pasha, the other Egyptian Commissioner, remains here.

The Vizierial letter abounds as usual in phraseology; but there is no want of explicitness in the requisition which it conveys, and I observe with pleasure that it is couched in terms of courtesy and personal consideration. The Viceroy is blamed for his precipitation in authorizing the signature of his contract without applying for the Sultan's permission. He is reminded of the admonitions which were previously conveyed to him, and of the obligations distinctly imposed by the Firman of investiture. He is apprized more fully of the conditions which the Sultan attaches to the construction of the proposed railway; and he is peremptorily called upon not to commence the execution of that enterprise without the sanction of the Supreme Government.

Your Lordship will perceive that the conditions required by the Porte, as preliminary to its permission of the railway, have acquired a certain extension not indicated in the earlier communications on this subject. They seem however to come under the same principles, namely, the prevention of foreign entanglement, and the protection of Egypt from additional or unnecessary burthens.

The conversations which I have had of late with the Egyptian Commissioners allow me to believe that the Viceroy's own plan for carrying out the railway is altogether independent of those expedients to which the Porte objects. Edhem Pasha's official acquaintance, as Minister, with the details of the plan and the financial resources of Egypt, appears to set this question at rest. One point may perhaps be excepted—I mean that of aid derivable from the forced and unpaid labour of the peasants. It is possible that the Viceroy may have looked to this practice for a partial diminution of his expenses in constructing the railway; but economy exercised on such terms would surely be an advantage too dearly purchased even in the estimation of those who are most likely to profit by its result.

The statement which accompanied the copy communicated to me of the Grand Vizier's letter contains a pledge which the Porte has bound itself conditionally to redeem. That pledge insures the construction of the railway if the enumerated conditions be complied with. No real difficulty appears to impede their fulfilment, and I learn from the Viceroy's Commissioners that His Highness' original motive for entering into a contract for the railway without permission from Constantinople was the expectation of thereby securing British support in favour of his views respecting the Tanzimat.

There is now an additional motive for His Highness to persist in acting independently of the Sultan. He can hardly help feeling some natural repugnance to recede from a position which he appears to have assumed without sufficient attention to the consequences. He may also be embarrassed by his previous communications with Mr. Murray, and think it a duty not to retrace his steps, even by a simple formality, without your Lordship's concurrence.

I venture, nevertheless, to entertain a hope that no such difficulties will be found to prevent His Highness from acting at once in the only manner which promises to secure the declared object of his recent negotiations at Cairo or in London, without endangering his own essential interests, and exposing Her Majesty's Government to serious embarrassments in their general European relations, and more particularly to the derangement of their established policy towards this empire, viewed as an integral weight in the balance of power, or as an extensive field of administrative improvement and commercial enterprise.

Such, my Lord, are the impressions under which I have forwarded a translation of the Grand Vizier's letter to Her Majesty's Consul in Egypt. Mr. Murray must of course be directed by your Lordship's instructions, the latest of which, however, may not have been written after the arrival in London of my despatches forwarded to Malta by the August messenger.

Should the tenour of these instructions allow him a sufficient latitude, I trust that he will not be insensible to those considerations which operate irresistibly on my judgment, and that he will comply with the invitation which I have addressed to him for the purpose of engaging the Viceroy to take a dispassionate review of his position towards the Porte, and to examine seriously the opinion which I have deemed it my duty to express at a juncture of so much perplexity and hazard.

After all, in so far as the question of authority is concerned, he is only called upon to do with respect to one railway what he has declared himself ready to do with respect to another.

A copy of my despatch to Mr. Murray is inclosed herewith for your Lordship's information. The coincidence of opinion to which I have alluded therein as existing between myself and the Viceroy's Commissioners, including their very intelligent interpreter and associate, Abdurrahman Bey, ought surely to have some value in His Highness' deliberations. The fact is, that their residence here, and communication with the Turkish Ministers, have opened their eyes to the full extent of restriction under which their master is placed by the provisions of the hereditary Firman, and to the almost inextricable difficulties which he would have to encounter by persisting in his present line of contention with the Porte. As the personal influence of Hair-ed-deen Pasha may operate favourably on the Pasha's councils, I have approved of his return to Egypt with the Grand Vizier's letter.

I am ignorant of what may have passed between the Turkish Ministers and the French Embassy since the latter was informed officially by Reshid Pasha of the Porte's intention to authorize the construction of the railway. But it is natural to suppose that their mutual communications have increased, and that M. de Lavalette while putting a good face on his present disappointment, is exerting his utmost activity to embroil the contending parties still further, and to carve out of the Viceroy's embarrassment an occasion for the reinstatement of French ascendancy both here and at Cairo. However this may be, I conceive that his efforts have little prospect of attaining the objects at which they are aimed, unless Abbas Pasha were himself to throw up further materials of intrigue by pertinacious adherence to his pretensions.

Although my endeavours to moderate the resentment of the Porte are sufficiently apparent in the Grand Vizier's letter, and although that document contains no express declaration of the Porte's intentions consequent upon the Viceroy's non-compliance with His Majesty's requisition, there can be no doubt that His Highness' forfeiture of the Egyptian Government is here considered to be the just and necessary consequence of his prolonged disobedience. It is by no means impossible that a reference to the Five Powers may be interposed before the dispute be carried to its last extremity, but it may well be doubted whether such an appeal would finally avert, though it might for a time postpone, the Pasha's humiliation and discomfiture.

Independent of naval or military considerations, the Sultan possesses ample means of harassing and eventually working out his vassal's ruin. The moral influence of his name, the reinforcement of his power in

Arabia; the estrangement of the Pasha's nearest relations and most experienced Ministers; the popular ideas of benefit accruing from the Sultan's humanity; and the stringent conditions of the Firman of investiture, are so many just causes of alarm and comparative weakness on the one side and of encouragement and positive advantage on the other.

Allow me now to conclude. Having done all in my power, first, to obtain the acceptance of your Lordship's views, and next, to soften the Porte's intention; having endeavoured throughout these discussions to promote the Viceroy's interests and the accomplishment of British purposes in Egypt without any considerable loss of our influence here, or the sacrifice of our general policy towards this empire; having now, moreover, requested Mr. Murray to submit my advice to His Highness, agreeing as it does with the opinion of his own Commissioners, I feel that nothing remains for me, while watching the course of events, but to leave the matter in your Lordship's hands.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—Inclosed herewith is a copy of a memorandum by which I acknowledged the receipt of the Porte's statement transmitted with this despatch.

S. C.

Inclosure 1 in No. 102.

Reshid Pasha to Abbás Pasha.

(Traduction.) 6 *Zilkadé*, 1267. (2 *Septembre*, 1851.)

LORSQU'ON a entendu dire, il y a quelque tems, que votre Altesse avait l'intention de faire construire un chemin de fer d'Alexandrie au Caïre, comme c'est-là une affaire sérieuse et importante, on n'a pas douté que la permission allait en être demandée ici. Malgré cela, et dans la pensée d'éviter un malentendu, votre Capou-Kiaya, son Excellence Mochtar Bey, qui allait partir à cette époque-là avec une mission pour l'Egypte, a été chargé spécialement, en cas qu'on allât commencer un ouvrage aussi important que celui-là, de faire savoir à votre Altesse d'une manière formelle, qu'il fallait donner tous les détails de l'entreprise à la Sublime Porte et demander la permission de la commencer.

Comme au retour de Mochtar Bey ici on a vu, contre toute attente, par ce qui avait été dit, que votre Altesse, pour telle ou telle considération, avait résolu d'entreprendre l'ouvrage sans en demander la permission, le Gouvernement a jugé convenable, mais en même tems avec beaucoup de surprise et de peine, de vous entretenir à ce sujet encore une fois; et une lettre officielle était déjà préparée à cet effet, lorsque son Excellence Sir Stratford Canning, Ambassadeur de la Cour de la Grande Bretagne, ayant eu occasion d'apprendre la résolution du Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse, a prié que l'on différât l'expédition de la susdite lettre jusqu'à ce qu'il eût communiqué une fois avec son Gouvernement. Nous lui fîmes observer la possibilité que l'enterprise du chemin de fer fût résolue en Egypte dans l'intervalle de la communication, ce qui dans ce cas aurait compliqué la question; mais M. l'Ambassadeur, prenant sur lui l'ajournement de cette question, a promis d'écrire à cet égard au Consul-Général d'Angleterre d'une manière positive. Nous étions donc à attendre le résultat de cette décision lorsque la nouvelle est arrivée que vous aviez signé un contrat pour la construction du chemin de fer avec l'ingénieur Anglais Mr. Stephenson, contrat renfermant quelques clauses; et plus tard, votre lettre, qui annonçait simplement l'affaire en question, est arrivée aussi: choses qui ont paru à tous très étranges.

D'après ce que l'on apprend, l'ingénieur susmentionné est un homme ayant beaucoup de connaissances, un homme digne de considération; d'ailleurs ce n'est pas à lui à consulter et à scruter vos devoirs; et par conséquent la Sublime Porte n'a rien à redire à son égard. Mais relativement à votre Altesse, la question a une autre face; et supposé même

que les avis qui vous ont été donnés sur cette question, par l'intermédiaire de Mochtar Bey Effendi, et que les représentations de son Excellence l'Ambassadeur n'aient pas eu lieu du tout, vous deviez en méditant le Firman l'Impérial, qui renferme le privilège de l'hérédité et la clause expresse qui est insérée dans sa partie dispositive, et qui renferme la volonté souveraine que, sur toutes les questions importantes, on ait toujours à demander ici l'autorisation de les entreprendre, vous y conformer, et ne pas hésiter du tout à demander à cette occasion la permission de la Sublime Porte. Au lieu de cela vous entreprenez, de votre propre chef, cette affaire, en considérant le Barrage Medjidié et les fortifications d'Alexandrie que le Pacha feu votre grandpère aurait faits sans en demander la permission, comme exemples et précédens, et cette question acquiert par là une très-grande importance.

En effet, les fortifications d'Alexandrie étaient commencées avant que le Firman Impérial relatif à l'hérédité fût émané; et si l'on n'a pas mis d'obstacle à ce qu'elles fussent terminées, c'est qu'elles ont été considérées en ce tems-là comme utiles à la défense du pays; et puis c'était pour ne pas laisser inachevé un ouvrage déjà commencé.

Quant à la question du Barrage Medjidié, la fondation officielle a été inaugurée dans les derniers jours du mois de Rebi-ul-Akhir de l'année 1263 (commencement d'Avril 1847). Huit à neuf mois avant cette époque, c'est-à-dire au mois de Redjeb de l'année 1262 (Juillet 1846), lorsque feu Mehemet Ali Pacha est venu à Constantinople, il a demandé verbalement de Sa Majesté Impériale la permission à cet égard; et rien de plus facile pour la Sublime Porte que de le prouver aussi. La permission qui a été demandée ne consistait pas, comme on le prétend, à donner le nom auguste de Sa Hautesse à l'édifice que l'on allait ériger, mais essentiellement pour la chose même, comme il est bien connu.

Telles sont véritablement les circonstances qui concernent les entreprises qu'on veut considérer comme des exemples; et les hommes judicieux voient évidemment que certaines choses qui ont été faites après le Firman d'hérédité et que l'on fait actuellement, sont de peu d'importance, et ne souffrent aucune comparaison avec une entreprise aussi sérieuse qu'un chemin de fer.

Comme la gravité et l'importance qui s'attachent à ce chemin de fer sont patentes, il semblerait n'être pas nécessaire de discuter cette question longuement. Vû cependant la délicatesse qu'elle vient d'acquérir, il sera utile, sous tous les rapports, d'entrer sur cette matière dans toutes espèces de détails, et de ne laisser rien de douteux à cet égard. Je dis donc: ce chemin de fer n'est pas comme une route ordinaire qui peut se faire à peu de frais; la distance d'Alexandrie au Caire est considérable, comme chacun sait; ainsi on n'a pas besoin de dire qu'une pareille entreprise exige beaucoup d'argent. Si l'on voit que les revenus actuels du Trésor Egyptien, après le payement à la Sublime Porte du Tribut qui a été fixé, et après l'acquittement de tous les frais de l'administration du pays, laissent réellement un excédant, et que cet excédant sera assez considérable pour pouvoir fournir l'argent qu'il faut destiner chaque année pour la construction du chemin de fer jusqu'à la fin de l'ouvrage, dans ce cas on n'y voit pas d'inconvénient par rapport à l'administration du pays. Mais si le Trésor ne peut pas fournir l'argent qu'il faut, et qu'il faudra pour cela établir quelque nouvelle taxe, ou aggraver en quelque sorte les impôts qui existent actuellement; ou bien si l'on fait travailler les Egyptiens à ce chemin de fer gratis; voilà des choses qui heurtent les institutions de l'Empire et les règlemens en général, et qui répugnent à la justice et à la clémence de Sa Hautesse; et par conséquent on n'y consentira en aucune manière. Si, supposé que l'argent qualifié d'excédant ne suffise point, on allait, sans recourir aux moyens sus-indiqués, faire un emprunt à l'étranger, ou bien abandonner l'entreprise à une compagnie d'étrangers, comme dans l'un de ces cas le pays de Sa Hautesse sera resté en gage, et que dans l'autre aussi on aura mis en avant un système dont il n'y a pas encore d'exemple dans le Gouvernement Ottoman, l'adhésion de la Sublime Porte, soit à l'une, soit à l'autre de ces mesures, est chose impossible.

Sa Hautesse se voit obligée de chercher des assurances positives et

solennelles sur ces points, et elle ne pourra pas aussi manquer de faire tout ce qu'il faut pour défendre les droits de son autorité souveraine.

Enfin, de la même manière que le Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse, observant strictement les conditions établies dans le Firman d'hérédité qui a été octroyé, ne pourra pas concilier les nobles sentimens de justice qui le caractérisent, avec une proposition qui serait en dehors des dites conditions, il ne pourra non plus permettre que, sous quelque forme que ce puisse être, on sorte des limites fixées par ce Firman. Ainsi, la Sublime Porte a le ferme espoir que votre Altesse conviendra de la nécessité réelle de demander formellement l'autorisation de Sa Hautesse pour construire le chemin de fer dont il s'agit, et de donner en même tems les assurances demandées; et qu'elle comprendra aussi, sans difficulté, que ce n'est pas seulement la considération politique sur un chemin de fer depuis le Caire jusqu'à Suez qui rend la demande de l'autorisation susdite nécessaire, mais que c'est une nécessité qui résulte de tout ce qui a été dit et élucidé sur un chemin de fer, dans quelque partie de l'Egypte que ce soit, et des obligations invariables qui sont imposées par le Firman Impérial.

Quoiqu'il en soit, le Ministère a décidé à l'unanimité, et Sa Majesté Impériale, dont la volonté souveraine s'accorde avec celle de ses Ministres, a ordonné de faire savoir officiellement à votre Altesse, qu'afin de réparer complètement la faute qui a été commise, et afin qu'on ne soit pas sorti des justes limites des privilèges établis, les préparatifs des travaux de ce chemin de fer faits jusqu'à présent, quels qu'ils soient, seront regardés jusqu'à ce que la permission souveraine soit accordée, comme nuls et non-avenus; et de vous rappeler en même tems que vous ayez à donner des assurances, en termes clairs, que vous avez suspendu cette affaire jusqu'à ce que vous demandiez et obteniez la permission souveraine; que si l'excédant des revenus actuels du Trésor Egyptien suffit aux frais de ce chemin qu'on le fasse voir, et que pour faire le chemin de fer il ne sera ni établi un nouvel impôt, ni les taxes actuelles seront aggravées; que l'on ne fera pas travailler les habitans à ce chemin, gratis; et que jamais il ne sera ni fait un emprunt à l'étranger, ni établi de compagnie.

Lorsque, s'il plait à Dieu, votre Altesse aura pris connaissance de tout ce que ci-dessus, c'est à celui qui peut ordonner à donner des ordres.

Inclosure 2 in No. 102.

Statement accompanying the Grand Vizier's Letter.

(Traduction.)

COMME, ainsi que l'on le verra en détail par le contenu de la susdite lettre responsive, cette affaire est une de ces affaires importantes désignées dans la partie essentielle du dispositif du Firman de l'hérédité comme ayant besoin d'être représentées ici pour demander l'autorisation nécessaire, tout ce que le Gouverneur susmentionné a fait jusqu'à présent sans permission est sans contredit en dehors de la sphère de ses devoirs comme sujet; mais on ne voit pas la nécessité d'entrer dans de nouveaux détails sur cette matière ici.

La Sublime Porte, comme elle l'a d'abord déclaré, et elle le déclare, ne conteste pas l'établissement du chemin de fer, et elle ne l'empêche pas. Seulement, lorsque le Gouverneur nommé par Sa Majesté le Sultan à une partie de ses Etats telle que l'Egypte, veut entreprendre un ouvrage d'une telle importance, il faut d'abord que la Sublime Porte comprenne et sache comment cet ouvrage se fera, avec quels capitaux il se fera, et si de cette manière il peut ou non arriver quelque préjudice au pays; d'après cela il dépend de sa volonté, comme maitresse exclusive du pays, de donner ou d'en refuser sa permission. L'adhésion de la Sublime Porte à la construction du chemin de fer, et la réparation des procédés et des erreurs d'Abbas Pacha contraires à ses devoirs de sujet, dépendent donc uniquement de l'accomplissement des conditions et des assurances insérées dans la copie de la susdite lettre responsive.

En s'explicant de la sorte avec Abbas Pacha, en exposant d'une manière claire et nette et les droits du Sultan et les devoirs du Pacha, et en l'invitant à entrer dans la bonne voie, la Sublime Porte espère prouver la modération qu'elle déploie dans toutes les occasions, et donner une nouvelle preuve des bonnes intentions qu'elle entretient envers Son Altesse. C'est pourquoi du moment qu'il marchera dans la voie de la droiture qui lui est ouverte, c'est-à-dire du moment qu'il fera complètement les choses qu'on lui a indiquées, il est clair que les présentes difficultés seront mises de côté.

La Sublime Porte, en conséquence, ne doute nullement, d'après les traités d'amitié sincère et les bonnes intentions dont elle a jusqu'ici été l'objet de la part du Gouvernement Britannique, et d'après l'aide et l'assistance qu'elle en a tant de fois reçues, que Son Altesse le Vali adoptera enfin, d'après ces conseils bienveillans, un meilleur système; et que l'Angleterre, qui, comme il est bien connu, est une des Grandes Puissances qui, de concert avec la Sublime Porte, ont établi la position actuelle du Gouverneur de l'Egypte, et qui fait tous ses efforts pour les consolider dans leurs relations de sujet, ne permettra ni consentira à ce que cette position soit détruite, ni que les droits sacrés de l'autorité supérieure soient perdus; que l'Angleterre n'hésitera point à admettre et à reconnaître que la Sublime Porte a évidemment raison de demander que les conditions dont il s'agit soient exécutées complètement; qu'en cas qu'elles ne le soient point, elle est pleinement justifiée à refuser son adhésion au chemin de fer, et que cette question est une de celles qui portent directement atteinte à l'autorité supérieure.

C'est avec la plus grande assurance et la plus grande confiance qu'on s'est empressé d'exposer les faits comme ci-dessus.

6 *Zilkadé*, 1267. (2 *September*, 1851.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 102.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 24.)

Sir, *Therapia, September* 3, 1851.

THE Grand Vizier's reply to Abbas Pasha's letter respecting the railway contract has at length been given to Mochtar Bey, and Hair-ed-deen Pasha has announced his intention of conveying it himself to Egypt. I have reason to believe that his Excellency will embark to-morrow after taking leave of the Grand Vizier.

The Porte has sent me a copy of the Vizierial letter, and I forward to you a translation of it herewith.

You will not fail to observe that the Pasha is formally required by this letter to ask the Sultan's permission before he proceeds to the construction of the railway, and clearly admonished as to the obligation, not to say necessity, of his complying with His Majesty's demand. There is every reason to believe that the consequence of a refusal or non-compliance on his part would be a declaration of forfeiture.

My utmost exertions to obtain a more favourable view both of the Viceroy's conduct in authorizing the signature of his contract with Mr. Stephenson, and of Viscount Palmerston's opinion of His Highness' right in that respect, have been frustrated by the fixed resolution of the Sultan's Ministers to repel what they conceive to be an open encroachment on their Sovereign's authority, and an infraction of the Firman by which a conditional grant of the administration of Egypt was made to His Highness' family.

I have not been allowed to take any part in the composition of the Grand Vizier's letter, and even my repeated efforts to moderate its tone, to reduce the conditions attached in it to the construction of the railway, and to secure a more complete deference to the Viceroy's wishes respecting the Tanzimat, have been attended with only a partial success. The terms indeed of the letter are couched with becoming courtesy and respect for the Pasha's subordinate dignity, the door is left open for his return to a

course more consistent with the relations in which he stands towards the supreme Government; the conditions applied to the construction of the railway are I believe, with the possible exception of the *corvée*, intended by His Highness himself; and I am warranted in stating that although there is still a marked unwillingness at the Porte to concede in any degree the sovereign privilege of inflicting capital punishment, the Pasha's compliance with it present demand would be followed by a readiness on its part to consider in a very favourable manner such points of the Tanzimat as appear in His Highness' judgment to require a special adaptation to the local wants and interests of Egypt.

But I have found it impossible under circumstances of so much embarrassment on my side, and of irritation on that of the Turkish Government, to avert the perilous responsibility which now to all appearances weighs on Abbas Pasha, and I have only to express my earnest hope that His Highness will take a dispassionate view of his position, and adopt with frankness and promptitude that course of proceeding which offers the fairest prospect of rectifying past omissions, and bringing once more into accord those various interests of deep importance which are disturbed and put to hazard by the present unfortunate misunderstanding. My personal opinion upon this subject amounts to a conviction. It pretends, however, to no greater value than what it derives from my local experience and fair appreciation of the increasing difficulties which will infallibly surround the Pasha in case of his unsupported resistance to the Sultan's demand. Those difficulties, if he were to be partially supported from without, must naturally be expected, however regrettable the complication, to extend their range to the general interests of the Empire, and even to the principal Powers of Europe in their relations with each other and with the Porte.

I conceive the construction of the railway to be quite safe, if the Pasha asks permission and gives the required assurances. There is nothing, I believe, to prevent his giving them. His dignity may well bear to ask that permission for one railway which he was prepared to have asked for another. I earnestly hope that he will act in this sense, and looking to his own interests, exclusive of every more urgent consideration, I cannot do less than invite you to submit my opinion to His Highness, provided that course be not entirely irreconcileable with your instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

I am not yet acquainted with the impression made upon Viscount Palmerston by the first despatches which I addressed to his Lordship after learning from you the conclusion of the railway contract.

The written assurances which I have received from the Porte reiterate in substance its verbal declarations respecting the conditional completion of the railway.

I am confirmed in the opinion which I have expressed above, by its perfect coincidence with those of His Highness' Commissioners, as repeatedly declared to me by them, and particularly with that of Hair-ed-deen Pasha, who, deeply attached as he is to the Viceroy's person, returns on this occasion to Egypt, as he has assured me, for the express purpose of submitting to His Highness the same advice which I hold it my duty to offer through you.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 102.

Sir Stratford Canning to Reshid Pasha.

Therapia, ce 4 Septembre, 1851.

SIR STRATFORD CANNING vient de recevoir de la Sublime Porte une copie de la lettre Vizirielle adressée au Pacha d'Egypte relativement au chemin de fer qui doit être construit entre le Caire et Alexandrie, ainsi que l'exposé qui l'accompagnait ayant trait au même

objet. La confirmation que ces pièces présentent de ce que la Porte lui avait déclaré à plusieurs reprises, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle est prête à autoriser la construction du chemin de fer, lui fait un vrai plaisir. Il est clair, néanmoins, que la Porte s'attend à ce que Son Altesse Abbas Pacha en demande la permission, et donne, au préalable, l'assurance que les frais de construction seront chargés exclusivement sur le surplus du revenu ordinaire de l'Egypte, en écartant tout recours aux corvées, aux emprunts étrangers et aux sociétés étrangères. La nécessité de conditions quelconques et surtout du développement que l'on a cru devoir donner aux principes que celles-ci renferment, pourrait être mieux appréciée ailleurs. Ayant épuisé ses efforts pour faire valoir l'opinion de son Gouvernement, et sentant à l'heure qu'il est l'inutilité de revenir sans ordre exprès sur les discussions passées, l'Ambassadeur se plait à espérer que les intentions professées de part et d'autre seront suivies au plus tôt d'une solution équitable et satisfaisante des complications du Firman d'investiture.

No. 103.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(Private and Confidential.)

Therapia, September 7, 1851.

My Lord,

WHILE I was engaged in trying to bring Reshid Pasha into better accordance with my sentiments respecting his communications to the Viceroy of Egypt, I addressed him privately and briefly in writing on two occasions when I thought it desirable for him to have a more precise idea of my suggestions. He gave me no answer at the time, but on sending me a copy of his letter to Abbas Pasha, he made up for the omission by addressing me at some length in a private form. I have the honour to inclose a copy of his letter herewith for your Lordship's perusal. His purpose in writing was evidently more than that of a mere acknowledgment and reply to my notes, which were only repetitions of certain points pressed on his attention previously in conversation, and reported to your Lordship elsewhere.

He refers to the conditions imposed on Abbas Pasha. My opposition to such of them as he specifies in his letter was not so much founded on any real difficulty which they are likely to present to the construction of the railway, as on the unfavourable impression likely to be made on the Viceroy's mind by their number and particularity. They do not exceed in principle, though they certainly do in terms, the communication originally made to me; and I am assured by the Viceroy's Commissioners, that "foreign loans" and "foreign companies" form no part of His Highness' plan, which, as they fully assure me, can be shown to rest exclusively on the ordinary revenue of Egypt.

The paper sent through Prince Vogorides was rejected by me, and held as *non-avenu*, because it tended in my apprehension to release the Vizier from concessions made to me in personal intercourse with him, while my despatches, intended to obtain from Abbas Pasha a modified acquiescence with the Sultan's demand, were on their way to Alexandria.

His assurances of the Porte's eventual willingness to consider favourably the Viceroy's wishes respecting certain points of the Tanzimat, are doubtless the result of my previous exhortations. They stop short of the question of capital punishment; but I should not despair of obtaining a reconsideration of that matter also to a limited degree, if the Viceroy were to adopt my opinion on the principal question now at issue.

I obtained some delay in the departure of the two young Princes, relations of Abbas, not because I have any reason to suspect that their return to Egypt has any sinister object, but simply on account of the Viceroy's very natural susceptibility in the present delicate state of his affairs. They embarked for Alexandria a few days ago.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 103.

Reshid Pasha to Sir Stratford Canning.

(Particulière.)

Chère Excellence, *Sublime Porte, le 1 Septembre*, 1851.

J'AI reçu les deux lettres particulières que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire sous les dates du 14 et 15 Août.

Je crois vous avoir prouvé, chère Excellence, combien est ardent et sincère mon désir de vous témoigner en tout la grande estime que j'ai pour votre honorable personne. Toutes vos idées, tous vos conseils ont été et sont toujours considérés par nous comme venant d'un ami éprouvé de mon pays. Or, votre Excellence concevra très facilement la profondeur de mes regrets d'être obligé de différer d'opinion avec elle sur quelques termes essentiels de la lettre responsive à Abbas Pacha. Je me trouve, soyez-en persuadé, dans l'impossibilité de rayer de cette lettre les conditions d'emprunt et de compagnie. Mon Souverain, mes collègues, et ma propre responsabilité, les exigent impérieusement. Les raisons que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous développer dans nos précédens entretiens sont assez graves pour convaincre votre Excellence de la réalité de ce que je viens de lui exposer.

Le digne Représentant de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre est trop conciliant, trop juste et trop équitable pour ne pas bien apprécier ces raisons. J'ai donc recours à votre amitié, à votre caractère conciliant et à votre haute sagesse, à cet égard.

Votre Excellence reconnaîtra avec nous que pour assurer le succès d'une affaire de cette importance il vaut bien mieux d'en aplanir d'avance toutes les difficultés que de les ajourner. Du reste je ne saurais trop vous le répéter, chère Excellence, que la condition d'exclure de l'affaire dont il s'agit, l'emprunt et la compagnie, n'est nullement nouvelle. Dès le moment où on a commencé à parler du chemin de fer, je pense n'avoir pas manqué d'en faire mention à votre Excellence. Je vous rappelle à cette occasion entre autres le contenu du mémoire que je vous ai envoyé par le Prince Vogoridès, et dont vous avez pris lecture. Elle se trouve en outre relatée dans toutes les instructions adressées à l'Envoyé de la Sublime Porte à Londres. Abbas Pacha ne peut pas dire non-plus qu'il n'en a pas été prévenu, et qu'on la lui pose seulement à présent. Mochtar Bey à sa dernière mission en Egypte le lui a déclaré au nom de la Sublime Porte et de la manière la plus catégorique. De plus, quand la Sublime Porte a appris, au retour de ce Bey, les intentions de Son Altesse au sujet du chemin de fer, elle a voulu lui adresser une lettre protestative, répétant toutes ces conditions, lettre dont l'envoi a été différé sur la demande de votre Excellence. Ainsi j'espère fermement que la justice de ces observations, et grâce à la bienveillante intervention de votre Excellence, cela ne donnera pas lieu à aucun malentendu chez vous, et que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique voudra bien convenir de l'urgente nécessité de bien préciser les conditions de cette grande entreprise.

Quant aux quelques points du Tanzimat, je me réfère là-dessus à ce que j'ai dit à votre Excellence, c'est-à-dire, qu'en tout temps la Sublime Porte n'hésitera pas à promettre de prendre en considération très favorable tout ce qui tendrait à concilier d'une manière utile au pays, les points de détail du Tanzimat avec les exigences locales. Ce qui concerne la concession à Abbas Pacha de la faculté d'appliquer la peine capitale, je me permettrai de vous soumettre à cet égard avec ma franchise habituelle les réflexions suivantes. S'il est vrai que Mr. Murray ait promis au Pacha, comme on le dit, de lui obtenir cette faculté, on croit devoir lui faire observer qu'il serait injuste de vouloir forcer la Sublime Porte à faire des sacrifices de ses droits, afin de remplir cette promesse. L'on ne peut s'empêcher de dire également, qu'avant de prendre sur lui la résolution d'une si grave question, il aurait dû penser aux difficultés d'une chose ou d'une prétention qui affecte les droits les plus sacrés de souveraineté et tend à changer les lois fondamentales d'une Puissance étrangère.

Si malgré la parfaite disposition de la Sublime Porte de faciliter, autant qu'il est en son pouvoir, tout ce qui regarde les intérêts Britanniques, si, dis-je, malgré cette considération, M. le Consul d'Angleterre a pu faire cette promesse au Pacha d'Egypte comme une condition de réciprocité pour obtenir l'adhésion de ce Gouverneur à l'exécution du chemin de fer en question, il a fait un acte qui ne convient pas au fonctionnaire d'une Puissance amie comme la Grande Bretagne.

Pour ce qui est du départ de Halim et d'Ismaël Pachas, quoiqu'ils ne retournent en Egypte que pour y régler leurs propres affaires, et que leur rentrée dans ce pays n'ait aucune signification ni but particulier, je n'ai cependant pas manqué, par égard pour les observations de votre Excellence, de retarder de deux semaines leur départ de Constantinople.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) RESHID.

No. 104.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 20.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 19*, 1851.

I HAVE to state to you that as it appears that Abbas Pasha has said in one of his letters to the Porte, that he should feel himself bound to ask the permission of the Sultan for a continuation of the railway from Cairo to Suez, he seems to have given up the principle upon which was rested his claim to construct a railway of his own authority; and it would therefore be advisable that he should, in compliance with the Sultan's desire, apply to the Sultan for permission to make a railway from Alexandria to Cairo.

There can be no difference in principle between these two railways, and the admission made by the Pasha in regard to the one must in all reason apply to the other. Moreover, as the matter now stands, the question at issue is one of form rather than of substance; because the Sultan does not object to the railway being made, and is ready to give his permission as soon as it is asked.

If a rupture were to take place between the Sultan and the Pasha in consequence of the Sultan forbidding the Pasha to make a railway at all, the public opinion of Europe would be in favour of the Pasha, and he might look for support from friendly quarters; but if such a rupture were to take place upon the narrow ground of etiquette involved in a refusal of the Pasha to ask for a permission which he was sure of obtaining if applied for, it is to be feared that people in general, who do not look much below the surface of things, would pronounce the Pasha to be wrong, and would say that he had brought himself unnecessarily into trouble by standing out on a point of form on which it would have been better for him to have given way.

It may moreover pretty safely be assumed that after what has passed on this matter, the Porte will not be likely to press unreasonably in other matters its claim of interference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 105.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 21.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 29*, 1851.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 25, of the 4th instant, respecting the questions pending between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt; and I have to state to you with reference to this matter, that although Her

Majesty's Government have every desire and intention to give to Abbas Pasha all fair and proper support, yet the extent of that support must find its limit in the difference which exists between the relation in which Her Majesty's Government stand with regard to the Pasha, and in the relation in which the Sultan stands towards him. The Sultan is unquestionably the Sovereign of the Pasha, and the interference of a foreign Government between a Sovereign and his subject cannot go beyond certain limits.

If the Porte had endeavoured to prevent the Pasha from making the Egyptian Railway, the strong and direct interest which Great Britain has in the construction of such a road of communication between England and India would have justified Her Majesty's Government in going great lengths to overcome the opposition of the Porte; but the Porte early in the discussion gave up its opposition to the work, and took ground only on a point of form.

On this point it was certainly the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the Porte overstrained the sovereign prerogative of the Sultan, and that opinion, and the reasons on which it was founded, were stated to the Turkish Ministers. Those Ministers, however, did not agree with the opinion, and were not convinced by the arguments, and they persisted in requiring the Pasha to ask the permission of the Sultan for the construction of the Egyptian Railway.

The question at issue was thus brought down to one in which no direct interest of Great Britain was concerned, and which simply regarded a point of etiquette between the Sultan and his vassal, and an interpretation of a vague phrase in the Firman of investiture.

Upon such a question the position of the British Government was necessarily very different from that in which that Government would have stood if the discussion had turned upon the question of railway or no railway, and Her Majesty's Government could not hold out to the Pasha any expectation of physical aid if he were to be involved in a rupture with the Sultan upon such a question as this on which the difference between him and the Sultan now turns.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, still adhering to the opinion which they have expressed on the question at issue, but not being invested with any authority to decide such a question, and not being prepared to carry their interference in this matter to the extent of the employment of force, can only recommend to the Pasha to comply with the requisition of the Sultan; and if it be true, as you suppose, that the Turkish Government is on the look out for a pretext for displacing the Pasha, that circumstance only affords an additional reason why the Pasha should yield to the requisition of the Porte in a point which is at all events doubtful, and on which he may yield without giving up the substantial object which he wishes to obtain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 106.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 22.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 29, 1851.

I HAVE received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople a copy of the letter which the Grand Vizier addressed to the Viceroy of Egypt on the 2nd instant, in reply to the letter in which Abbas Pasha notified the conclusion of the railway contract; and I have to state to you that the explanations and assurances required by the Porte seem to be such as the Porte may reasonably ask for, and such as the Pasha will probably not have hesitated to give.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 107.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received September* 29.)

(No. 270.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 10, 1851.

SINCE I had the honour of addressing your Lordship on the 7th instant, I have learnt that copies of the Grand Vizier's letter to Abbas Pasha have been communicated, I believe confidentially, to the French, Austrian, Russian and Prussian Legations.

M. de Lavalette has criticized the introduction of my name into that letter. He informed me, in courteous terms, that he intended to express his sentiments upon the subject to Aali Pasha. I told him in reply that if I had known of the Porte's intention beforehand I should myself have objected to it, though in truth I attached but little weight to the circumstance.

I learn from Aali Pasha that M. de Lavalette remarked to him that my name was "malplacé" in the letter, and that his Excellency had expressed a contrary opinion, observing that he thought the name was "parfaitement à sa place," and would produce a good effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received from M. Frederick Pisani a report containing, with other matters, the extract inclosed herewith, relating to what passed between Aali Pasha and the French Envoy. M. Stephen Pisani, whose earlier report I had followed in stating what precedes, explains his omission by the hurry in which he had accidentally been obliged to communicate with the Secretary of State.

S. C.

Inclosure in No. 107.

Extract from M. F. Pisani's Report.

AALI PACHA dit que le Ministre de France s'est borné à dire qu'il a trouvé que votre nom était déplacé dans la pièce en question. Aali Pacha a répondu que comme Abbas Pacha prétend qu'il n'a jamais su quelles étaient les demandes de la Sublime Porte, celle-ci a voulu lui donner pour ainsi dire le démenti en citant le nom de l'Ambassadeur; que d'ailleurs le contrat a été fait avec un ingénieur Anglais, et c'est aussi ce qui a donné nécessairement lieu à des communications sur cette question avec l'Ambassade Britannique. A en croire Aali Pacha, rien de plus n'a été dit de part et d'autre.

No. 108.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received October* 2.)

(No. 277.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 17, 1851.

THERE is much reason to hope that the very judicious instructions conveyed to Mr. Murray by your Lordship's despatch No. 17, addressed to him under date of the 23rd ultimo, will, by determining Abbas Pasha to comply with the Sultan's requisition, replace His Highness in a more suitable position towards the Porte and lead to an early termination of the present embarrassing differences between them.

It must be admitted that there are ample grounds for the surprise expressed to me by your Lordship (No. 223 of this year) respecting the difficulty of introducing railroads into any part of this empire; and it may be hoped that the example to be set by Egypt, when accompanied with the Sultan's permission, will go far to remove the existing prejudice. It is however to be noted in fairness, that Turkey is still immeasurably

behind the smallest States of Christendom in point even of common roads, and that the Sultan and his Ministers have nevertheless engaged from the beginning to sanction the Egyptian Railway when placed on a proper footing.

The real question at issue is one of authority. While the Viceroy is thought to aim at more independence than the Firman of investiture allows him, the Porte may not unreasonably be suspected of seeking to contract even the limited range assigned to him by that instrument.

In addition to the question of authority is that of influence. The Porte has abated the influence of France by means of Abbas Pasha, and is unwilling to have another foreign influence, especially of a Consular description, established by the same means in its place.

By keeping within the limits of his Firman and ceasing to act in a spirit of antagonism with the Porte, Abbas Pasha would go farthest in improving his position, and best enable Her Majesty's Government to support him effectually in case of need.

Had he been less encouraged at Cairo in starting on a different course there would have been less room for mistrust, irritation, and high language.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 109.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 278.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September 17, 1851.*

THE conciliatory language reported by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris to have been used by the President of the French Republic in conversing with his Excellency on the subject of Eastern affairs, and particularly with reference to those of Egypt, has greatly relieved my mind from the vexatious impressions produced by the active and undisguised opposition of the French Envoy here and of the French Consul at Cairo to the views of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the construction of a railway between that city and Alexandria. Even to the present moment M. de Lavalette, while proclaiming the readiness of his Government to acquiesce in the establishment of a railway constructed with the Sultan's permission, throws out ideas unfavourable to an early adjustment of the question. It would seem that he has not yet abandoned his main object of bringing about a reference to the Five Powers, and giving an European character to the pending discussions. He seeks moreover to bring about a curtailment of the intended road by representing its superior claims to usefulness between Alexandria and the Nile as compared with that part of it which would run along the dykes of the Barrage.

I avail myself of this opportunity to state that as far as I know, the language of M. de Titoff and also of M. de Klezl, respecting the Egyptian affair, is more in harmony with the impressions conveyed to your Lordship by Mr. Buchanan in his despatch No. 28 of this year, than with those communicated to Lord Normanby by President Bonaparte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 110.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 27.)

My Lord, *Cairo, September 15, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a translation of a Vizierial letter addressed to the Viceroy of Egypt.

This document was accompanied by a despatch from Sir Stratford Canning, recommending me to urge His Highness strongly to ask the

permission required, both on his own account, and as the only means apparently left for bringing about an amicable settlement of the pending discussion with the Sublime Porte.

I hope to-morrow or next day to have an interview with the Viceroy upon this important subject; after which I will report to your Lordship the effect of my suggestions, and I will add whatever observations may arise from discussing the contents of the Vizierial letter with His Highness.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 110.

The Grand Vizier to Abbas Pasha.

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 102.]

No. 111.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 28.)

My Lord, *Cairo, September 18, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 16 and 17, informing me that as it appears from the statement of the Grand Vizier and from the probable coincidence of dates, that Mehemet Ali Pasha made personal application for the Sultan's leave to construct the Barrage some months before the laying of the first stone; and as the Sublime Porte has promised on demand to permit the construction of the railway; it will be, in your Lordship's opinion, wiser for the Pasha to yield to the wishes of the Sultan, and to apply for a permission.

My Lord, it is not my duty to argue with your Lordship, any more than it is that of the Pasha to argue with his Sovereign, otherwise I think I could very easily show you that the verbal permission asked by Mehemet Ali on his visit to Constantinople is a recent produce of the Grand Vizier's imagination, and is only brought forward to save him from being defeated in an argument founded on precedent.

My reasons for believing this are simply the following:

1. It is well known that from the date of the Firman to the day of his death, Mehemet Ali never asked permission in writing for any of the great works which he undertook in Egypt; and therefore it is highly improbable that he should have done so verbally in 1846.

2. If he had done so, it is certain that a matter of such importance (involving as it has done an expenditure little short of a million sterling) would have raised some discussion at least, if not opposition at the Sublime Porte; whereas I cannot find an individual who ever heard of the permission having been then asked, until it was brought forward the other day by the Grand Vizier.

3. If Mehemet Ali had really, according to the precedent required, explained to the Sultan in 1846 all the purposes of the Barrage, and requested His Majesty's permission to make it, is it not highly probable that in the letter written on the occasion of laying the first stone, some allusion would have been made to the verbal communications that had passed on the subject? some phrase must have occurred, such as "The undertaking which I had the honour of explaining to His Majesty," or, "which His Majesty was graciously pleased to sanction."

I inclose translation of that letter, from which your Lordship will see that so far from containing any allusions of the above nature, it explains the objects and purposes of the writer's undertaking, as if it were a matter of which His Majesty had no previous cognizance whatever.

Leaving your Lordship to draw your own inferences from these observations, I will only add that even if it were proved that Mehemet Ali had asked His Majesty's permission verbally in 1846, it would make no valid precedent in respect to the railroad at this date, as a reference to my despatch No. 25 will show your Lordship that the contracts for the

engineering of the Barrage, and the actual commencement of the work, occurred nearly a year before Mehemet Ali's visit to Constantinople in July 1846.

However these things may be, as the Sublime Porte demand the concession of the point on a ground which, although its validity is doubtful, we cannot disprove, and as your Lordship is of opinion that it is wiser to concede it, I have done all in my power to urge the acquiescence of the Viceroy; and I have been the more anxious to do so with success, from my desire to conform my conduct as much as possible to the advice of Her Majesty's Ambassador, referred to in my despatch No. 26, of the 15th instant, containing the Vizierial letter.

His Excellency seems to consider it a matter of the highest importance, on account of its coming within the scope of the concluding paragraph of the Firman, and being, therefore, under the cognizance not only of the Sublime Porte, but also of the Powers who subscribed that instrument.

I am happy to say that I have succeeded in obtaining the Viceroy's promise that he will write an official letter requesting the Sultan's permission to construct the railway, and if I am allowed to assist or advise in the composition of the letter, I will do everything in my power to make it as explicit as can be required by a fair construction of the terms of the Firman; but I regret to be obliged to add the expressions of my fears that it will not be accepted, and that it will not therefore terminate the present unfortunate differences.

Had the Vizierial letter simply demanded that the permission should be asked according to the requirements of the Firman and the precedent adduced, His Highness says that in order to show a due deference to the Sultan's wishes and his respect for your Lordship's counsel, he would have written it without hesitation; but unfortunately the Vizierial letter contains so many conditions which are not only foreign to previous usage and to the Firman, but are also directly contrary to the opinions which your Lordship has expressed on the obligations of the respective parties, that the Viceroy feels it impossible to admit them without forfeiting the rights and privileges transmitted to him by his predecessors in virtue of the Firman of hereditary investiture.

I respectfully intreat your Lordship's serious attention to those clauses in the Vizierial letter in which it is plainly stated that the Sultan's permission will not be granted unless the Viceroy shows that the revenues of Egypt, after paying the appointed tribute and after defraying the expenditure of all the administrative departments, leave a surplus sufficient to provide for the cost of the railway; neither is the Imperial permission to be accorded except under the condition that His Highness shall not employ forced labour, nor make a loan, nor give over any part of the undertaking to a Company.

Now, my Lord, how are all these demands and conditions reconcileable with that free exercise of internal administration hitherto exercised by the Viceroy and his predecessors, and the right to which has been so explicitly maintained by your Lordship? The Viceroy cannot show all these things in the sense demanded by the Sublime Porte, without opening to their inspection every detail of his internal administration, and stating how every dollar of his revenue is expended, in order to prove a surplus.

His Highness inquires "Where did the Grand Vizier find either in established usage or in the Firman, any authority for these inquisitorial demands; and does it not appear as if they had been introduced into the letter on purpose to drive me to write a recusant reply?"

I have no doubt that owing to the great extension that has taken place during the last few years both in the produce and commerce of Egypt, and notwithstanding that the present Viceroy has taken off taxes to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds a-year, His Highness will be able to meet the expenses of the railroad without either borrowing money or increasing the present taxation; but supposing such not to be the case, and that he required some additional supplies, have the Sublime Porte any right to prevent him from re-imposing for two or three years that portion of the established taxation which he himself voluntarily remitted last year without their knowledge?

Or are they entitled to forbid him from following the practice uniformly adopted by Mehemet Ali whenever he incurred any extra expenditure, namely, to borrow certain sums from the merchants at Alexandria, which he repaid when the state of the market enabled him to sell Government produce to the best advantage?

Again, in the matter of compulsory labour, the demand of the Vizierial letter is no less inconsistent than unjust. The right of the Egyptian Government to employ compulsory labour on all public works, such as roads, canals, and dykes, has long been undisputed.

In the time of Mehemet Ali, the labourers furnished for these purposes by each village in proportion to its population received only rations of food (that too of the cheapest and worst kind), and no pay whatever.

Abbas Pasha, since his accession, has ordered that such labourers on public works should, in addition to their food, receive 20 paras (about 1½*d.*) a-day; but it seems that the Sublime Porte having been informed some months ago by their spies, that Abbas Pasha employed compulsory and gratuitous labour on the construction of his own private palaces and gardens, wrote to him a letter which was brought by Mochtar Bey, reproving him for this misconduct, and desiring him henceforward not to employ compulsory and gratuitous labour (called in Turkish and Arabic "sohrah") on any works *excepting those which were for the public benefit.*

His Highness ordered the books of his land-steward to be shown to the Bey, in order to convince him of the falsehood of the charge; but the sentence underlined (which I have seen in the original) is valuable, inasmuch as it shows that the Sublime Porte consider the railroad as a private amusement, and not a work for the public benefit.

I have been thus circumstantial in my observations on the Vizierial letter, in order that your Lordship may be in possession of all the circumstances which bear upon this very important case; and in order that if your Lordship is of opinion that some of the demands made in this document are harsh, unfair, and unauthorized by the Firman, you will signify those sentiments to the Sublime Porte in language which cannot be misconstrued, and which will show them that however determined Her Majesty's Government may be to give no countenance to any act of contumacy or disrespect to the Sultan on the part of the Viceroy, yet that on the other hand it will not in silence permit His Highness to be oppressed or damaged in his just rights, or to be interrupted in the prosecution of an useful and commercial undertaking by cabals and intrigues which have no foundation in justice.

Permit me, my Lord, to add that this is a matter on which no time is to be lost. Mr. Stephenson and his engineering staff are expected by the next Calcutta steamer, and they have received already a large sum as an instalment for their services. Their employment in the construction of the Egyptian Railway has been at least known to, if not sanctioned by, Her Majesty's Government; the honour of England is therefore to a certain extent implicated in the carrying out this undertaking.

Your Lordship will observe that it is expressly stated in the Vizierial letter, that if all its demands are not exactly complied with, the Sultan will not give his permission; and also that if the Viceroy commences the work before he has received that permission, he will be held to be contumacious and rebellious, and be treated accordingly.

It results, therefore, that unless some very strong representations are addressed to the Sublime Porte on this subject, a serious dilemma must ere long arise. Either England must submit to the humiliation of seeing her first civil engineer and his staff remaining for an indefinite period idle at Alexandria, unable to commence a work for which they have received part payment; or else, if they commence the works according to their contract, the Viceroy will thereby incur the risks and penalties attaching to an act of overt disobedience to the Sultan's orders.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 111.

Mehemet Ali Pasha to the Sublime Porte.

(Traduction.) *25 Rebi-el-Akhir*, 1263.

VOTRE Altesse sait que le Nil, à une distance d'environ trois heures au-dessous du Caire, se divise en deux branches qui vont se jeter à la mer, l'une à Damiette et l'autre à Rosette.

Depuis quelque temps je m'étais mis dans l'idée de faire construire sur chacune de ces branches à l'endroit même où elles se séparent, un barrage, qui, fonctionnant durant les basses eaux du fleuve, aurait irrigué et fertilisé les terres à l'aide de canaux creusés à cet effet.

Déjà j'ai fait venir et préparer les instrumens et appareils nécessaires, et les quais ont été construits; enfin le temps de jeter les fondations de ces deux barrages étant venu, je me suis rendu sur les lieux, et le Vendredi, 23me jour du mois courant de Rebi-el-Akhir, la première pierre des fondations a été jetée par les mains de votre fidèle.

Que de monumens glorieux de cette sorte, construits sous les auspices de Sa Hautesse, ont fait adresser des vœux au ciel pour la conservation de son heureux règne.

Ces deux barrages, dont l'utilité est générale, sont deux grandes constructions, et de même que le canal creusé en l'an 35 entre l'Atfé et Alexandrie, porte le nom de notre défunt bienheureux maître; de même ces deux barrages dédiés à Sa Hautesse, acquiéreraient sous son nom la célébrité, et seraient un ornement dans les pages de l'histoire, mis ainsi au nombre de tous les bienfaits du règne de Sa Hautesse, ils seraient aussi pour votre serviteur la cause d'une gloire éternelle.

Que votre Altesse veuille bien prêter sa haute intervention pour porter tout cela à la connaissance de Sa Hautesse et donner des ordres pour que l'on prépare et m'envoie deux pierres destinées à être placées sur ces barrages lorsqu'ils seront terminés.

Si le chronogramme qui sera inscrit sur ces pierres le permet, que votre Altesse veuille bien aussi y faire introduire le nom de l'ingénieur Mougel Bey.

No. 112.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received October 2.*)

(No. 29.)

My Lord, *Cairo, September 19*, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a letter addressed by the Viceroy to your Lordship, and as he seemed desirous not to confide its contents to any of his interpreters, I have been compelled to undertake myself the accompanying translation, for the fidelity of which I hold myself responsible.

In order to explain to your Lordship what might otherwise appear hasty and petulant expressions in His Highness' letter in respect to the Grand Vizier, I feel myself also called upon to transmit to your Lordship a report addressed to His Highness from his Commissioners at Constantinople, narrating to His Highness a speech addressed to them by the Grand Vizier in the Divan, and in the presence of many of the Ministers and dignitaries of the Porte.

To this document I have also attached a translation, and I regret being obliged to add that I never read a more unbecoming or unjustifiable speech, when we remember that it was addressed in public to the Representatives of an hereditary Prince, the vassal of his Sovereign.

Almost every sentence in it is either a taunt or an untruth; and considering that I have the honour to represent Her Majesty's Government here, and that the Vizier can have no reason to believe that I give the Viceroy any advice at variance with your Lordship's instructions, excepting it be from the calumnious reports made to him by the intriguing clique of Egyptian refugees, I think his allusion to myself in such a place highly reprehensible.

The charges made against the Viceroy of having written letters or sent emissaries to promote insurrection among the tribes mentioned by the Grand Vizier, is declared by His Highness to be a malicious falsehood, and a calumny for which (if he could hope for any justice at Constantinople) he would have a right to expect reparation as public as the insult.

His Highness truly says:

"If the Grand Vizier could find any letter bearing my seal, or any agent that could be proved to have been employed by me on such a mission as that which he has stated, it was his duty as Minister to have established his proofs and impeached me for high treason."

The tale may have arisen from the fact that Abbas Pasha has from his earliest youth been passionately fond of Arab horses and swift dromedaries, and both before and since his accession to the Viceroyalty, he has always had dealings with the Bedouins of Arabia and Syria, for the purchase of the purest blood horses that could be found.

It is very probable that the persons employed as agents on this service among these tribes have been transformed into political emissaries by the malice of the Egyptian clique at Constantinople; and the story chimed in so well with the wishes of the Vizier, that he adopted it as true.

The ridiculous taunt about Abbas dealing with astrologers which had been doubtless whispered to the Vizier by one of the disaffected youths belonging to the family, was not less unbecoming in the mouth of a Minister on a public occasion; and the sentence in which the Vizier called upon any one of the Ministers who would support the cause of Abbas to come out to show himself can only be characterized by the familiar expression of "empty bravado."

With regard to the last charge on the Vizier's list, touching the disarming of the regiment of the Imperial Guard that passed lately through Egypt, it is only necessary for me to inform your Lordship that they passed freely with their arms and accoutrements. Every facility and comfort was afforded them. 20,000*l.* of pay due to them, which the Sublime Porte had been unable or unwilling to disburse, were paid to them in cash. Their chief officers were treated with pipes and coffee by the Viceroy; and 2,500 camels were collected by His Highness' orders to convey their baggage, ammunition, &c., to Suez. On the day of their departure, when the tents were struck and the regiment was assembled in marching order, the Colonel came out in front of them, and addressing himself to Ibrahim Bey (the officer charged by the Viceroy with providing for their wants), desired him to assure His Highness in his name and in that of his regiment, that every possible attention had been paid to their convenience and comfort, and that they carried with them in leaving Egypt a grateful sense of His Highness' kindness.

Such, my Lord, being the course of conduct which is hypothetically transmuted in the Vizier's address into "disarming" or otherwise annoying or impeding the passage of the Sultan's troops, can your Lordship be surprised that the Viceroy should be indignant at such groundless and malicious insinuations? or can you be surprised, my Lord, that I (seeing the supreme power of administration at Constantinople in the hands of a man who wields it in such a spirit of rancour and hatred towards Abbas Pasha) should entertain a fear that the reasonable concessions of the Viceroy on all the main points that have been mooted will procure for him no favour nor safety.

I have before expressed my belief, and I see no reason as yet to alter it, that whatever concessions Abbas Pasha may make, short of an abnegation of all his privileges and rights of administration, will be fruitless.

The Grand Vizier, the French party, the Egyptian clique at Constantinople, and the disaffected members of the family, are all united in the determination to bring about the downfall of Abbas, and they will succeed unless stronger language and stronger measures than have hitherto been adopted are now employed in his protection and defence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 112.

Abbas Pasha to Viscount Palmerston.

September 21, 1851.

(Translation.)

IT is unnecessary to state that in conformity with my sentiments of continued deep and sincere regard, I consider it essential to communicate and explain to your Excellency all important and weighty matters concerning me.

I inform you therefore that I continue to act conformably to the representations and friendly recommendations which have throughout been made to me by his Excellency the Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Stratford Canning, and Mr. Consul-General Murray in Egypt, on the questions and dissensions between the Sublime Porte and Egypt.

The difficulties arisen hitherto proceed from two things: viz., the vehement personal feeling and animosity entertained towards me by the Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha; the other, the hostility of the French from seeing their influence in Egypt not consolidated as under former Governments. The request which I make through your Excellency's good offices to the British Government and people, is, that my rights should be well protected and preserved to me in their integrity as under my predecessors with the favour and good-will of the Porte.

The contentions and claims between Egypt and the Porte proceed from four important questions connected with the prosperity and security of commerce, and the people of Egypt, and that of the subjects of foreign Powers.

1st. The question of the Tanzimat.

2nd. The great degree of liberty possessed by the members of the family to go here and there and to the capital.

3rd. Capital punishment.

4th. The railroad decided upon, and for which a contract had been signed.

Of these, three points have been sacrificed according to the demand of the Porte and to your Excellency's recommendations; so that although it be a well established fact that, excepting Egypt, the result of the Tanzimat, pretended to be in force in the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire, is the commission of robberies and plunders in one place, murder in another, and in a third the absence of security for life and property, the principles of the Tanzimat, namely, security of life and property, and protection of honour and reputation, were accepted without any reservation.

With regard to the members of the family, their only desire in going to the capital is to raise a sort of calumnies and complaints against me, and on their return to Egypt to intrigue and conspire for promoting the evil designs contemplated by them throughout the country; yet no opposition was made, permission was given them and they proceeded as they pleased.

With reference to capital punishment I have from my early youth both seen with my own eyes and heard, and I have up to this period experienced that Egypt being a country inhabited by numerous different tribes and races, Arabs, Gypsies, Fellahs, and foreigners, and more particularly by unruly men, this people, unless kept in check by the Government, would act as they pleased; and if the point in question be not conceded to me, it is very evident that there can be neither any degree of tranquillity or of security. Nevertheless, as the Porte is not satisfied, and it is said that this is the Sovereign's right, it is not my wish or intent to encroach upon the rights of the Sovereign. But I pray and hope, relying on the Royal justice and clemency, and for the above considerations, that the point in question may be granted to me as it was to my predecessors.

With respect to the railroad, your representations concerning its being constructed with Egyptian money, and those points of internal administration not in the hereditary Firman, and to which the Porte has nothing to say, were both just and reasonable and confirm my previous

view of those points; and I renew the expressions of my attachment and devotion to your Excellency; I am highly satisfied and pleased on this account, and I offer you the special assurance of my sincere thanks.

The Porte insisted in clear terms that leave should be asked of it for the construction of that road, and promised also that on leave being asked, permission for its construction should be granted; it stated also that my deceased grandfather had on his visit to Constantinople in 1263, verbally asked permission for the great Medjidié Barrage, and your Excellency thinks the same; I am ready in pursuance of your advice to do so, but the Porte, in representing that permission for this road should be asked of her, inquires also in the despatch last received, the amount of expenditure necessary; she also requires assurances that the tribute to the Porte should be paid out of the actual revenues of the Egyptian Treasury; that after the established expenditure of the province be confirmed, the road should be made out of the surplus money, and that in the event of that not sufficing, no new impost should be laid on for this purpose; that the present taxes should not be increased; and that the Egyptian people should not be made to work gratis on the road; that no foreign loan should be made; and that the enterprise should not be left to a foreign company: such were the points stipulated.

Such conditions as these are not contained in the Firman of hereditary government; and is it not as clear as the sun, that the meaning of this peremptory tone is to prevent the construction of the railroad, and to meddle and to interfere in the revenues and internal affairs of Egypt? It is not my intention to borrow money from abroad for the construction of this road, nor to turn over the enterprise to a foreign company; but should there not be sufficient money, and should the people, who are in arrears to the amount of 300,000 or 400,000 purses, be made to pay up a certain portion on account, it could not be stated that this were the imposition of a new tax or an augmentation of the actual taxes; the people would in short have paid a part of their debt.

The imposition of these conditions by the Porte was simply to render us unable to construct the railroad, and also that the family who are possessed of villages should be benefited by not paying up any portion of the accumulated arrears.

These numerous conditions are not contained in the Firman; and while in the days of my predecessors, no inquiries were made concerning the outlays to be made for the fortifications of Alexandria or for the Medjidié Barrage, is it just that they should be made in my days? It is clear that the Porte has no right on these points.

As it is my intention to ask only for permission to construct the railroad, if the Porte should not be satisfied with the things accepted by us, and pretend to things which are not contained in the Firman of hereditary government,—that is, should she cast an eye on the Egyptian Treasury, and demand returns of the produce, revenues, and expenditure, &c., of Egypt, and should intend to possess herself of the key to the internal administration, I would then be under the necessity of applying to your Excellency to know what course it were expedient to pursue; how far it were necessary to bear in silence the insults and contumely cast upon me already by Reshid Pasha, and which he may eventually cast upon me; and his unjust demands.

Your Excellency is aware that the difficulties and necessities continually arising proceed from the great goodwill and attention shown to the British trade, transit, and other current affairs of the English, and from the little weight and disposition now shown (unlike former times) to French influence, principles, and other questions of a like nature.

I have therefore to request the favour of your Excellency's sending a strict instruction to Sir S. Canning to exert himself to the utmost for the favourable arrangement and solution of our affairs at the Porte, and for preventing the Grand Vizier from giving utterance to the unjust and improper things hitherto said of me by his Highness.

I have, &c.

(Seal.) (ABBAS KILMI.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 112.

Address of the Grand Vizier to the Egyptian Commissioners on the 4th of September, 1851, at the Divan of the Sublime Porte.

(Traduction.)

IN this affair the Sublime Porte will not abate a jot of its right, and will spare no exertion to enforce its claims.

We have heard that numerous levies of troops have been made; this conduct is not good, as the number of the soldiers must be limited to the quotum allowed by the Sublime Porte.

The Viceroy, instigated by the advice of this or that person, or Mr. Murray, to oppose the Sublime Porte, will find no safety therein.

We hear also that His Highness has written letters to the Arabs of the Hedjaz, the Wahabees, and the tribes near Aleppo and Bagdad, and has sent men there to excite them to revolt. What kind of conduct is this? We are all labouring for the good of the Ottoman Empire, and we are all willing to shed our blood to carry through this affair.

Abbas Pasha knows that he has not the force and reputation of the late Mehemet Ali Pasha, and (even if he had) affairs now-a-days are not arranged by force, but according to right.

The Sublime Porte requires nothing more in this matter than its own rights, and does not desire to trespass on those of Abbas Pasha.

He must give a definite answer, paragraph by paragraph, to the letter addressed to him. His reply must not be as before, ambiguous or with a concealed meaning; and if there remains one point of our letter unanswered, or one sentence of his reply ambiguous, it will be considered as a renunciation of all the conditions.

But if he has anything to state in opposition let him state it openly; let him give a decisive answer, for if he writes in doubtful terms, it will be a proof that he does not wish to accept what is just and fair; in that case there is no doubt but that the Sublime Porte, adopting another course of conduct and insisting on its right, will lay the matter before the Representatives of the [European] Powers; and who will then be able to oppose a just claim?

But if, trusting to the words of astrologers, he thinks that he will achieve independence by the month of Moharrem—that month is approaching, the result will be seen. But it would be well if he did not listen to such idle tales.

The [Vizierial] letter having been written with the concurrence of all the Ministers and sanctioned by the Sultan, may be considered as an order emanating from His Majesty himself.

With reference to the Tanzimat, respect will be had to the position of the country, and just claims will be listened to; but it seems that in some places where the Sultan's name is mentioned, you give to the Articles another sense, and omit His Majesty's name.

If there be among the Ministers of the Sublime Porte one individual who will support Abbas Pasha, let him come out and show himself.

We have heard that the Viceroy caused the Arnaout soldiers to be disarmed while they passed through Egypt. As they are rude and undisciplined fellows, there was no harm in this; but if he has caused the arms to be taken from the regular troops in a similar manner, this will be a great offence, for Egypt being a province belonging to the Sultan, His Majesty's troops have a right at all times to pass through it as through His Majesty's other provinces.

No. 113.

Nubar Bey to Viscount Palmerston.

Londres, le 3 Octobre, 1851.

Excellence,

DANS les dépêches que le Vicerοi m'a envoyées par ce courrier, il m'avertit qu'il a eu l'honneur d'adresser une lettre explicative de l'état des

affaires à votre Excellence. Votre Excellence peut voir par cette lettre que le Vicerοi dès qu'il a eu connaissance de l'opinion de votre Seigneurie par rapport à la demande en autorisation pour le chemin de fer, n'a pas hésité un moment à se décider à faire cette demande. Mais votre Excellence pourra voir en même temps, que la Porte, en demandant des comptes, et en voulant s'assurer que les revenus de l'Egypte, après avoir suffi au paiement de tribut et des autres dépenses administratives, présentent un excédant capable de suffire aux nouveaux frais du chemin de fer, dépasse les limites posées par le Firman d'investiture. D'après ce Firman, après paiement de tribut, le Pacha dispose du reste des revenus; et accordant que Méhémet Ali ait demandé l'autorisation pour entreprendre les fortifications et le Barrage, la Porte ne peut pas avancer qu'elle lui ait jamais demandé compte des ressources et des moyens qu'il se proposait d'employer. Mais dans le cas présent la Porte, sentant son impuissance à s'opposer directement à l'établissement du chemin de fer, a pris cette voie indirecte pour y mettre des obstacles et s'ingérer en même temps dans l'administration financière de l'Egypte. Elle sait très-bien qu'avec les revenus actuels, revenus diminués par l'abandon de plusieurs monopoles et par la presque totale radiation du Ferdé, le Pacha, après avoir payé le tribut et avoir pourvu aux autres dépenses, ne peut pas pourvoir à celles du chemin de fer. Ce chemin de fer, d'après l'estimation de Mr. R. Stephenson, coûtera de 750,000 à 840,000 livres sterling; celui de Suez, conséquence nécessaire et indispensable du premier, étant calculé sur le même pied, entraînera une dépense d'environ deux tiers de cette somme; et comment le Pacha, avec ses ressources actuelles, pourra-t-il pourvoir au défraiement de ces dépenses considérables?

La Porte, d'après le Firman, peut exiger que le Pacha ne lève point d'emprunt, ne cède pas le chemin à une compagnie étrangère, ne lève point de nouvel impôt, et ne fasse pas travailler les Fellahs sans rétributions. Mais le Pacha n'a jamais eu de pareilles intentions, il l'a déclaré dès le commencement; et si la Porte, dans ses nouvelles exigences, n'avait en vue que la sauvegarde de ses droits, ces intentions bien connues et ces assurances du Pacha devraient suffire, et elle ne devrait pas lui demander des comptes.

Depuis le temps de Méhémet Ali, le Gouvernement Egyptien a toujours été dans l'habitude de venir en aide aux propriétaires et aux Fellahs Egyptiens pour les mettre à même de cultiver leurs terres. Ces secours leur étaient distribués soit en capital, consistant en bestiaux, semences, &c., ou bien en leur donnant du temps pour le paiement des impôts fonciers. Ce système a été étendu sous le présent Vicerοi, qui, ayant délivré, comme votre Excellence le sait, une partie de la population du joug de leurs tenanciers, a été obligé de venir largement à leur secours pour leur donner les moyens de cultiver leurs nouvelles propriétés. De ce système découlent des créances considérables (environ un million et demi à deux millions de livres sterling) que le Gouvernement a à recevoir sous forme d'arrérages. Une grande partie de ceux-ci est dûe par les membres de la famille du Vicerοi et par les anciens grands propriétaires. Les premiers, sans que le Pacha ait le moyen de les réprimer, surtout depuis le retour de quelques-uns d'eux de Constantinople, prédisent ouvertement l'avortement du chemin de fer et la destitution du Vicerοi; et les autres, travaillés sous main par la Porte et intéressés à ce que le Pacha n'entre point dans de nouvelles dépenses qui entraînerait nécessairement une demande de la part du Gouvernement pour le paiement des arrérages qu'ils doivent, espèrent en secret l'avènement d'un pareil état de choses. Car il est évident que le Pacha, avec ses ressources bornées actuelles, aura recours à la perception d'une partie de ces arrérages, et il n'y a pas de doute que selon toute justice il ne s'adresse principalement aux membres de sa famille et aux grands propriétaires, plutôt que de s'adresser aux pauvres Fellahs, que jusqu'à présent il a sauvegardé autant qu'il était en son pouvoir de le faire.

Il ressort clairement de la marche que la Porte a suivie depuis le commencement de cette question, qu'elle considérera cette demande en paiement d'une partie des arrérages, si ce n'est comme un nouvel impôt, du moins comme une aggravation des anciens; elle représentera les Princes et les autres propriétaires comme ruinés et dans l'impossibilité de payer ces arrérages; et cette mesure de justice et d'utilité, qui servira à rendre l'état du pays prospère, en facilitant les communications, par elle deviendra une mesure d'oppression, à laquelle elle refusera son adhésion; et le Pacha, s'il accède aux exigences actuelles de la Porte en ce qu'elles ont rapport à la demande des comptes, après avoir tant persévéré pour faire un établissement si utile au pays et au commerce de l'Anglo-

terre, se trouvera dans son tort, et matériellement dans l'impossibilité de l'exécuter.

Il est évident que le Pacha résistera à ces nouvelles exigences de la Porte; il s'y attendait d'ailleurs, car dès le commencement il prévoyait que toute cette [question] du Tanzimat n'était qu'un moyen détourné de se mêler et de mettre la main sur les finances de l'Egypte ; mais lié comme il est, il ne déviera pas de la route qu'il s'est tracée dès le principe de suivre en tout et pour tout les décisions de votre Excellence.

Pour se décider sur les réponses qu'elle doit donner à ces exigences de la Porte, Son Altesse attendra ce que votre Seigneurie aura bien voulu décider dans sa haute justice. Seulement, le Vicerοi ose faire observer à votre Excellence toutes les difficultés et tous les obstacles, pour toutes choses, qu'entraînerait son adhésion à cette prétention de la Porte de s'ingérer dans les finances Egyptiennes, dont l'administration est réservée au Viceroi d'après le Firman lui-même.

Son Altesse en m'ordonnant de soumettre ces considérations à votre Excellence, me charge de prier votre Excellence de vouloir bien lui communiquer, de quelque manière que cela soit, son opinion et sa décision dans ces nouvelles prétentions de la Porte, prête qu'elle est à suivre la marche que voudra bien lui indiquer votre Excellence. Elle m'a en même temps chargé de soumettre de vive voix à votre Excellence, avec quelques autres considérations sur l'état du pays, soit la conduite que les membres de sa famille tiennent à son égard, soit les graves et injustes accusations dont elle se voit inculpée par la Sublime Porte.

En attendant respectueusement les ordres de votre Excellence, et en la priant, pour la prompte solution de ces affaires et du chemin de fer lui-même, de faire connaître sa haute décision au Viceroi,

J'ai l'honneur, &c.
(Signé) N. NUBAR.

No. 114.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 9.)

(No. 290.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September 24, 1851.*

THOUGH I have myself received no intelligence from Egypt subsequent to the arrival of Hair-ed-deen Pasha at Alexandria, the general impression appears to be that His Highness the Viceroy will comply with the Sultan's requisitions. Such I was informed this morning is the purport of advices received from Cairo by the Grand Vizier.

The despatch relating to Egyptian matters, of which your Lordship sent me a copy from Mr. Buchanan's correspondence, originated in a quarter entitled to little consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 115.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 23.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 11, 1851.*

WITH reference to the observations on the contents of the Grand Vizier's letter to Abbas Pasha, which are contained in your despatch No. 28, of the 18th of September, I have to state to you that all that appears really to be required of the Pasha by the letter of the Grand Vizier, is an assurance that the surplus revenue of Egypt will be sufficient to defray the expense of constructing the railway, and that no foreign loan will be made for that purpose so as to mortgage in any way any part of the Egyptian Province; that the railway will therefore be made by the Pasha out of his own funds, and will not be constructed by a foreign company; and that the workmen employed in constructing it will be paid for their labour. The Pasha can, it is conceived, have no difficulty in giving these assurances, because they appear to be all in strict conformity with his intentions; and it cannot be supposed that the

Turkish Government can have meant to require the Pasha to produce his accounts in corroboration of these assurances. The fact that works of a more costly nature than this railway, namely, the fortifications and the Nile-dam, have been paid for out of the surplus revenue of Egypt, is a sufficient proof that the expense of the formation of this railway can be defrayed from the same sources.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 116.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 17.)

(No. 296.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October 5, 1851.*

THE despatches which I have long expected from Cairo arrived here an hour or two ago. It is impossible for me to notice their contents by the present occasion except in a most cursory manner. I observe with satisfaction that the Viceroy has made up his mind to ask the Sultan's permission for constructing a railway between Alexandria and Cairo. But I also observe with anxiety, that His Highness takes exception at the Porte's stipulated conditions, and showed, at the time when Mr. Murray wrote, an inclination to demur to the Sultan's requisition in that respect. I cannot but regret a distinction, which if not carefully explained and fully justified may lead to serious consequences; the more so as the Pasha's objections appear not to be rested on any practical motive connected with the construction of the railway, but rather on questions of financial administration irrelevant to that enterprise.

It will of course be my duty to dissuade the Porte from any inconsiderate expression of disappointment on receiving the Pasha's reply; but efforts will not be wanting to widen the remaining breach between the ill-matched parties, and much will necessarily depend upon the terms of His Highness' letter.

In answer to my inquiries yesterday, the Grand Vizier informed me by message that he had no intelligence from Cairo of a recent date, but he added that the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt had received instructions from Prince Schwarzenberg authorizing him to counsel the Viceroy to resist the injunctions of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 117.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 17.)

(No. 30.)

My Lord, *Cairo, October 5, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information a translation of the Viceroy's reply to the Vizierial letter, copy of which I transmitted to your Lordship in my despatch No. 27, of September 15, 1851. This translation has been made by one of the Viceroy's interpreters, and though it gives faithfully the meaning of the original, it is neither so distinct nor so courteous in tone as the Turkish version.

Such as it is, however, I trust that your Lordship will see that Abbas Pasha has been as good as his word; and having distinctly and respectfully asked the Sultan's permission to construct the railroad according to the requirement of the Sublime Porte, if further obstacles are now thrown in the way of that undertaking at Constantinople, it will be a breach of the promise made to Sir Stratford Canning by the Grand Vizier, and the Viceroy will then be compelled to go on with the work in order not to forfeit the contract made with Mr. Stephenson.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 117.

Abbas Pasha to Reshid Pasha.

(Traduction.)

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir par l'entremise de Hair-ed-dyn Pacha la lettre détaillée que votre Altesse m'a écrite en date du 6 Zilkadé.

Cette lettre, en réponse à la requête que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser précédemment à votre Altesse au sujet de la décision prise de construire pour le bien général un chemin de fer entre Alexandrie et le Caïre, demandait à cet égard quelques explications, et exigeait que les dépenses nécessaires à l'exécution de ce chemin de fer ne fussent faites qu'avec l'excédant que donneraient les revenus actuels de l'Egypte, après avoir payé le tribut annuel à la Sublime Porte et les frais nécessaires à l'entretien du pays.

Elle disait aussi que dans le cas où l'argent ne suffirait point, il ne fallait pas lever un nouvel impôt, ni agraver jusqu'à certaines limites des impôts actuels, ni faire travailler gratis la population, ni emprunter du dehors, ou bien céder l'entreprise à une compagnie étrangère.

Elle ajoutait en outre, que sur cela les Ministres avaient décidé avec l'approbation de Sa Hautesse, que je devais demander clairement la permission de construire ce chemin de fer et donner les assurances qu'il ne serait construit que de la manière ci-dessus indiquée.

Enfin elle me fesait savoir que la Sublime Porte ne proposerait rien qui fût en dehors des conditions contenues dans le Firman d'hérédité.

Que Dieu augmente les jours et le bonheur, la grandeur, et la puissance de Sa Hautesse, et la conserve éternellement sur le Trône!

Que son ombre bienfaisante s'étende sur tous ses fidèles et ses sujets! Amen.

Dieu m'est témoin que j'étais sincère et vrai lorsqu'à différentes reprises j'ai fait savoir que mon obéissance et mon attachement sincère à Sa Hautesse font que je n'ai nullement l'intention d'agir contrairement aux conditions du Firman d'hérédité et aux ordres et aux désirs de Sa Hautesse; que je fais des vœux jour et nuit pour elle, et que je la remercie de toutes les bontés dont elle m'a trouvé digne à juste titre ou injustement.

Venons à présent aux explications demandées pour ce chemin de fer. La lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser précédemment à votre Altesse n'a pas été comprise dans son véritable sens; on l'a considérée comme portant atteinte aux droits de Sa Hautesse. J'en ai été bien peiné. Me préserve le ciel d'être jamais dans cette intention, et d'agir de manière à porter atteinte aux droits de Sa Hautesse, notre bienfaiteur et maître!

J'espère, avec la grâce de Dieu, que la présente lettre sera comprise dans son véritable sens, et que l'on reconnaîtra la pureté et la sincérité de mes intentions.

D'après le contenu de la lettre de votre Altesse, la conduite et les actions de mon grandpère, Mehemet Ali Pacha, ont été approuvées et trouvées dignes des louanges; et l'on désire que je suive la même route, et gouverne de la même manière. C'est précisément ainsi que j'en ai agi lorsque j'ai écrit la susdite lettre au sujet du chemin de fer. Car cette lettre est conforme à celle qui avait été écrite dans le temps par le défunt au sujet du Barrage le Medjidié. Cependant ce que la Sublime Porte a trouvé convenable à l'égard du défunt a été pour moi une cause de blâme.

Votre Altesse me fait savoir que les fortifications d'Alexandrie avaient été commencées avant l'émanation du Firman d'hérédité, et que différentes considérations ont fait que dans la suite Sa Hautesse a eu la bonté de ne point y mettre d'empêchement.

Pour ce qui est du Barrage le Medjidié, les premiers fondemens furent jetés en l'an 63 à la fin du mois Rebi-el-Akhir, et ainsi que les archives en font foi, le défunt écrivit à cet égard une lettre officielle au Sadralazam (Premier Ministre) portant la date du même mois.

J'ignorais que le défunt, pendant qu'il était à Constantinople au mois de Regeb de l'an 62, eût demandé la permission de vive voix; aujourd'hui puisqu'il est dit qu'il a demandé cette permission de vive voix, je n'ai plus

de doute. Cependant comme les archives ne contiennent point de lettre antérieure à celle dont il est parlé plus haut, et qui demande cette permission; et comme les travaux primitifs de ce Barrage avaient commencées à une époque antérieure à la demande verbale; de plus, comme le contrat, ainsi que votre Altesse le sait, a été fait lorsque son Excellence Sami Pacha se trouvait à Paris pour changer d'air, ainsi qu'en font foi les lettres écrites par le défunt à lui et à M. Guizot en date du 11 de Rebi-el-Awel de l'an 61, c'est-à-dire, treize à quatorze mois avant la demande verbale de la permission; enfin, quoique la somme des dépenses nécessaires à la construction des fortifications et du Barrage soit égale et peut-être même supérieure à celle de ce chemin de fer; comme tout le monde sait que l'on n'a point recherché d'où on se la procurerait, et la manière dont elle serait dépensée; il est évident qu'en cette circonstance que l'on dit n'avoir point de précédens, j'ai eu soin de suivre la route tracée par le défunt, et d'accomplir les devoirs de l'obéissance. Les avantages que procure ce chemin de fer, par la rapidité des communications et du transport, sont égaux, et plus même, que ceux des fortifications et du Barrage le Méjidié.

Cependant puisque l'on dit que demander la permission en termes clairs est une obligation, et que l'on exprime le désir que cette permission soit demandée, ainsi je ne refuse point de demander à Sa Hautesse, notre bien-aimé maître et Seigneur, la permission de construire une chose aussi avantageuse; je demande donc la permission à Sa Hautesse, et la prie et la supplie de me faire la grâce de me l'accorder.

Ce chemin de fer est un bienfait général, et le peuple, les négocians, et les étrangers qui habitent ce pays en profiteront. J'ai le ferme espoir que sa construction sous les auspices de Sa Hautesse, sera approuvée par votre Altesse et par les autres grands Ministres, et que Sa Hautesse m'accordera ma demande.

L'on pense peut-être que ce chemin de fer sera dispendieux et sans avantages; ce n'est cependant point, ainsi que les monumens anciens et les Barrages, un simple ornement, ni un travail fait pour recueillir des louanges, mais bien une entreprise avantageuse par la rapidité, la facilité et la sûreté du transport des produits et marchandises des sujets de l'Empire. Aussi lorsqu'avec l'aide de Sa Hautesse ce chemin de fer sera terminé, le commerce s'agrandira, et le bien-être du pays de Sa Hautesse augmentera.

L'on a tellement reconnu que cette entreprise serait avantageuse et donnerait du profit, que quelques compagnies Européennes en ont demandé la concession. Leurs propositions n'ont point été acceptées.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de dire que les compagnies Européennes n'auraient pas demander cette concession si cette entreprise eût été désavantageuse, et n'eût point présenté de profits. Puisque cette permission ne peut être accordée qu'aux conditions indiquées, je dirais donc que le tribut sera payé en entier à la Sublime Porte des revenus et des produits de l'Egypte et des provinces dont le gouvernement est confié à mes soins.

Les dépenses nécessaires à l'administration du pays sont du ressort des affaires intérieures. Y penser et les accomplir est un de mes devoirs. Ce chemin de fer sera construit avec les revenus du pays, et jamais il n'est venu ni viendra à l'idée de le concéder à une compagnie étrangère.

Dans la sincère intention de procurer du bien-être à la population, j'ai diminué les anciens impôts de soixante mille bourses, et lui donnant du repos, je lui ai fait faire des vœux et des prières pour Sa Hautesse, notre Souverain et maître.

Je ne mettrai donc point, au sujet de ce chemin de fer, une sorte de nouvel impôt, et n'augmenterai point les anciens par une addition extraordinaire. Ces impôts seront perçus comme par le passé.

Dans les travaux qui ne sont pas d'une utilité générale, la corvée qui était d'usage anciennement a été de mon temps tout-à-fait abolie, et la note de ce qui a été payé aux ouvriers employés aux divers travaux, de ma propre main a été présentée, à votre Altesse par l'entremise de mon Kapou Kethouda, Mochtar Bey, à qui elle a été remise.

Dans la lettre que votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date

du 29 Jemazi-el-Akhir, 67, et qui m'est parvenue par l'entremise du susdit Kapou Kethouda, la corvée est tolérée pour les travaux qui sont d'une utilité générale.

Or donc, comme ce chemin de fer est avantageux à tous, le travail et l'entretien doit être ainsi fait en commun.

A présent si l'on dit que dans cette circonstance il y a eu un peu de précipitation, et que l'on considère le contrat comme une faute; comme je n'ai fait que suivre la ligne tracée par mon grandpère, j'espère que Sa Hautesse voudra bien me le pardonner.

Conformément à l'ordre de Sa Hautesse et au contenu de la lettre de votre Altesse, je viens d'écrire les assurances nécessaires, et d'accomplir le devoir de l'obéissance. Ainsi que je l'ai représenté dans ma précédente lettre, ce chemin est, sans aucun doute, une œuvre de bienfaisance, qui, accomplie sous le règne de Sa Hautesse, doit évidemment porter son glorieux nom.

Votre Altesse a dit que l'ingénieur Stephenson était un homme de mérite et digne d'égards, et conformément au contrat, une partie de ses émolumens lui a été déjà payée. Un retard dans les travaux le laisserait sans travail pour quelque temps, et m'occasionnerait des pertes. Cela serait en outre un affront personnel et pour lui et pour moi. J'espère donc, ainsi que la promesse en a été faite aux Ambassadeurs, que ma prière, approuvée par votre Altesse et par les autres Ministres, sera présentée à Sa Hautesse, et que votre Altesse me fera l'honneur d'intervenir pour me faire accorder par Sa Hautesse la permission de commencer et de construire ce chemin de fer; c'est pour cela que j'écris cette lettre, et que je l'envoie à votre Altesse par l'entremise de Hair-ed-dyn Pacha.

(Signé) ABBAS HELMI.

No. 118.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received October 17.*)

(No. 31.)

Cairo, October 5, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 19, inclosing a memorandum drawn up at the Foreign Office, containing a comparison of the provisions of the Tanzimat and Code d'Abbas.

While doing justice to the perspicuity and succinctness with which this comparison is drawn up, I would venture to suggest to your Lordship that in the case before us it is not so much our province to inquire as political philosophers into the theoretic merits of these codes as they appear on paper, but rather to take a practical view of their applicability to the populations for whose government they are devised, and to trace their real merit in the success that has attended their promulgation.

Tried by this test, it is impossible not to pronounce the Tanzimat a signal failure. In spite of the complacent panegyrics of the paid newspaper writers and the flatterers of Reshid Pasha in Constantinople, the progress of the Ottoman Empire in the fundamental elements of civilization, such as order, wealth, industry, commerce, and security of life and property, is a purely imaginative dream. Nor do I believe that the administration of government at Constantinople was ever more vicious and corrupt than it is at this moment; if not, how comes it that after ten years of profound peace, abundant harvests, and all the other favourable concurrences for extending commerce and increasing revenue, the Ottoman Treasury is so exhausted that it has incurred an annually-increasing debt of several million dollars, and that a kind of national bankruptcy has been proclaimed in the calling in the decorations of all the Pashas and Beys for the sale of the diamonds which they contain? Yet during all this defalcation in the public revenue, large sums continue to be yearly squandered away among the families and dependents of those who are fortunate enough to hold for a time the strings of the public purse.

Such, my Lord, is the financial information that reaches me from those who ought to know the state of affairs at Constantinople. Your Lordship has of course better means of judging than myself whether it be correct or not.

If we turn our eyes from the fiscal to the social and political condition of the Ottoman Provinces, in which one is it that we are to look for the benefit resulting from the introduction of the Tanzimat? The public papers have made us acquainted with the scenes that have lately occurred at Smyrna, Salonica, Aleppo, Bagdad, Hedjaz, &c. These are but repetitions of continued insurrection, brigandage, robbery, and other forms of insecurity of life and property.

With such facts before our eyes, surely it is natural for us to doubt not the theoretic humanity of the Tanzimat, or of those who devised them, but their applicability to the times, places, and populations upon which they have been forced.

If the legislators at Constantinople had begun by an extensive system of national education, and had, as the fruits thereof ripened, gradually slackened the reins of Government, and after trying their amended institutions in Roumelia, had by degrees spread those which were found to be successful to remoter provinces, then indeed the risks would have been diminished and the prospects of advantage considerably increased.

But they have done just the reverse, and having suddenly removed the restraints of fear from populations who scarcely acknowledge any other control, the results are such as I have already described and are still daily passing before our eyes.

I believe I have before ventured to offer to your Lordship the suggestion that if the Sublime Porte chose to make these momentous experiments in Roumelia, Asia Minor, or any other provinces in which we have no immediate interest, we might afford to look on, watching their progress as philosophical spectators; but with Egypt it is not so; here our material interests must take the precedence of our philanthrophic speculations; we already have here all that we require for our communication with India: an easy and improving route, an extensive and extending commerce, and perfect security of life and property in the midst of a tranquil population who are themselves daily increasing in wealth and prosperity.

These, my Lord, are things of far higher importance than the comparative merits of two semi-barbarous codes; and though I am not a blind admirer either of Abbas or his code, I should not be doing my duty to your Lordship if I did not press these considerations on your serious attention: for if the Sublime Porte insist upon forcing the Tanzimat *in extenso* upon this country, and if the results should be as disastrous as I, in common with every experienced resident here believe they will be, I should hereafter be justly blamed if I had failed to represent to your Lordship those consequences which are anticipated by all those, whether Moslem or Christian, who are most conversant with the mixed population of Egypt.

Upon grounds similar to these it is that I venture to dissent from the views taken by your Lordship in your despatch No. 18, on the subject of capital punishment, in which your Lordship observes that "certainty of punishment will be equally effectual for the purpose of preventing crime, whether the order for execution shall come from Alexandria or Constantinople." My Lord, independent of the important fact that the taking away from the Viceroy a high privilege hitherto exercised by himself, and before him by his predecessors, would of itself be considered such a degradation of his position as to take from him all the influence and prestige of an hereditary Governor, the speediness of punishment is with these Eastern populations an element quite as indispensable as its certainty, for if the time at which it is to take effect is remote or unfixed, Arabs will not believe in its certainty. No one was better aware of this than Mehemet Ali, and the wonderful power that he acquired over the Bedouin tribes of the adjacent desert was mainly owing to his keeping this principle steadily in view.

Some years ago, nearly about the commencement of the regular transit across the Suez Desert, some Bedouins who came from a distance encamped near that route, and after committing several robberies waylaid and robbed a messenger charged with money, whom they afterwards murdered. Mehemet Ali succeeded in capturing the murderers, had them all tried at Cairo, and after they had been convicted and condemned, he ordered the whole of them to be executed on the very spot where the murder had been committed. This stern but well-timed severity has never been forgotten by the Bedouins, and our monthly mails and passengers now cross that very route in security, and without a guard.

Can your Lordship indeed believe that if the power of life and death were taken from the Viceroy, these Bedouins would not ere long re-act similar scenes, and that too probably on the very same road?

Neither can I find, excepting in the spite of the Grand Vizier against Abbas, any ground for this deprivation. Not even his enemies can accuse him of a proneness to shed blood; and the report that I have sent to your Lordship on the number of capital punishments that have taken place under his administration will prove at how small a sacrifice of human life the tranquillity of the country has been preserved.

In conclusion I beg to remind your Lordship that the time is fast approaching when the efficacy and amount of protection that Her Majesty's Government will think fit to afford Abbas Pasha must be brought to the test.

On account of the railway and his general leaning to British interests, he has incurred the hostility of the former protectress of Egypt; favour at the hands of Reshid Pasha he has none to expect; and therefore unless protected and supported by England he will assuredly fall. And supposing the railroad question to be settled, others connected with the Tanzimat will soon arise, and unless cut short by some decisive protest on the part of Her Majesty's Government, will prolong and embitter the pending discussions to an indefinite extent.

Many and many are the clauses of the Tanzimat which may be and probably will be forced upon the Viceroy which are altogether at variance with those rights of internal administration to which your Lordship has distinctly affirmed His Highness to be entitled. And if His Highness is to be obliged to cede all these points as he has been made to cede all those hitherto contested, his power and influence will be reduced to zero, and he will bitterly regret having emancipated himself from the protectorate of France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 119.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 24.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 28, 1851.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 31, of the 5th instant, containing observations respecting the Tanzimat as applicable to Egypt; and I have to observe to you in reply, that if the affairs of Turkey do not go on as well as they ought to do, it is not because the Tanzimat has been proclaimed, but because the Tanzimat is not everywhere practically enforced. Where it has been carried into practice, its beneficial effects have been apparent.

With regard to the effect which you say was produced on the Arabs of the Egyptian Desert by the execution of some robbers and murderers on the spot where they had committed their crimes, I would observe that what deterred the rest of their tribe from following their example, was the example set by the fact of their execution, rather than a consideration of the place from whence the orders for their execution came.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 120.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 264.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 28, 1851.

I HAVE received from Mr. Agent and Consul-General Murray a translation of Abbas Pasha's reply to the Grand Vizier on the subject of the railway, to which you refer in your despatch No. 296, of the 5th instant; and I have to state to your Excellency that this reply seems to Her Majesty's Government to contain everything that the Porte can reasonably require; and it is to be hoped that no further difficulties will be opposed by the Turkish Government to the execution of the Egyptian Railway.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 121.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 32.)

My Lord, *Cairo, October* 18, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I learnt yesterday the arrival at Alexandria of the "Vengeance," Captain Lord Edward Russell, and of the steam-frigate "Encounter."

I shall proceed to-day to Alexandria to communicate personally with the Captain upon the objects and duration of his visit here.

With respect to the latter he informs me that he is to remain about a fortnight, but I presume he must have from the Admiral a discretionary power to remain longer if circumstances require it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 122.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 33.)

My Lord, *Cairo, October* 18, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on paying my visit to the Viceroy two days since, His Highness showed me a letter from the Grand Vizier, requiring His Highness to pay to young Mehemet Ali Bey (now Pasha), who has entered the Sultan's service at Constantinople, his full Egyptian pay and allowances.

To this His Highness will not consent; he says that whichever members of his family choose to go and reside or take service at Constantinople, shall receive in addition to their own private revenues of inheritance, whatever pay and allowances they enjoyed under His Highness' predecessors, but he will not continue to them while they reside or serve at Constantinople the augmentations of pay and rations that he had himself made to them since his coming to the Viceroyalty.

It is doubtless very plausible to say that the members of Mehemet Ali's family are entitled to go to Constantinople to pay their devoirs to their Sovereign; and as Egypt is a dependency of Turkey, the Egyptian

and Turkish service are one. But such had never been the practice, and it cannot justly be demanded now. What is said with regard to the members of the family may be said with equal truth of the Pashas, Beys, and other officers; so that if this precedent were once established, any of these officers who chose to go over to Constantinople might claim there their Egyptian pay and allowances.

This might be a very convenient arrangement for the Porte to have a certain number of its employés paid out of the Egyptian Treasury, but it is not just towards the Viceroy; and His Highness positively refuses to admit it, either in reference to the junior members of the family or to any other officers of the Egyptian service.

The argument that the two services are in reality one and the same is contradicted by the simple fact that whatever secretary or other employé His Highness has brought into his service from Constantinople, that individual's pay and allowances from the Sublime Porte have been cut off from the very day that he has entered the Egyptian service.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 123.

Sir H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 49.)

St. Petersburgh, October 20, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Lordship's despatch No. 19, inclosing a copy of Sir Stratford Canning's despatch No. 278.

If I am rightly informed, the conduct of the Russian Government in the question of the Egyptian Railway has been very different from that pursued by the French Mission.

The latter, as I am assured, has not only sought to throw every difficulty in the way of the object pursued by Her Majesty's Government, but has endeavoured to induce the Russian Cabinet to labour in the same course, while as I am bound to believe the attempts have met with no countenance from the Imperial Cabinet.

It is not my wish to bring a charge which I am unable to substantiate by proofs; it has however been confidently asserted to me that the Porte itself has endeavoured to make the Emperor's Government a party to their resistance to the construction of the Egyptian Railroad.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 124.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 300.)

Therapia, October 10, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAD some conversation this morning with Reshid Pasha on the subject of Egypt. Considering the doubtful tenor of Mr. Murray's last despatches, I thought it desirable to see that Minister before he received Abbas Pasha's reply to his letter of the 5th ultimo. The ceremony of the Bairam festival prevented my seeing him on an earlier day.

The first object of communication on my part was the assurance given by Mr. Murray, that the Viceroy had consented to ask permission for the construction of the railway. I next intimated to the Grand Vizier that the conditions which accompanied the Sultan's requisition had in some respects made an unpleasant impression at Cairo, though I trusted that the line to be taken by the Viceroy would be such as to satisfy the Porte and remove every remaining subject of complaint.

The Grand Vizier received the former part of my communication with evident marks of satisfaction, and I was glad to perceive in the language which he held as to the latter part of it, a confirmation of the sincerity for which I had previously given him credit. He said that the Porte had no intention of looking into the details of the Viceroy's financial administration. An explicit assurance of His Highness' ability to provide for the expenses of the railway out of the ordinary revenue of Egypt, was all that he required on that point. He did not object to the Viceroy's obtaining supplies in advance from the merchants, according to the practice prevailing both here and in Egypt; the Porte's objection was limited to taking up money on loan. In the same manner he did not exclude the compulsory employment of the peasantry on works of public utility. He only required that their labour should not be entirely gratuitous.

In short, my Lord, though much will of course depend on the tone and purport of Abbas Pasha's reply, I feel myself at liberty to state that appearances are favourable to a candid interpretation of his explanations and assurances, provided they be accompanied, as I am led to expect, with a distinct application for the Sultan's permission, expressed in becoming terms.

The present opportunity, which is that of the Austrian post, does not admit of my going more at length into the subject. I think, however, that I have already said enough to remove any suspicions derived from Mr. Murray's correspondence, of the Porte's sincerity with respect to the railway, and to establish a strong probability that the pending differences will terminate in a satisfactory manner.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 125.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 301.)

Therapia, October 15, 1851.

My Lord,

AS Mr. Murray has no doubt transmitted to your Lordship a copy of Abbas Pasha's reply to the Grand Vizier's letter respecting the railway between Alexandria and Cairo, I confine myself to stating by the present opportunity, which is that of the Austrian post, that the communication of it to the Turkish Ministry has produced a favourable impression; and that, although I am as yet unapprized of the Sultan's sentiments, I entertain a confident hope that the Porte will act with the sincerity for which I have ventured to give it credit, and in a manner to bring the pending differences to an early and satisfactory issue.

Two or three points of the Viceroy's letter have furnished occasion for remark to the Grand Vizier; but I shall be greatly disappointed if they are considered to warrant any demur to the Sultan's permission for carrying His Highness' contract into effect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 126.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 304.)

Therapia, October 15, 1851.

My Lord,

SINCE I had the honour of addressing your Lordship this morning, I have learnt from the most unquestionable authority, that the Ottoman Council has accepted Abbas Pasha's reply to the Grand Vizier's letter.

and that a firman authorizing the construction of the Egyptian Railway is going to be prepared accordingly.

I beg to congratulate your Lordship on this happy issue of a troublesome and irritating affair.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 127.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 312.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October 17, 1851.*

THE information which I transmitted to your Lordship yesterday respecting the Porte's acceptance of Abbas Pasha's reply, has been since officially confirmed to me as well by the Sultan's Ministers as by the Viceroy's Commissioners. The latter called upon me this morning to express their satisfaction, and to apprize me of the gracious and friendly manner in which they had been received by the Grand Vizier, who appears to have taken a just pride in showing that on previous occasions he had not acted from any personal resentment, but merely in vindication of the Sultan's dignity and Imperial rights.

Aali Pasha sent me word to-day that the firman of permission is already prepared, and that it only awaits the Sultan's sanction.

This most desirable reconciliation may I trust be considered as of good augury for the arrangement of the remaining question, namely, the application of the Tanzimat-i-Hairiyé to Egypt. I have already endeavoured to prepare the way for a favourable consideration of the Pasha's wishes in that respect, and I need not assure your Lordship that within the limits of reason and fairness the influence of Her Majesty's Embassy will be cordially exerted for their accomplishment.

I hope moreover that the Porte may be persuaded to control the unbecoming behaviour of the Viceroy's relations, agreeably to what His Highness is fairly entitled to expect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 128.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 314.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October 17, 1851.*

IN justice to the gentlemen of the Embassy responsible for the correctness of translations from the Turkish, I have thought it right to make very particular inquiry into the statement addressed to me by Mr. Murray in his despatch No. 24 of August 28.

The results of my inquiry are a counter-statement drawn up by Mr. Alison, and an exact translation of Edhem Pasha's report signed by Mr. Alison, Mr. Frederick Pisani, Mr. Redhouse, and Abdurrahman Bey, interpreter to the Egyptian Commission.

Copies of these two papers are inclosed herewith, and I beg to recommend their contents to your Lordship's particular attention.

Presuming that Mr. Murray's correspondence is forwarded *in toto* to your Lordship, I abstain from inclosing a copy of his above-mentioned despatch. The quotations made from it in Mr. Alison's statement are sufficient to place the matter on clear grounds with perfect fairness to Mr. Murray.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 128.

Memorandum by Mr. Alison.

MR. MURRAY, in his despatch No. 11, 22nd June, 1851, to Sir Stratford Canning writes as follows: "Your Excellency's despatch informs me that you have no reason to believe that the Porte contemplates any kind of opposition to a railway if constructed with their sanction, and doubtless they have so assured you; but I will beg your Excellency to read the report of the interview between the Egyptian Commissioners and the French Minister at Constantinople, from which you will see that very different language is held elsewhere.

"Indeed in this and in other matters of late, the conduct of the Sublime Porte towards your Excellency seems not to have been remarkable for sincerity," &c.

Mr. Murray, in his translation of the report above mentioned, ascribes to Aali Pasha the language held by M. de Lavalette to Edhem Pasha, viz., "that the question of the railroad would embarrass our (the Egyptian) affairs, and might be productive of danger to us (Egypt)."

The text of this report having been communicated by Edhem Pasha to the Ambassador, the passage in question was translated at the Embassy as follows: "M. de Lavalette said that the question of the railroad," &c.

Upon this discrepancy in the two translations, the Ambassador inquired personally of Edhem Pasha what he intended to convey by the passage in question. The Pasha replied that he meant what the text of his report clearly expressed, viz., that M. de Lavalette had said so on his own part, and not as quoting the words of Aali Pasha.

The Ambassador upon this explanation wrote to Mr. Murray on the 14th of July: "I am happy to find no confirmation of the language attributed to Aali Pasha respecting the railway, in that translation of the report forwarded to me by you."

To this Mr. Murray, in his despatch No. 24, of 28th August, replies: "As this sentence implies that I have either through ignorance or carelessness misrepresented the statements of the Egyptian Commissioners, I have the honour in self-justification to inclose to your Excellency a copy of the concluding paragraph of the original report sent to the Viceroy, and bearing the seal of the Egyptian Commissioners.

The copy here alluded to is incorrectly drawn out, illspelt, and badly transcribed; in the essential passage it is, however, correct.

Mr. Murray continues: "If your Excellency will cause a literal translation to be made of this document, you will find that in the version which I had the honour to send you I made no change or misrepresentation of the original text."

The Ambassador hereupon caused the Embassy translation to be carefully revised, and the translation having been confirmed, Mr. Murray is at liberty with respect to his own translation, to choose between the terms of "change or misrepresentation."

Mr. Murray further continues: "It is true that my translation being hastily made, I left out a few unimportant words; but I defy any candid interpreter to say that I have altered or exaggerated the meaning of any one phrase."

The hastiness or other imperfections of this translation are not disputed; but with reference to the concluding passage, commencing "I defy any candid interpreter," &c., the signatures of Abdurrahman Bey, secretary and interpreter to the Egyptian Commissioners, affixed under the personal direction of Edhem Pasha, that of Mr. Redhouse, the well-known Orientalist, and that of the chief interpreter of Her Majesty's Embassy, declaring the Embassy translation to be a true translation, afford a sufficient reply.

Mr. Murray next proceeds to say: "I am therefore much surprised to learn from your Excellency that in the copy of the report furnished to

you by Edhem Pasha, you find no confirmation of the language attributed by M. de Lavalette to Aali Pasha in my translation."

The copy of the report furnished by Mr. Murray is correct with respect to the text of the passage in question, but the translation thereof is incorrect. The expressions of surprise are therefore misplaced.

Mr. Murray finally concludes by saying: "Still more surprised and hurt am I that your Excellency should express satisfaction at this supposed inaccuracy or carelessness on my part."

The Ambassador in his despatch, the passage of which is already quoted, does not express any satisfaction concerning Mr. Murray. His Excellency simply exonerates the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs from having used language not attributed to him in Edhem Pasha's report (of which the translation is in part inclosed) and disavowed by the Pasha himself to the Ambassador.

The inaccuracy, carelessness, change, and exaggeration, must therefore find their appropriate application in Egypt.

Therapia, October 8, 1851.

Inclosure 2 in No. 128.

Extract of Edhem Pasha's Report.

(Translation.)

ON Sunday the 8th Shaban, the French Minister, M. de Lavalette, accompanied by his secretary, M. Benedetti, and first Dragoman M. Scheffer, paid me a visit, on which matters of business were spoken of.

He said that he had been the day previous to call upon Aali Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had returned from the Baths of Brussa, and that he (M. de Lavalette) had spoken about carrying into execution the Tanzimat in Egypt; that Aali Pasha spoke in a tone of moderation on this subject, and said that our business would be easily settled with a due regard to the rights of both parties, but M. de Lavalette said that the question of the railroad would embarrass our affairs, and might be productive of danger to us.

(Signed) ABDURRAHMAN BEY.
J. W. REDHOUSE.
C. ALISON
F. PISANI.

No. 129.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received October* 31.)

(No. 315.)

Therapia, October 17, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a translation made by Mr. Alison, of Abbas Pasha's reply to the Grand Vizier's letter.

Mr. Murray sent me a copy of the Turkish without a translation. On comparing his copy with the original received by the Egyptian Commissioners, Mr. Alison discovered some unimportant errors of transcription, which he has corrected in the translation.

Want of time, occasioned by the early departure of the "Oriental" steam-packet, obliges me to reserve for another opportunity the remarks which I feel myself compelled to offer on certain parts of Mr. Murray's correspondence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 129.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Translation.)

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Highness' despatch dated the 6th of Zilkadé, by Hair-ed-deen Pasha, referring to the humble representation which I previously submitted to your Highness concerning the railroad, a work of public utility which it is decided should be established from Alexandria to Cairo, putting forward certain explanations on this subject, and stating that the Ministers of the Porte, having unanimously resolved as follows, with His Imperial Majesty's sanction, required:

That the sums necessary for the expenses of the railroad should be provided for from the present revenue of the Egyptian Treasury;

That the fixed tribute of the Porte should be paid;

That the railroad should be constructed out of the surplus moneys after the established expenses of the province had been provided for; but that in case the [surplus] moneys should be insufficient, no tax whatever was to be laid on for this purpose;

That neither the present taxes should be in any way increased, nor should the Egyptians be made to work gratis on the road;

That no money should be borrowed from abroad, or that the enterprise should be conceded to a foreign company; and that assurances should be given that the road should be constructed in the manner aforesaid, and that permission should be asked in clear terms for the construction thereof, stating that nothing would be put forward by the Porte which was not contained in the conditions of the Imperial Firman of hereditary government graciously accorded to His Majesty the Sultan.

May Almighty God grant His Most Gracious Majesty increase of years, prosperity, happiness, glory, and splendour, and preserve him to the people who live under his powerful protection. In the name of the Lord of prophets, Amen!

As I have already several times faithfully represented, in conformity with the loyalty, uprightness, and submission which I profess towards the person of His Most Sacred Majesty, I positively disclaim the intention of doing anything contrary to the conditions contained in the Imperial hereditary Firman, or in opposition to His Sacred Majesty's will and commands; and I am occupied during day and night in offering up my prayers; and the expressions of my gratitude for all the princely favours granted to my humble person, worthily or unworthily be it, by His Majesty. God who knoweth that which is hidden and concealed, knoweth this.

To enter upon the subject of the explanations demanded with reference to the railway question, the humble representation which I previously submitted to your Highness cannot have been well understood, and I was grieved that it should have been interpreted as encroaching upon the high Imperial rights. God forbid—may he forbid that it should be my intention to act in contravention to the high rights of our gracious master, sovereign lord, and unbounded benefactor!

If it please Almighty God, my present humble representation will be justly and properly understood, and the sincerity of my intentions acknowledged. With reference to the several parts of your Highness' communication, the public conduct of my deceased grandfather, Mehemet Ali Pasha, having been esteemed worthy of commendation and approval, it is required that I also should rule and conduct myself after his principles and conduct; I therefore, in pursuance of this, referred to the despatch written by him relative to the great work of Medjidié Barrage, and framing my humble despatch aforesaid concerning the railroad according to it, I forwarded it; but that which was granted to him by the Sublime Porte became to me a subject of reproof. The construction thus of the fortifications at Alexandria having commenced before the issue of the Imperial Hereditary Firman, it appears that for certain considerations His Majesty graciously permitted that the work should not be stopped,

It is true that the laying of the foundation-stone of the great work of the Medjidié Barrage also took place in the end of Rebi-ul-Akhir, 1263. And the copy of the public despatch of Mehemet Ali Pasha to the Grand Vizier, dated the 25th of that month, exists. But I am not acquainted that on his arrival at Constantinople in Redjeb 1262, he demanded a verbal permission for it, because it is asserted that he did so demand permission by word of mouth. We have no doubt of his having so demanded permission. There is, however, no entry before that date of any written representation for permission; besides the works of the Barrage were commenced before verbal permission was asked, and, as your Highness knows, when Sami Pasha was at Paris on account of his health, the contract was signed in pursuance of a despatch dated the 11th of Rebi-ul-Evvel, 1262, addressed to him by Mehemet Ali Pasha, and of a despatch addressed to M. Guizot, which is thirteen or fourteen months before verbal permission was asked. Moreover, while the expenses required for the fortifications of Alexandria and the Medjidié Barrage were as much and perhaps more than the amount required for the railroad, it is well known that no one asked or inquired of the late Vali where he was to provide that money. It is clear, therefore, that I proceeded in conformity with the principle and conduct of his late Highness in the matter now quoted as precedent or example, and that I was careful to perform my submissive duty in every respect. If these are considered as precedent and example for the railroad in question, a work of such public utility in every respect for expedition and carriage, since the demanding permission has been put forward as a question of right, and it is desired that permission should be asked, I do not fly from asking the permission of our most powerful and glorious Sovereign Lord and gracious benefactor for such a good and useful undertaking. I beg and request His Most Gracious Majesty's permission, and that he will mercifully and bountifully grant me his sanction. As this road will facilitate communication and be of general advantage towards the inhabitants of this province, merchants, &c., and foreigners, its construction and completion under the high Imperial auspices will be deemed fitting and approved by your illustrious Highness and by their Excellencies the exalted Ministers and dignitaries our brethren; and I fervently hope His Gracious Majesty will extend his bounty and mercy towards me by acceding to my humble prayer and request.

Although it may be considered that this road is an expensive and useless thing, it is not like unto some ancient monuments or dykes which are simply ornamental. When, please God, it shall have been completed under the sacred auspices of the Great Throne of the Caliphate, the provisions and produce of the inhabitants and rayas of the Sublime Porte of the several districts will be transported with greater security, expedition, and ease. Commerce will be extended, the prosperity of the Imperial province will be increased by this great monument of public utility and profit. It is on this ground that certain European companies sought to obtain the construction of it, and intreated that it might be granted to them. This, however, was rejected. Were it a useless and losing concern, not covering its expenses, or returning no profit, it requires no amplification to show that no foreign company would have asked for it.

As the grant of this permission for the construction of the railway depends upon the conditions set forth, [I state that] the established tribute to His Imperial Majesty from out of the revenues and produce of Egypt and its dependencies, the government whereof has been confided to my humble trust under the auspices of His Majesty, shall be paid in full.

As the established expenses of the province form part of its internal administration, it is my humble duty to be attentive to that subject, and to see that it be properly administered. It is positive and certain that the railway shall be constructed out of the produce (or revenue) of the province, and the idea of giving the enterprise to a foreign company was never entertained for an instant. It shall not be so given.

With the sincere intention of improving the condition of the inhabitants of Egypt, I some time ago granted a yearly reduction on their old taxes of a sum amounting to 60,000 purses, and the people's prosperity

was thus increased under the Sovereign's auspices. When, therefore, this was a cause greater than any other cause of sincere prayers being offered up on behalf of our bountiful benefactor, our most powerful and most merciful lord and master, the light of the world's eye, no sort of new tax shall be established on the occasion of the construction of the railway.

The present taxes shall not be aggravated contrary to regulations, by the addition of any new impost, and they shall be levied on the established system.

Forced and gratuitous labour imposed in former times upon the Egyptian people for works not of a public character, have under my administration been abolished; indeed the register of the wages paid to workmen employed in my establishment was some time ago forwarded [to Constantinople] by the hands of my agent, Mochtar Bey Effendi.

In your Highness' despatch dated in the beginning of Jemazi-ul-Akhir 1267, and received by Mochtar Bey, this point was granted with respect to works of public utility; and as the road in question is a road likewise of public utility, the treatment of the workmen shall be regulated by public consideration.

If it be supposed that this matter (of the railroad) has been somewhat hastened, and it be considered that a fault was committed by the signature of the contract, I only acted conformably with the rule and proceedings as above stated, of my deceased grandfather, and I hope that His Majesty the Sultan will graciously pardon me.

I have thus sought to scrupulously fulfil the conditions as they were communicated to me by your Highness and conformably with His Imperial Majesty's command, and I have given the assurances, as above, which were required; thus returning to the duties of submission.

Conformably with what is stated in my preceding humble representation, there is no doubt that this railroad will be a monument worthy of the present reign, and will be beneficially celebrated by the august name of the Sovereign.

The engineer, Mr. Stephenson, is, as your Highness says, an intelligent man worthy of respect and consideration, and a certain amount having been given out of his allowance according to contract, for providing workmen, if the time laid down [for commencing the work] be postponed, he will be left idle for a period, we shall lose by it, and both he and I will be looked down upon.

For these reasons I hope that pursuant to the communication and promise made to the foreign Ministers, and in compliance with my humble request, the high Ministers of State, our brothers, and your Highness, will resolve upon the construction of this road, and I submit it to His Majesty; and I specially request and beg the good offices of your Highness for procuring me the favour of His Majesty's sanction for commencing its construction and completing it.

My present humble and sincere especial representation has been drawn up, and is submitted to your Highness through Hair-ed-deen Pasha, your servant, on his return thither.

It is under every circumstance, as well as in this, for him to command unto whom power appertaineth.

No. 130.

Sir H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 56.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, October 21, 1851.*

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Lordship's despatch No. 27, inclosing an extract from a despatch No. 28, from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Alexandria.

This extract I have not hesitated to read to Count Nesselrode; and in doing so I observed that I thought it would have a happy effect if the Russian Government were to send instructions to Constantinople,

requiring their Minister to endeavour, now that the Pasha had complied with the formalities exacted by the Sultan, to induce the Porte to desist from all unreasonable opposition to the establishment of a railroad in Egypt.

Count Nesselrode having observed that the affair in question was one in which the Imperial Government had taken no part, I replied that I was aware of the fact, but that I was desirous that the part I had suggested should be taken; that such a line might tend to smooth down difficulties and avoid complications embarrassing for Turkey, and was in some measure due to England, whose commercial policy in all its branches was so liberal and so much to the advantage of others as well as to herself.

Without being authorized to say so, I am disposed to think that this representation has not been made in vain; an idea in which I am confirmed partly by a subsequent observation of Count Nesselrode to the effect of the conduct of the Porte upon the railroad question having grown out of the intrigues of Reshid Pasha and his personal dislike to the Pasha of Egypt; partly by his Excellency having remarked to me that a report which had lately reached him had given him a much more favourable opinion of the Pasha's views and abilities than he had ever before entertained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 131.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Seymour.

(No. 62.)

Foreign Office, November 4, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE to acquaint you in reply to your despatch No. 56, of the 21st of October, that Her Majesty's Government approve of your having suggested to Count Nesselrode to instruct the Russian Minister at Constantinople to advise the Porte not to throw any further obstacles in the way of the proposed railway from Alexandria to Cairo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 132.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 25.)

Foreign Office, November 6, 1851.

Sir,

WITH reference to the report contained in your despatch No. 33 of the 18th October, of Abbas Pasha having been required by the Grand Vizier to pay to Mehemet Ali Bey, who has entered the Sultan's service with the title of Pasha, the full amount of his pay and allowances; I have to observe that it certainly appears to be unjust to require that persons passing from the Egyptian to the Turkish establishment should receive double pay. All that can be required of Abbas Pasha is, that he should pay out of the revenues of Egypt those officers, civil and military, who are upon the Egyptian establishment; but it cannot be expected that he should give Egyptian pay to officers serving on the Turkish establishment.

The question as to continuing to the members of Mehemet Ali's family, while they are in Turkey, those fixed and permanent allowances which have been given to them without reference to any employment, civil or military, and which they would enjoy in Egypt though not employed in any capacity, civil or military, is a different thing. Such personal

allowances ought certainly to be continued to be paid to the individuals entitled to them, wheresoever they may reside; because those allowances are of the nature of private fortune, and are not paid for services to be performed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 133.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 271.)

Foreign Office, November 6, 1851.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of a despatch which I have received from Mr. Murray, respecting a letter which had been addressed by the Grand Vizier to Abbas Pasha, requiring him to pay to Mehemet Ali Bey, who has entered the Sultan's service with the title of Pasha, the full amount of his Egyptian pay and allowances.

I have to state to your Excellency in regard to this matter, that it appears to be unjust to require that persons passing from the Egyptian to the Turkish establishment should thus receive double pay. All that can be required of Abbas Pasha is to pay out of the revenues of Egypt those officers, civil and military, who are upon the Egyptian establishment; but it cannot be expected that he should give Egyptian pay to officers serving on the Turkish establishment.

The question as to continuing to the members of Mehemet Ali's family while they are in Turkey, those fixed and permanent allowances which have been given to them without reference to any employment, civil or military, and which they would enjoy in Egypt though not employed in any capacity, civil or military, is a different thing. Such personal allowances ought certainly to be continued to be paid to the individuals entitled to them wheresoever they may reside; because those allowances are of the nature of private fortune, and are not pay for services to be performed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 134.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 26.)

Foreign Office, November 8, 1851.

Sir,

I INCLOSE for your information a copy of a despatch from Sir Stratford Canning, reporting a conversation with the Grand Vizier respecting the railway from Alexandria to Cairo*.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 135.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 11.)

(No. 319.)

Therapia, October 24, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE received information from Aali Pasha, that the Sultan has given his formal sanction to the construction of the railway between Alexandria and Cairo. I hope to receive a copy of the firman in time to

* No. 124.

forward it to your Lordship with this despatch by the Trieste steam-packet of to-morrow. The Egyptian Commissioners will no doubt forward the original to Alexandria by an express steamer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—I have not succeeded in obtaining a copy of the firman in time for the packet.

No. 136.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received November* 18.)

(No. 35.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 3, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 21 and 22, both bearing date of September 27th, on the subject of asking permission for the construction of the railway.

As the Viceroy's letter to the Sublime Porte, written in accordance with your Lordship's advice, has now been dispatched more than a month since, it does not appear necessary for me to offer any observations on the contents of these despatches, further than to express a hope that the reply may not be unnecessarily delayed.

The railroad may now be considered as a *fait accompli*—it is undoubtedly the most important to English commerce of all those subjects that have been under discussion between the Sublime Porte and Egypt. But it must not thence be inferred that other questions which yet remain to be settled, are not almost as interesting to us and to the security of our Anglo-Indian communication.

The Viceroy argues as follows: "There is but little use in a railroad without the means of maintaining public tranquillity and the security of life and property. I have been given to understand that Lord Palmerston has recognized my right to the internal administration of this hereditary Government, and in the exercise of that right I had framed a code of laws suited to the present exigencies and condition of the country, with the intention of introducing by degrees such improvements as the advanced civilization of the population might admit. When I sent a copy of this code to Constantinople, it was thrown aside without being noticed, and I was told that I must be prepared to adopt all the provisions of the Tanzimat; a code totally unsuited to these populations, and which if introduced would change or overthrow every regulation of internal administration established by my predecessors and myself.

"If by Tanzimat is meant security of life and property, toleration in respect to creeds, and facilities for industry and commerce, I would ask, is there any one province in the Turkish Empire where the Tanzimat are so effectual as here?

"But if by Tanzimat is meant that all the regulations which are the fruits of our local knowledge and experience here are to be annulled and changed at the caprice of Councils sitting at Constantinople, then my right of internal administration is only a farce, and my hereditary Government a shadow.

"In one word, I do not wish to fail in allegiance to the Sultan, or in paying him the fixed tribute and the honour and obedience which are His Majesty's due from a vassal; but I do wish Her Majesty's Government to understand that if the internal administration of Egypt is left in my hands as heretofore since the Firman of investiture, I will guarantee the security of the railroad, the Nile, and the Desert, and I will be responsible for every passenger, mail, and box of specie in transit through Egypt.

"But if the British Government do not think fit to support me in these rights, and lend their influence to forcing upon me a code of laws which I know to be totally unsuited to this country, I can be responsible for none of these things above mentioned. The state of Egypt will become

like that of Syria or Hedjaz; and if mails, baggage, or passengers are plundered, the British Government must then apply for redress and indemnity to those whom it has assisted in introducing the Tanzimat into Egypt."

Such is the substance of the Viceroy's last address to me. I believe it contains little that has not before been represented to your Lordship, but as His Highness requested me to repeat these observations to your Lordship, it is my duty to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 137.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received November* 18.)

(No. 37.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 4, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 23, dated October 11th, on the subject of the contents of the Vizierial letter addressed to the Viceroy concerning the railroad.

Your Lordship seems under the impression that the Turkish Government could not have meant to require the Pasha to produce his accounts in corroboration of the assurances demanded of him. It is quite certain that the original document was so understood by the Viceroy; and I can scarcely see how the French translation sent from Her Majesty's Embassy can bear a different interpretation.

In the body of the letter the phrase which commences with "Si l'on voit que les ressources actuelles du trésor Egyptien, après le paiement du tribut à la Sublime Porte, &c., laissent réellement un excédant assez considérable," &c., seems clearly to require that the sources and existence of the actual surplus revenue should be shown and proved to the Sublime Porte; and the same demand seems more explicitly stated in the concluding paragraph: "Si l'excédant des revenus actuels du trésor Egyptien suffit aux frais de ce chemin, qu'on le fasse voir." I do not see what meaning there can be fairly attributed to these words other than that His Highness was required to produce a regular abstract of his income and expenditure, and show a surplus balance sufficient to meet the cost of the railway.

Whether this construction be correct or not, it is equally certain that all the assurances demanded of the Viceroy on this occasion were unprecedented, and a violation of his rights of internal administration, for although the Sublime Porte has advanced the assertion that Mehemet Ali asked the Sultan's permission for making the Barrage and fortifications, they have never pretended that they demanded of him to show the surplus or the funds from which the cost of those works were to be defrayed; it is therefore evident that in the Vizierial letter alluded to a new claim was set up, namely, the right of inspecting and regulating his accounts of income and expenditure.

Your Lordship observes that the Viceroy could have no difficulty in giving the assurances required, because they appear to be in strict conformity with his intentions; but I can assure your Lordship that His Highness did feel, and very keenly too, the great difference that there was between the voluntary adoption of certain economic measures, and the having them forced upon him by a superior power whom he does not consider entitled to interfere in the details of his internal administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 138.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 18.)

(No. 38.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 7*, 1851.

IT is with unfeigned satisfaction that I have the honour of communicating to your Lordship the arrival of the Sultan's firman authorizing the construction of the Cairo and Alexandria Railway. This intelligence has diffused universal satisfaction here, and the Viceroy has given orders for the immediate commencement of the work.

I called upon His Highness yesterday and found him in excellent spirits; and he seems to anticipate that the clouds which have for some time obscured his prospects may soon be dissipated.

The letters from the Sublime Porte which reached His Highness with the firman were far more courteous and friendly in their tone than they have been for some time past, and that which seemed to afford him the most pleasure was a letter from his Chief Commissioner at Constantinople, Edhem Pasha, informing His Highness that the British Ambassador had taken up the cudgels in his favour in right good earnest, and had not only reprobated in the strongest terms the undutiful and insolent behaviour of some of the junior members of the family towards Abbas, but had also promised to procure a favourable consideration for all the legitimate demands of Egypt in the discussions which are now to follow respecting the Tanzimat.

If his Excellency carries out these views and promises, as I have no doubt he will with all his accustomed energy and ability, the long-pending differences will soon be at an end; for indeed the question at issue is now most simple. Abbas Pasha asks for no extension of territory, power, or privilege; he only asks for a continuance of those privileges heretofore accorded to his predecessors and himself, and which he has hitherto exercised with equal benefit to the prosperity of the province and to British commercial interests. He has always professed, and I believe with sincerity, a loyal devotion to the Sultan; and in spite of the personal dislike that has mutually existed between His Highness and the Grand Vizier, I feel confident that if he is only treated with ordinary courtesy and kindness, he will be found a faithful and efficient vassal to His Majesty in the hour of need.

But in order to bring about this most desirable good understanding, the Grand Vizier must be induced to give up the system hitherto pursued of heaping personal vexations upon the Viceroy by open and unfounded reflections on his personal character; by receiving with rewards and favours every disaffected individual who is dismissed from the Viceroy's service for misconduct; and by encouraging disobedience and refractory conduct in the members of the family.

The influence which Her Majesty's Ambassador can exercise over Reshid Pasha is a matter so universally stated that I presume it must be true; and if his Excellency thinks fit to make the tranquillity of Egypt a condition of his continued support to the Vizier, all further difficulties will cease.

Admitting the humane and philanthropic spirit in which the Tanzimat have been conceived, and supposing (what I fear cannot be proved) that they have practically worked well in those provinces of the Turkish Empire where they have been for some time introduced, I trust that his Excellency in his communications with the Sublime Porte will not forget that there ought in reason to be drawn a distinction between the privileges accorded to an hereditary ruler and those entrusted to Pashas or Governors who are yearly nominated, changed, and dismissed, at the will of the existing Ministry; and also that institutions, even if well suited to the condition of a Turkish population under the partial influence of European neighbourhood, may be totally ill-suited to a mixed population of Fellahs, Bedouins, or Berbers, who outnumber the governing race in the proportion of 1000 to 1.

Independently of all theories and application of general political

principles, we have the important facts which I fear I have repeated over and over again to your Lordship, *usque ad nauseam*, namely, that Egypt enjoys at this moment a higher average of prosperity, wealth, security of life and property, and more commercial and industrial development, than any other part of the Turkish Empire; and secondly, that we, as Englishmen, enjoy commercial advantages here to a degree unprecedented in former times, and these are daily gaining in extension and security.

The more that Her Majesty's Ambassador can succeed in persuading the Sultan to be content with the tribute and acknowledged vassalage of Egypt, and to leave its internal administration in the hands of its hereditary Governor, the more eminent and universally acknowledged will, in my humble opinion, be the services rendered by his Excellency to Egypt, to the Sublime Porte, and to our Anglo-Indian intercourse.

I have, &c

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 139.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 27.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 22*, 1851.

I HAVE received your despatches to No. 38, of the 7th instant, inclusive; and also one marked Separate of that date.

With reference to the language which, in your despatch No. 35, of the 3rd of November, you state that Abbas Pasha has used to you in regard to the bearing of the demand of the Porte for the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt upon the right of internal administration conferred upon him by the Firman of investure, I have to observe that Abbas Pasha does not seem sufficiently to keep in mind the distinction between administration and legislation. By the Firman of investiture the local administration of Egypt was left to the Pasha; but it was expressly stated that the laws of the Turkish Empire, of course including the laws thenceforward to be made as well as those at that time in existence, should be applied to Egypt as far as local circumstances would admit.

The terms of the Firman are as follows: "Les principes fondés sur les lois de la sûreté de la vie, de la sûreté de la propr été, et de la conservation de l'honneur, principes consacrés par les ordonnances salutaires de mon Hatti-Shérif de Gulhané; tous les traités conclus et à conclure entre ma Sublime Porte et les Puissances amies seront complètement mis à exécution dans la Province de l'Egypte aussi; et tous les réglemens faits et à faire par ma Sublime Porte seront aussi mis en pratique en Egypte, en les conciliant le mieux qu'on pourra avec les circonstances locales et les principes de la justice et de l'équité."

This being the case, the Turkish Government, in requiring that the code of laws called the Tanzimat should be applied to Egypt, as far as that code may be adapted to the local circumstances of the province, does not seem to be going at all beyond the terms of the Grant of 1841.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 140.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 324.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 4*, 1851.

INCLOSED herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, is a translation in French of the Sultan's firman authorizing the immediate construction of the Egyptian Railway.

Translations of two Vizierial letters addressed to Abbas Pasha at the same time are also inclosed herewith.

Copies of my last two despatches to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Cairo, which are also forwarded herewith, will serve to complete the information which I have to submit to Her Majesty's Government respecting the affairs of Egypt by this opportunity.

The conferences relating to the introduction of the Tanzimat into that province are about to be resumed; and I have earnestly endeavoured to impress upon the Grand Vizier's mind the expediency of consulting Abbas Pasha's wishes and the interests of His Highness' authority, in the manner of applying the more important articles of that code.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No 140.

Firman permitting Construction of the Railway in Egypt.

(Traduction.)

A l'Illustre Abbas Helmi Pacha, Gouverneur actuel de l'Egypte avec le rang éminent de Sadri Azam, mon très-judicieux Vizir, il est ordonné:

TU viens de prier par une dépêche officielle, que j'accorde ma permission souveraine pour la construction d'un chemin de fer depuis Alexandrie jusqu'au Caire, et cela pour faire prospérer le pays et faciliter le commerce. La dite dépêche énonce ton engagement aussi à donner les assurances qui se rattachent à cette question, et qui sont demandées.

En effet, le bien et l'utilité qui résultent de pareils chemins, et les avantages qu'il y a pour tous en général à faciliter et à augmenter le commerce sont réels; et le grand intérêt que je prends, car c'est là le plus ardent de mes vœux, à assurer complètement, en tout et partout, le repos et le bonheur de toutes les classes des populations et des sujets de mon Empire, qui sont un dépôt confié par la Providence entre mes mains puissantes, est clair et évident.

Je veux donc:

Premièrement; comme, d'après le règlement en vigueur à présent dans la réparation et la construction des routes dans quelques parties de mon Empire, on y fait travailler ceux des habitans qui sont voisins, et qui doivent en profiter, et qu'on leur donne avec le pain un salaire modéré, les habitans que l'on va employer pour la construction du chemin de fer dont on vient de parler, doivent l'être de la même manière: qu'on se donne bien garde de les faire travailler gratuitement.

Secondement; il ne sera établi, à l'occasion de ce chemin de fer, aucun nouvel impôt de quelque espèce qui puisse être en sus de l'impôt fixe de l'Egypte; ni aggravera-t-on l'impôt actuel, en y ajoutant quelque chose.

Troisièmement; comme ce qui restera des revenus actuellement établis de la Province d'Egypte, déduction faite du tribut fixe à payer à la Sublime Porte, et après avoir fait face aux frais intérieurs et fixes de l'Egypte, sera suffisant, c'est ce surplus qu'il faut destiner aux frais de construction du chemin de fer.

Quatrièmement; dans aucun temps la formation d'une compagnie étrangère pour ce chemin ne sera permise ni tolérée.

Cinquièmement; dans aucun temps il ne sera fait un emprunt dans l'étranger pour subvenir aux frais du chemin.

C'est avec le parfait accomplissement de ces conditions que j'ai accordé ma permission Impériale pour la construction du chemin susmentionné, que j'ai donné mes ordres souverains en conséquence, et que j'ai fait émaner exprès de mon Divan Impérial, et expédier le présent auguste commandement, servant à publier et la permission accordée et mes ordres.

Lorsque tout cela sera parvenu à la connaissance de ta personne

éclairée, tu auras soin de faire commencer le chemin sus-mentionné, en exécutant complètement les conditions ci-dessus énoncées, d'attirer ainsi sur mon auguste personne les bénédictions de tous les habitans et de tous mes sujets, et de ne rien tolérer de contraire à mes ordres et à ma volonté. Aye-le pour entendu, et prête foi au noble chiffre du présent Commandement Impérial écrit dans les derniers jours du mois de Zilhedjé, l'an 1267. (Vers la fin d'Octobre 1851.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 140.

The Grand Vizier to Abbas Pasha.

(Traduction.) 3 *Mouharem*, 1268. (27 *Octobre*, 1851.)

LA lettre particulière qui vient d'arriver de la part de votre Altesse relativement à quelques assignations (Havalat) que le Trésor Impérial envoie, et aux arrérages qui se sont accumulés dans quelques villages, a été mise sous les yeux de Sa Hautesse, qui l'a lue.

La nature de l'affaire même exige que, sans toutefois gêner les pauvres, on recouvre lorsque leur détresse aura cessé, l'argent qui est dû au Miri, et pour lequel on avait accordé du temps aux villages qui n'étaient pas en état de payer. Quant aux Havalat, ils sont en dehors du tribut fixe, et ce n'est pas pour y ajouter quelque chose; mais puisque ce cas a été représenté ainsi, Sa Majesté Impériale a ordonné aussi de ne faire aucune espèce d'assignation excepté seulement sur les revenus établis des environs du Hedjaz; et des ordres ont été donnés en conséquence de la volonté exprimée par Sa Majesté Impériale au Ministère des Finances.

C'est ce que je fais savoir à votre Altesse par la présente lettre.

Inclosure 3 in No. 140.

The Grand Vizier to Abbas Pasha.

(Traduction.) 3 *Mouharem*, 1268. (27 *Octobre*, 1851.)

J'AI pris connaissance de la dépêche qui est arrivée de la part de votre Altesse en réponse à celle que je lui ai expédiée dernièrement relativement au chemin de fer qu'on a le projet de construire depuis Alexandrie jusqu'au Caire.

La dépêche de votre Altesse a été mise aux pieds du Trône Impérial, et Sa Hautesse l'a lue.

Conformément aux ordres de Sa Majesté le Sultan, l'exposé de votre Altesse a été médité et discuté dans le Conseil Privé du Cabinet; et comme il appert de ce qui est dit dans votre dépêche, et analyse faite des points relatifs à la demande sérieuse de la Sublime Porte, que votre Altesse s'engage à remplir les conditions exigées, et qu'elle demande l'autorisation souveraine, le Conseil a émis l'opinion que cette autorisation méritait d'être accordée par Sa Majesté Impériale.

Le résultat du Conseil a par conséquent été soumis à Sa Hautesse en demandant ses ordres; et de cette manière-là la permission souveraine a été accordée pour la construction du chemin susdit. Conformément donc aux ordres de Sa Hautesse, le commandement Impérial y relatif a été écrit, et je l'expédie à votre Altesse.

Comme les points qui sont les conditions auxquelles la permission souveraine a été accordée se trouvent insérés dans le Firman susmentionné, et comme Sa Hautesse ne tolérera dans aucun temps une contravention aux conditions établies, la Sublime Porte espère que votre Altesse mettra ses soins à les remplir complètement; et c'est ce que je lui fais savoir, saisissant cette bonne occasion de consolider mon amitié toute particulière.

Inclosure 4 in No. 140.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

Therapia, October 29, 1851.

Sir,

THE Sultan's Firman permitting the construction of a railway between Alexandria and Cairo has been delivered to Mochtar Bey, and the Viceroy's Commissioners propose to forward it by an express steamboat to-morrow.

A copy of this important instrument, communicated to me by the Porte and accompanied with a translation in French, is transmitted for your information herewith.

The permission is clearly and frankly given. The Pasha of Egypt is treated with becoming respect. The conditions, already made known to His Highness, are repeated without exaggeration.

The Egyptian Commissioners have expressed their satisfaction to me. They appear to be satisfied not only with the tone and tenour of the Firman, but with the reception which they experienced from the Grand Vizier since Hair-ed-deen Pasha's return from Egypt.

The time which has been occupied in carrying the firman through its several stages, agrees with the habitual practice of this Court.

I found but little difficulty in reconciling the Grand Vizier to the very few passages in the Viceroy's letter which were at all calculated to give umbrage. The Council and His Majesty the Sultan appear to have acquiesced at once in the Minister's acceptance of His Highness' explanations. It cannot be doubted that the course pursued by the Egyptian Government with respect to the passage of the Sultan's troops, and the handsome manner in which the Sheriff of Mecca's long-standing claim was settled by the Pasha, contributed powerfully to the removal of any unpleasant impressions at the Porte.

The conferences of the Commission appointed to reconcile the application of the Tanzimat-i-Hairiyé with the local peculiarities and requirements of Egypt, will now be resumed. My efforts to prepare the ground for an adjustment more or less favourable to the Viceroy's desire as to certain points of difference, beginning with that of capital punishments, will prove, I trust, to have been not wholly ineffectual. At my request the Grand Vizier is to see the Egyptian Commissioners to-morrow morning, and I have reason to hope that intimations of an encouraging nature will be made to them.

They have informed me that their explanations with the Turkish Ministry respecting the payment of advances made by Abbas Pasha to the Porte, have drawn out an assurance that no such advances will be expected in future. The existing accounts will of course be settled. The Porte's financial embarrassments, which of late almost absorb its attention, may excuse a certain degree of inexactness or delay. It is to be presumed that in proportion as these difficulties give way to remedies which are in course of application, a stricter manner of settlement will be employed in all pecuniary transactions, and I need not assure you of my constant readiness to assist, within the limits of propriety, in urging the Porte to hasten the completion of its arrangements.

It would be worse than idle to revive the question of the Barrage as a precedent for asking the permission now granted by the Sultan. I am free, however, to say that judging from the translation which you sent me of Mehemet Ali's letter to his Sovereign on that subject, I cannot accept the inference which you draw from the terms of the original. Be that as it may, the present Viceroy is now at full liberty to emulate his illustrious grandfather's activity, and I sincerely hope that under the auspices of so distinguished an engineer as Mr. Stephenson, the railway will be commenced as earnestly as the Barrage was before it, and be carried out with such success as to warrant, in due season, its extension to Suez.

It must be no less satisfactory to you than to any who may have partaken your apprehensions, to find that the Porte has accepted the Viceroy's simple declaration of his intention to construct the railway out

of the ordinary revenue of Egypt, instead of requiring a financial exposition of the means by which that intention is to be carried into effect. It can hardly be denied that the Sultan and his Ministers have thereby proved the sincerity of their earliest assurances expressed to you from the beginning by me.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 5 in No. 140.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 30.)

Therapia, October 29, 1851.

Sir,

AS Viscount Palmerston, in his instruction to you No. 22, of the 29th ultimo, has clearly expressed his opinion that the explanations and assurances required by the Porte in the Grand Vizier's letter to Abbas Pasha appear to be reasonable, and likely to be accepted without hesitation by His Highness, it is almost superfluous to remark, with reference to certain observations of yours addressed to his Lordship in your despatch No. 28, of the 18th of September, that the Porte's objection to the employment of compulsory labour ceases to be applicable when the works in construction are of unquestionable public utility, and when a moderate remuneration, as appears to be the practice in Egypt, is allowed to the labourers.

There is moreover no reason to believe that the Porte would make a point of opposing its authority to the use of those momentary accommodations which the Viceroy's convenience might require at the hands of merchants concerned in furnishing supplies for the prosecution of public works.

I have no official grounds on which to rest my opinion as to these points; but the impressions which I entertain respecting them are not, as I imagine, likely to be contradicted by the event.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 141.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received November* 26.)

(No. 325.)

Therapia, November 4, 1851.

My Lord,

THE tenor of your instruction No. 23 to Her Majesty's Agent at Cairo is so conclusive as to the true construction to be put upon the Grand Vizier's letter to Abbas Pasha, which formed the subject of Mr. Murray's despatch No. 28 to your Lordship, that it is no longer necessary for me to offer those remarks which I should otherwise have thought it my duty to record. I forward with another despatch the firman which shows how completely your Lordship's judgment has been confirmed by the fact. There was no question of prying into the Viceroy's accounts. The Sultan granted permission for constructing the railway as soon as His Highness applied for leave. The Viceroy had already anticipated your Lordship's judicious advice by complying, contrary to Mr. Murray's expectation, with the conditions required by the Porte. A simple assurance that he accepted them was sufficient, and the railway is doubtless by this time in course of execution. From first to last it was not a question of railway or no railway, but of a railway to be regularly or of one to be surreptitiously obtained. On the one side was a transaction securing much benefit to British commerce without prejudice to British policy or to British character; on the other an act which might have frustrated the accomplishment of its own object, at the same time that it compromised not only our influence throughout Turkey, but the Sultan's expressly reserved right, and even the security of the Viceroy's position. I am the more particular in stating the real nature of the question, as your Lordship in writing to Mr. Murray on the 29th of September

appears to have thought that the Porte had originally opposed the railway, and subsequently taken its stand on a mere point of etiquette.

The main questions of authority, independent expenditure, and local requisition being now settled, it does not appear that the Porte entertains any plan for impeding the execution of the railway contract or the Pasha's financial administration by means of any vexatious obstructions, such as Mr. Murray has enumerated as proper objects of peremptory denunciation on your Lordship's part to the Turkish Government. Notwithstanding some claim to a share in that just sensibility for the welfare and honour of the country which characterizes Her Majesty's servants of every degree, I see no reason to partake of his apprehension that "England may have to submit to the humiliation of seeing her first civil engineer and his staff" detained at Alexandria in a state of indefinite idleness. I trust, on the contrary, that Mr. Stephenson is by this time engaged either in person or by deputy in carrying out that important enterprise, which to be complete for purposes of British interest has only to extend from the one sea to the other.

It would be worse than idle to rake up now the exhausted controversy of the Barrage. Mr. Murray's commentary on Mehemet Ali's letter to the Sultan may be safely abandoned to your Lordship's discernment. After the strong light which has already been thrown upon the subject in previous parts of my correspondence, I will only record in justice to the Grand Vizier, that when Mr. Murray reproaches his Highness with having invented the statement of Mehemet Ali's verbal application for leave to construct the Barrage, he not only imputes a premeditated falsehood to that Minister, but calls in question the Sultan's own veracity, and commits to his official correspondence a charge which I could not have made known to the object of it without exposing the accuser to whatever consequences might attend a formal demand for his recall.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 142.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received November 26.*)

(No. 332.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 6, 1851.*

THE accompanying translation of a letter from Abbas Pasha to his Commissioners expresses so much satisfaction with their conduct, and implies so clearly a similar feeling towards me, that I forward it herewith under an impression that it may prove gratifying to your Lordship after the part which has been taken by the Agents of Her Majesty's Government in the discussions between His Highness and the Porte. The letter appears to have been written after the Pasha had acquired a full knowledge of the Sultan's requisitions, and of our opinion that he could not with prudence or propriety refuse to comply with them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 142.

Abbas Pasha to the Egyptian Commissioners.

19 *Zilkadé*, 1267.

(Translation.)

YOUR letter of the 19th Zilkadé, 1267, with the inclosed paper, having reached me, I carefully perused both, and was pleased and glad to see that you zealously exerted yourselves conformably to my desires.

Hasten to give my thanks and particular compliments to his Excellency Sir Stratford Canning Bey, Ambassador of England.

The Tanzimat articles are in hand to be arranged as they will in a short time be forwarded to you; by zealously exerting yourselves in respect to them, conformably to the instructions that shall be given you, God willing, in a few days, you will, I particularly hope, add to my satisfaction and contentment.

No. 143.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received November 26.*)

(No. 337.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 8, 1851.*

INFORMATION showing what line the Porte intends to take with respect to the modification of the Tanzimat as applicable to Egypt has reached me this morning from an authentic source. It appears that the Porte will not yield the point of capital punishment, even as a matter of favour and local consideration; but in other respects there is every disposition to meet the Viceroy's wishes.

Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction which His Highness will be sure to experience on learning the Porte's determination on the former point, I fear that my exertions to obtain a modification of it will be attended with little effect, which, however, is the less to be regretted, as your Lordship has already expressed an opinion adverse to the Pasha's desire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 144.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 292.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 27, 1852.*

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve of your having endeavoured to induce the Grand Vizier, as reported in your despatch No. 324, of the 4th instant, to consult the wishes of Abbas Pasha and the interests of the Pasha's authority in the manner of applying the Tanzimat to Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 145.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received December 3.*)

(No. 39.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November 18, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information, copies of three despatches which I have lately addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador.

I have been obliged to report at length the cases therein contained to his Excellency, inasmuch as the offending parties are in both instances servants of those members of the Vice-Regal family whom the flattering honours and distinctions bestowed upon them by the Sublime Porte have recently encouraged to set at nought the authority of the local institutions and of the Viceroy himself.

That such would be the result of their invitation to Constantinople and of their intercourse there with the Grand Vizier and with the discontented Egyptian party, I more than once foretold both to your Lordship and to his Excellency.

The events of every day are proving the correctness of this impression, and the Viceroy, well knowing how any act of constraint on his part in respect to these youths, would be exaggerated and misrepresented at the Sublime Porte, finds himself compelled to request that those who invited them to Constantinople and turned their heads with flattery and honours, will now undertake the task either of obliging them to be obedient here to the existing authorities, or to reside in some other part of the Turkish Dominions where they cannot trouble the peace of this province so long as it remains under His Highness' Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 145.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 37.)

Cairo, November 12, 1851.

Sir,

AN event has occurred here of which I feel myself called upon to give you an exact account, as I well know that most absurd and exaggerated reports will be sent to Constantinople on the subject.

A few evenings since, Mr. Shepheard, the owner of the British hotel (a respectable married man with a family), was returning to Cairo from the Nile in company with a young English traveller named Watson, aged about 19. They had been on board of a boat to take leave of a party just starting for Upper Egypt and had drunk a few glasses of wine.

From the evidence since given, it appears that Mr. Shepheard was "merry," not intoxicated, and his companion perfectly sober. On returning through Boulák, the moon not being risen and the evening very dark, they came to a large gate which they believed to be the door of one of the narrow streets leading up to Cairo, and finding it closed they knocked; a porter from within asked them who they were and where they were going. They replied, two English khowagas going to Cairo. A voice from within answered by a volley of abuse, calling them dogs, pigs, and all the other epithets known in the Moslem Billingsgate. Shepheard, who is a quick-tempered man, and who knows a little vulgar Arabic, retorted their abuse with interest, and ordered them to open the door, still believing that the party within was the ordinary Berber street-porter. This time the reply was, "Wait a little." Accordingly, after they had waited a few minutes the door was opened and they walked through. No sooner were they past the threshold than they were both felled to the ground by tremendous blows on the head from naboots.* Shepheard, though stunned by the blow, soon recovered his senses and found himself in a large court-yard in presence of two eunuchs and some fifteen or sixteen men armed with naboots, and the door closed behind him. They then told him that he was in the court-yard at the back of the harem of young Mehemet Ali Pasha now at Constantinople; as they continued to beat him most unmercifully, he got upon his legs and struck one of the assailants with his fist, but while endeavouring to take the naboot from him he received another heavy blow on the head from behind, and he fell to the ground the blood streaming over his face.

It seems that young Watson contrived to escape for a few minutes in the confusion, and hid himself in an adjacent stable, but he was soon discovered and pursued by the men with sticks, while one of the eunuchs called out to them "Break his legs; kill him! kill him!"

Shepheard then being exhausted by loss of blood, told them who he was and entreated them to send for the police that he might be identified; he referred them to Hair-ed-deen Pasha as a friend of his, and told them Abbas Pasha would be very angry at them for maltreating him in this manner. At the name of Hair-ed-deen Pasha, one of the brutes gave him another severe blow, and they told him that they did not care a fig for Abbas Pasha, as they were the servants of a much greater man than he, Mehemet Ali Pasha at Constantinople.

One of the eunuchs who seemed less savage than his fellows, dissuaded the men from killing the two Englishmen outright, and they were both thrown into a sort of cellar for several hours, the only reply to their groans and entreaties for medical assistance being a fresh volley of abuse and threats of further beating. Fortunately, the noise of the blows had been heard from the street; as two Franks had been seen to go in at the door, an alarm was given, and after a certain time the Boulak chief police officer arrived with a guard and knocked at the gate, demanding that the two Franks within should be consigned to his custody. The eunuchs refused to admit him and sent him about his business.

He then sent up to Cairo and roused up the Pasha and Bey at the head of the police. They proceeded to the spot, and after some parley, the wounded

* A long heavy staff used by the Arab peasantry.

men were delivered to them and brought up to Cairo, where their wounds were dressed. The medical certificate produced in court pronounced Mr. Shepheard's wounds dangerous, those of young Watson severe, but not dangerous. I saw Shepheard's shirt on the following day, and it was literally drenched in blood. This circumstance may have saved him from the inflammatory consequences to be feared from the tremendous blows he had received on the skull.

The investigation is now going on at the Zabit Khaneh, so I cannot communicate to your Excellency the sentence passed on the eunuchs. None of the servants who inflicted the beating under their orders have as yet been identified. I can readily imagine the version that will be sent to Constantinople by Mehemet Ali Pasha's harem, from the fact that the morning after the occurrence they sent a messenger to the Viceroy's mother, stating that they were afraid to remain in that palace, and that their lives were not safe, as the harem-gate had been broken open the preceding evening by five Englishmen, who had beaten their eunuchs and servants.

Altogether it is one of the most brutal and cowardly attacks that has occurred since I have been in Egypt; and the spirit that dictated it is made clear by the abuse heaped upon the Viceroy, and the additional blow given to poor Shepheard when he pronounced the name of Hair-ed-deen Pasha.

Setting aside all considerations of humanity and justice, the eunuchs deserve the severest punishment according to those Moslem laws which guard the sanctity of the harem; for whether the two Englishmen were sober or tipsy (as the eunuchs pretend) when they knocked at the gate, they had only to tell them it was a harem-gate, not a thoroughfare, and they would have gone about their business; and even if they had not gone off immediately, no harm could have come from the presence of two men who had not even a cane in their hand, in front of a huge closed gate six inches thick. But by telling them to wait and opening the door, they clearly intended and prepared for the brutal maltreatment which they afterwards inflicted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 145.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 38.)

Cairo, November 13, 1851.

Sir,

I AM under the disagreeable necessity of reporting to your Excellency another outrage similar to that reported in my despatch of yesterday, though not attended by consequences of so serious a nature.

The French Consul was riding the day before yesterday past the garden gate of the palace of Ahmed Pasha (son of the late Ibrahim Pasha, and brother of Mustapha now at Constantinople), several of whose servants were standing about the gate. It seems that the Consul's servant was before him driving a donkey loaded with some article of domestic furniture, and either the servant or the donkey passed near to one of Ahmed Pasha's slaves, who called the man names and struck him.

The French Consul (who speaks Arabic with tolerable fluency) rode up and asked the fellow why he struck his servant. On receiving an insolent and threatening reply, the French Consul told the fellow who he was, adding that the Viceroy would have him punished for his insolence. The slave told him that he was Ahmed Pasha's servant, and that he did not care either for him or for Abbas; and he seized the reins of the donkey which the Consul was riding. The latter then struck him with his riding-whip, upon which the slave called to his fellows, who came out in numbers and carried him by force into the garden, where they continued to load himself and the Viceroy with abuse, and he would most probably have received very ill-usage at their hands, if fortunately for him the scene had not been witnessed by the vakeel, or steward of the palace, who knowing M. La Porte, hastened to the spot, and called to the men to desist immediately, "as the Frank was a friend of their Lord."

He then proceeded to make the most ample apologies and excuses for the conduct of the servants, offering him any satisfaction that he chose to demand. The man who had seized him, and two of the others whom he pointed out as having been most forward in insulting him, were then laid down and bastinadoed in his presence; and M. La Porte continued his route to Cairo.

I understand that the French Consulate are going to bring this case before the Zabit (police magistrate), which seems to me, I confess, unjust. The Consul was to blame in allowing the offenders to be beaten on the spot until he declared himself satisfied. For the proper course would undoubtedly have been, to have made the steward responsible for producing the men for trial at the proper tribunal. But as he had his satisfaction by their punishment on the spot, I do not see how he can with fairness now bring the affair before the tribunal.

In this case, as in the one reported in my despatch of yesterday, your Excellency cannot fail to trace in the insolence of the junior members of the family, the consequences of that most impolitic measure, the summoning those foolish youths to Constantinople, and turning their heads with honours and titles, under the plausible pretext of their going to make their obeisance to the Sultan.

In several of my despatches, particularly in No. 6, dated March 27, 1851, I foretold to your Excellency what these consequences would inevitably be, and the inconveniences which the Viceroy expected to result from the measure. The Porte insisted, Her Majesty's Government supported its demands, and the Viceroy was obliged to give way contrary to his own judgment.

If the junior members of the family had remained, as heretofore, in Egypt, employed in looking after their own affairs and estates, we should never have witnessed the disregard for the Viceroy's person and authority, which is daily manifested by themselves and their adherents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 145.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 39.)
Sir, *Cairo, November* 17, 1851.

IN my despatch No. 38, dated November 13, 1851, I had the honour to report to your Excellency the affront lately offered to the French Consul by the servants of Ahmed Pasha.

In that despatch I mentioned to your Excellency, that in my humble opinion the French Consul had committed a great mistake in authorizing the severe beating administered to the offenders on the spot, making himself, as it were, plaintiff and judge at the same time, instead of adopting the regular course, namely, identifying the offenders, and making the steward responsible for their production before the legitimate tribunal. But having taken the line which he did, and having received and accepted satisfaction on the spot, I expressed my opinion that he could not in fairness make a representation to the Government on the subject.

He has however thought fit to do so; and to-day, when I was speaking to the Viceroy on the subject of your Excellency's recommendation that he should cultivate as far as possible amicable relations with the French, His Highness desired me to communicate all these particulars to you, and to send you a copy of the Consul's letter to the Minister of Police, which I inclose accordingly.

His Highness says, and not without reason, that the French will not allow him to be on amicable terms with them; for that their Representative is constantly making some unreasonable demand, or placing him in a dilemma by irregularity of proceeding. For instance, in the present case, if the Viceroy takes no notice of the letter beyond expressing his regret at the occurrence, they will say that he has not given France reparation for her wounded honour. If he orders the offenders to be tried again and punished, he will justly be accused of injustice and cruelty in punishing the same offence twice; and that too after the first punishment has been, not what the French Consul terms "certains coups de courbache," but a beating fully as severe as could have been

awarded by any tribunal, in short, a punishment of which the French Consul says in this very letter, "je me retirai satisfait de cette réparation."

Here the natural inquiry arises, if the French Consul admits that he was satisfied with the reparation, why should he embarrass the Egyptian Government by reporting the affair to the Minister of Police?

I think your Excellency will admit that these proceedings of Representatives of France are not calculated to foster those sentiments of consideration and regard which they claim as a right at the hands of Abbas Pasha; and that if their position and their influence here be really below its proper standard, the fault lies more with themselves than with the Viceroy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 145.

M. La Porte to Ahmed Pasha.

Excellence, *Caire, le* 13 *Novembre*, 1851.

DANS l'intérêt de la justice et de la vérité je crois devoir vous adresser un rapport sur un événement qui a déjà fait ici quelque sensation, et dont il me paraît convenable que vous connaissiez positivement le fond et les détails.

Voici le fait.

Hier, 12 du courant, je revenais de Djizeh, où j'avais été voir Varin Bey, et j'en rapportais environ un quintal et demi de feuilles de zine que ce Colonel m'avait cédé.

J'avais pris à cet effet un âne de place au Vieux Caire, et l'ânier, homme avancé en âge, étant monté sur son âne, et tenant ce fardeau devant lui, me précédait.

Quand je fus arrivé devant l'ancien palais d'Ibrahim Pacha, je trouvai sur le chemin un Barbarin et un nègre appartenant à la domesticité du Prince Ahmed; l'ânier en question les pria, suivant la coutume, de s'écarter un peu pour le laisser passer, attendu surtout que dans cette circonstance, embarrassé comme il était par le ballot placé devant lui, il ne pouvait pas diriger sa monture.

Mais, loin d'obtempérer à une aussi juste demande, ces misérables l'accablèrent d'injures, et le Barbarin levant sur lui son bâton (naboot) le frappa à coups redoublés.

Comme la chose se passait en ma présence, et que d'ailleurs cet ânier se trouvait sous ma sauvegarde, je fus indigné d'un pareil acte de brutalité, et ne pus m'empêcher de dire à ces deux hommes: "Comment, malheureux! n'avez vous pas honte de maltraiter ainsi un vieillard inoffensif?"

A cette simple observation de ma part, ils tournèrent leur fureur contre moi, et lâchèrent l'ânier. Puis se précipitant de mon côté en m'apostrophant de la manière la plus grossière et la plus insultante, ils me saisirent par le bras, quoique j'eusse déclaré ma qualité de Consul de France, et cherchèrent à me jeter à bas de mon baudet.

Pour me garantir de cette violence, je fus obligé de faire usage de ma badine, mais en tâchant de repousser les agresseurs, j'atteignis du bout de cette petite canne le Barbarin au visage; et il lui sortit du sang par le nez, ce qui mit fin à leur attaque, pour le moment du moins.

Je continuais paisiblement mon chemin, sans m'occuper davantage de cet incident, lorsque, parvenu à cinquante pas du palais d'Ahmed Bey, je vois accourir derrière moi une troupe de nègres, qui, armés de bâtons, se mirent sur moi en me chargeant de malédictions, m'enveloppèrent, m'emmenèrent prisonnier jusqu'à la porte du dit palais, et m'y retinrent de force.

Je ne sais comment se serait terminé cette affaire, si un des employés du Divan du Prince Ahmed, averti de ce qui se passait, n'était accouru à mon secours.

Je lui dois cette justice de mentionner ici qu'il se montra consterné de cet événement, dont il avait apprécié toute la portée: cet employé m'adressa

les excuses les plus empressées; me fit asseoir et ordonna de châtier les plus coupables, qui reçurent immédiatement un certain nombre de coups de courbache; après quoi je me retirai satisfait de cette réparation.

Tel est le récit exact et sincère de ce qui s'est passé en cette occasion.

J'ajouterai seulement, que ces domestiques du Prince ne pouvait pas ignorer ma qualité de Consul de France accrédité auprès de Son Altesse le Vicerοi, puisque l'un d'entre eux les en avait avertis, et que d'autres personnes, attirées par la tumulte, leur avaient confirmé cette déclaration.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) LA PORTE.

No. 146.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 30.)

Foreign Office, December 6, 1851.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a sealed packet addressed to Abbas Pasha, containing my answer to His Highness' letter of the 21st of September transmitted to me in your despatch No. 29, of the 19th of that month. I also inclose for your information a copy of my answer.

You will deliver the packet to Abbas Pasha.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 147.

Viscount Palmerston to Abbas Pasha.

Foreign Office, December 6, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE had the honour to receive the letter which your Highness addressed to me on the 21st of September last, on the subject of the discussions at that time pending between your Highness and the Sublime Porte; and I have to thank your Highness for the friendly sentiments towards this country of which your letter is at once the expression and the proof. I have to assure your Highness that corresponding sentiments of interest and good-will are felt towards you by Her Majesty's Government.

I am glad to be now able to congratulate your Highness on the satisfactory result of the communications which have passed between your Highness and the Porte on the subject of the railway between Cairo and Alexandria; and I trust that this railway will, by its effects, when finished, tend to give an important development to the commercial resources and internal prosperity of Egypt, as well as to conduce to the convenience of British subjects passing to and fro between England and India, while it will also afford important facilities for the communications between the British Government and the local Government of India. I beg to give your Highness the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the friendly course which you have pursued in regard to this matter.

I trust that the other questions which are still pending between your Highness and the Porte may be settled in a manner satisfactory to both parties; and I can assure your Highness that the growing prosperity of Egypt will always be viewed with extreme interest and with sincere satisfaction by Her Majesty's Government.

Begging your Highness to accept the sincere good wishes of Her Majesty's Government for your welfare and happiness, I remain, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 148.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 297.)

Foreign Office, December 6, 1851.

Sir,

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information a copy of a letter which I have addressed to Abbas Pasha in reply to a letter which I received from him a short time ago, on the subject of the discussions at that time pending between His Highness and the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 149.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 8.)

(No. 351.)

Therapia, November 21, 1851.

My Lord,

HEREWITH I have the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information copies of my last despatches to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt. Such parts of Mr. Murray's correspondence as they refer to have no doubt been transmitted to your Lordship's office direct from Cairo.

The Viceroy's Commissioners, notwithstanding their reference to His Highness on several points of the Tanzimat, respecting which they differ with the Council, are allowed to pursue the discussion of the remaining Articles. They find it impossible to carry out their instructions agreeably to the Pasha's intent, and it is evident that they are more apprehensive of not being approved at home than confident of being right in resisting the Porte's demands. Besides the question of capital punishment, the main point of difference is this: the Viceroy aims at giving the most prominent place in the Egyptian version of the Tanzimat to his own local Government, while the Turkish Ministers put forward the Sultan's name and keep constantly in view his vassal's dependence. It is more particularly in the preamble and in the Articles relating to capital punishment that this ground of antagonism appears. In some respects also the Egyptian proposals, though more lenient as to the degree of punishment in criminal cases, are less stringent as to the forms of procedure and tend to render the exercise of the local authority less responsible. The Commissioners were at first directed to accept no modification of the code drawn up in Egypt on the principle of the Tanzimat; but they have had the good sense and courage to waive, with my assent, the strict execution of their instructions in so questionable a particular. They appear at the same time to be anxious as to the result of their present recourse to the Viceroy, and to think that much will depend upon the effect of my representations in support of theirs. In writing to Mr. Murray, as your Lordship will perceive, I have had this consideration in view; and it will be a source of much regret to me if the hurry in which I unavoidably wrote should weaken his means of making a successful impression on Abbas Pasha.

The part which I have to take in these discussions, however indispensable, is in no small degree embarrassing. The Sultan is at present more than usually susceptible on the point of authority, and his Ministers are jealous of the direct intimacy established between the Pasha of Egypt and Her Majesty's Government. I feel, on the other hand, how desirable it is that in due subordination to the interests of our general relations with this empire, British influence in Egypt should be promoted by the efficiency of such support as I can fairly give to the Viceroy's cause.

In further explanation of my last despatch to Mr. Murray I herewith inclose a paper containing, in separate columns, the Turkish and Egyptian versions of the three articles mentioned therein.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 149.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 31.)

Therapia, November 4, 1851.

Sir,

WANT of time when I forwarded my last despatch to you obliged me to reserve such few remarks as I have to make in rectification of the impressions under which you appear to have sent me the report inclosed with your despatch No. 28, of the Grand Vizier's address to the Egyptian Commissioners on the 4th of September last.

In the first place, the address was not delivered in open Divan; it was delivered in the Vizier's own room at the Porte. In the second place, it was not delivered "in presence of many of the principal officers of the Sublime Porte." The only persons present on the occasion besides the Grand Vizier and the Commissioners, were Mochtar Bey, the Viceroy's Agent, and Fuad Effendi, the Vizier's Musteshar or confidential adviser.

So much for the form. With respect to the matter of what passed, it it must not be forgotten that the Vizier's words were committed to paper from memory and in a hurry.

I cannot but agree with you that his Highness would have done better to omit certain points of his address; but the circumstances under which he spoke ought to be taken into consideration, and I can myself bear witness to the truth of his assertion that rumours such as he is stated to have described, prevailed here at the time with respect to the Viceroy's proceedings. It is probable that they were brought to Reshid Pasha's notice in more palpable forms than those which were publicly circulated.

Looking more particularly to the substance of what was said, there is the satisfactory assurance that the Porte did not desire to trespass on Abbas Pasha's rights; and it can hardly be denied that in the then temper of the Government, it was essential to make the Viceroy distinctly understand the Porte's expectation that his reply should be couched in clear, unambiguous terms. The disarming of the Sultan's irregular troops by order of the Viceroy on their passage through Egypt was mentioned without complaint, and a knowledge of His Highness' becoming conduct towards the regulars and the Sheriff of Mecca, when received subsequently at the Porte, produced a most conciliatory effect.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 149.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 32.)

Therapia, November 15, 1851.

Sir,

IN your despatch No. 34 of this year, announcing the arrival at Alexandria on the 15th ultimo of Her Majesty's ships "Vengeance" and "Encounter," with the view, as you inform me, of eventually affording moral support to Abbas Pasha, you express the "surprise and regret" which you describe to be generally experienced at the "long and unnecessary delay" attending the arrival in Egypt of the expected permission to begin the construction of the railway.

As the Sultan's firman containing that permission had been several days on its way to Alexandria at the date of your despatch, I refer you to mine of the 29th ultimo inclosing a copy of it, and have only to observe that before you made the charge implied in the terms which I have quoted above from your correspondence, you might with more propriety have waited for my explanations.

I have already written to you concerning the presentation of the Viceroy's letter to the Sultan, which forms the subject of your despatch No. 38.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 149.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 34.)

Therapia, November 20, 1851.

Sir,

AN untoward coincidence in the departure of the steam-packets for Egypt and England obliges me to confine my present communication within the smallest practicable dimensions. Fortunately, the only remaining matter of urgency in my correspondence with you is the pending question of discussion with reference to the Tanzimat.

I have thought it most advisable, and the Egyptian Commissioners entirely agree with me, not to interfere specially without an application from them. This prudential restriction has not prevented me from recommending the Viceroy's wishes in strong though general terms to the Grand Vizier, and through him to the Sultan. I have not even abstained in this sense from supporting the Viceroy's request for a continuance of his power to sanction or remit the execution of capital sentences.

Notwithstanding the Porte's, and more particularly the Sultan's unwillingness to make any concession on this important point, I have not yet encountered a downright refusal; and the arguments opposed to mine have been accompanied with strong assurances of good-will and an accommodating spirit in the general discussion of the Tanzimat. The Viceroy's Commissioners assure me that till the day before yesterday the tone and proceedings of the Porte's Commissioners were in perfect accordance with those assurances.

I have since learned from them that at the last conference appearances of a less promising character were elicited by a difference of opinion as to the manner of introducing the Sultan's name in speaking of the Council at Cairo. The determination shown by their Turkish colleagues in opposition to the arguments and suggestions brought forward by them, has served to confirm their previous impression that the Viceroy will only injure his cause by stipulating for terms which in the eyes of the Porte imply a tendency to independence, and that his best policy will be to sanction their acceptance of such expressions as may secure every legitimate object in question without giving umbrage to the Sultan, or raising unnecessary, and probably unfounded suspicions at the Porte. In confiding their impressions on this subject to me, they had more particularly in view certain articles—three, I think, in number—which they received by the last boat from Alexandria, and which they are instructed to press with all their energy on the acceptance of the Porte. As I have received a communication of the Articles in question only at this moment, I cannot pretend even to read them, and still less to offer you an analysis of their contents. With your means of access to the Viceroy, you will have no difficulty in learning the precise nature of the Articles to which I refer; and the principle involved in the Porte's objections I have already endeavoured to explain. As Abbas Pasha has already taken the only wise and practicable course, namely, that of keeping within the limits of the Firman of investiture, he will best consult his own interests by abstaining from an appearance in terms which he has no reasonable prospect of being able to realize in fact. You will perceive, on looking back to the Firman, how evidently uncompromising was the intention of those who drew it up; and in the present state and temper of the Porte, any decided departure from that intention is not to be expected.

Not willing to encourage any illusions, I fairly avow to you my impression, that whatever activity I may exert to obtain for the Viceroy a concession on the point of capital punishments, it will probably fail. The case is not altogether desperate, but the chances are decidedly far from favourable. One thing is certain, namely—that if among those chances there be one in favour of a limited acquiescence in the Viceroy's request, it depends upon his abandonment of every pretension to exclude the Sultan's name from those parts of the Tanzimat, as applied to Egypt, in which it would necessarily find its place in all other parts of the empire. His Highness' Commissioners are the best judges of what can or cannot be accomplished in their conferences at the Porte, and on their fidelity and judgment he may safely be advised to rely. As for me I am always ready to redeem the pledge which I have given within the limits of the Firman. But you must not lose sight of the disadvantages under which my

influence labours with respect to antecedent circumstances, nor suppose that the Porte is ignorant of the opinion expressed by our common superior in favour of its repugnance to concede that portion of the Sovereign's right which is connected with capital punishment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 149.

Turkish and Egyptian Articles of the Tanzimat.

Code Pénal.

Tanzimat. Ch. I.

ARTICLE I.

TOUT sujet de la Sublime Porte sans exception qui se serait rendu coupable d'actes tels que d'exciter à la sédition contre l'autorité légale du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale, ou du crime de meurtre, ne pourra être mis à mort secrètement ou publiquement par des moyens violens, par le poison, ou par quelque autre moyen que ce soit, sans une sentence légale donnée à la suite d'investigations minutieuses, d'une instruction et d'un examen publics faits d'après les préceptes de la loi du Chériet et des règlemens, et lorsque le crime aura été prouvé sans partialité.

Si, *contrairement à cette loi*, un individu, quel qu'il soit, attentait, ou faisait attenter à la vie de quelqu'un, il sera soumis à un jugement légal, et quand même les héritiers de la victime consentiraient à accepter le dicet (dommages et intérêts), ou même à pardonner d'une manière absolue au meurtrier, le fonctionnaire qui se serait permis le crime d'attenter à la vie de quelqu'un devra de toute manière être jugé d'après la loi, être condamné à la peine de mort. Et sur cette question d'attentat à la vie, tous, grands et petits, seront considérés égaux.

N.B.—Il n'est pas question dans cet Article du Code Pénal du Tanzimat, d'un meurtrier ordinaire, mais de tout fonctionnaire, qui, abusant de son autorité, ferait, par des moyens ostensibles ou cachés, mettre à mort un individu, sans procédure légale, sous prétexte que cet individu aurait excité à la sédition, ou qu'il aurait commis un meurtre.

Voici une traduction libre qui rendra mieux le sens de cet Article :

Même Article modifié par Son Altesse Abbas Pacha.

TOUS ceux qui se rendront coupables d'exciter à la sédition contre le Gouvernement Local, après une investigation minutieuse et un examen public faits d'après les préceptes de la loi du Chériet et des règlemens, le crime étant prouvé sans partialité, seront punis d'après les Articles V et VI, ci-après.

La loi du Khissas (talion) étant (c'est-à-dire, dans l'état actuel des choses) appliquée aux meurtriers, ceux qui dorénavant se rendront coupable de ce crime seront punis d'après les préceptes de la loi sacrée, après une investigation minutieuse et l'instruction voulue faite conformément aux lois et règlemens. Et sous ce rapport les Moudirs, les inspecteurs, les Nazirs de district, les Hakims-Khotti, les Omdas, et les Cheiks de villages, et enfin tous, grands et petits, seront considérés égaux.

On ne devra pas mettre à mort ostensiblement ou secrètement, par le poison, les moyens violens ou autres quelconques, aucun des sujets de la Sublime Porte qui se serait rendu coupable *d'excitation à la sédition* contre l'autorité légale du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale, ou contre les lois et les règlemens de l'Empire, ou du crime *de meurtre*, sans qu'une sentence légale n'ait été prononcée après une investigation rigoureuse, &c.

Tout fonctionnaire qui, contrairement à cette loi attenterait, ou ferait attenter à la vie, &c.

Ainsi le Khissas (talion) et le pardon des héritiers de la victime admis dans le cas des meurtriers ordinaires, ne le sont pas dans le cas du fonctionnaire qui, abusant de sa position et de son autorité, aurait été en contravention à cet Article du Code Pénal.

Ce qui implique qu'en dehors de ces deux cas il n'y a pas lieu à une condamnation à mort.

ARTICLE V.

Les instigateurs à la sédition ne peuvent manquer de l'être de l'une de deux manières, ou par des paroles ou par des actes.

Un individu qui dans le but d'exciter un autre individu ou un certain nombre d'autres individus à agir contre le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale et contre les lois et les règlemens, ferait usage de paroles séditieuses, sera condamné aux travaux forcés de un an à cinq ans, selon la gravité du désordre produit.

Les instigateurs à la sédition ne peuvent manquer de l'être de l'une de deux manières, ou par des paroles ou par des actes.

Un individu qui attirant à lui un nombre d'individus les exciterait à agir contre le Gouvernement Local et contre les lois et les règlemens, s'il résultait des paroles séditieuses dont ils seraient convenus entre eux, ou de la correspondance qu'ils auraient eu entre eux ou avec leur chef, ou des pactes et conventions passés entre eux dans le but de répandre le fruit de leurs actes criminels; le fait étant prouvé par un procès, il sera condamné aux travaux forcés de un an à cinq ans, selon la gravité du désordre produit.

ARTICLE VI.

Si la sédition a lieu par des actes, c'est-à-dire, si un individu a invité un individu ou un certain nombre d'individus à la révolte et à rébellion, et qu'il leur aura donné des armes ou de la poudre, le crime de pareils individus étant fort grave, ils seront mis à mort d'après les lois réglementaires.

Seulement ces criminels qui doivent être mis ainsi à mort en vertu des lois réglementaires, après leur condamnation, leur sentence étant soumise à l'approbation de Sa Majesté Impériale, il sera loisible à la clémence Impériale de s'exercer en leur faveur en commutant leur peine aux travaux forcés à vie.

ARTICLE VI.

Si la sédition a eu lieu par des actes, c'est-à-dire, si un individu rassemblant un certain nombre d'individus et les invitant à la révolte et à la rébellion, leur a donné des armes ou de la poudre, le crime de pareils individus étant fort grave, ils seront condamné aux travaux forcés pour quinze ans.

No. 150.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 31.)

Foreign Office, December 8, 1851.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 39 of the 18th of November, inclosing copies of your despatches to Sir Stratford Canning, Nos. 37, 38, and 39 of the 12th, 13th, and 17th of that month, respecting certain acts of violence committed in Cairo by the servants of Mehemet Ali Pasha and Ahmed Pasha, two members of Abbas Pasha's family now at Constantinople; and I have to state to you in reply that I do not see why the circumstance that the masters of these misbehaving servants are absent at Constantinople should prevent the offenders from being punished by the Egyptian courts of justice, just as much as they would have been punished if their masters had been in Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 151.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 40.)

Cairo, November 26, 1851.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 25 and 26, bearing date respectively November 6th and November 8th, the latter containing copy of a despatch from Sir Stratford Canning reporting a conversation that had taken place between his Excellency and the Grand Vizier on Egyptian affairs.

I should be most truly rejoiced if I could share in his Excellency's anticipations of a satisfactory adjustment of existing differences based upon the conciliatory tone adopted by the Vizier in speaking on this subject.

His Excellency likewise in his communications to me during the recent discussions on asking the Sultan's permission for the railroad, informed me more than once, that if the Viceroy frankly and fairly acquiesced in that demand, it would dispose the Sultan and the Grand Vizier more favourably towards His Highness, and facilitate the acceptance of those modifications in the Tanzimat which His Highness might propose for the special and local requirements of Egyptian administration.

My Lord, it was not because I indulged in any expectations of seeing these results realized that I pressed the Viceroy to ask the permission required, but simply because his Excellency urged me, and your Lordship distinctly instructed me to do so.

In examining the real intentions of the Sublime Porte in regard to the Viceroy of Egypt, I do not deny that the acknowledged abilities, sagacity, and experience of Her Majesty's Ambassador give to his opinion a weight to which mine can have no pretension, nevertheless I should not be doing my duty faithfully to Her Majesty's Government if I refrained from reporting my views and impressions frankly to your Lordship; for it is only by viewing a question in all the different aspects under which it has presented itself to the public servants abroad, that the most clear-sighted statesman at home can form a mature judgment upon it.

Acting upon this principle, and far from pretending to compare the value of my opinions with the value of those of my superior at Constantinople, I will endeavour to place the question in its true contrasting aspects briefly before your Lordship.

Judging from Her Majesty's Ambassador's correspondence, his Excellency seems to think that the Sublime Porte in its dealings with the Viceroy is animated mainly by a desire to improve the condition of Egypt, to extend its civilization, and to place only such wholesome restrictions upon the Viceroy's

authority as shall prevent him either from trenching upon that of the Sultan, or exercising an arbitrary tyranny over Her Majesty's subjects.

Such seems to me a fair statement of his Excellency's general views of the objects aimed at by the Sublime Porte in the present discussion.

The views that I have been led to take (entirely independent of the Grand Vizier's well-known personal hostility to the Viceroy) is, that the Sublime Porte, still smarting under the vexation of those events which terminated in 1841 in separating from the Imperial Treasury the revenues of Egypt, and smarting equally under the pecuniary embarrassments brought about by maladministration and misgovernment, is looking with a longing eye towards the increasing revenues of this wealthy province, and is endeavouring by degrees to annul the hereditary Pashalic, and resume the direct administration of its finances.

This ulterior object it is labouring to effect without alarming the jealousy of the European Powers who signed the settlement of 1841, and the progress made during the last twelve months does great credit to its astuteness and sagacity.

So long as Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim Pasha lived, the Sublime Porte, under a wholesome dread of their stern and warlike character, refrained altogether from interfering in the internal administration of Egypt. The tribute was paid, and the Firman of investiture was laid upon the shelf, the Divans never troubling themselves with the examination or construction of its stipulations. No sooner was Abbas Pasha Viceroy, than the Sublime Porte, believing him to be weak in character and inexperienced in government, began to put its plans in operation. It commenced by tampering with the easy virtue of the then influential Minister, Artin Bey. After securing him, several of the leading members of the Council were gained over. The next step was to encourage disunion and disaffection among the members of the Viceroy's family, and to draw them over to Constantinople.

These preliminaries having been successfully attained, the Firman of investiture was taken off the shelf, its provisions examined; and the discovery is now made, that instead of allowing the Viceroy a free internal administration, limited only by the payment of a fixed tribute and the obligations of foreign treaties, the Sublime Porte is entitled to alter every existing institution of internal administration; to remodel councils and tribunals; and in short to leave no distinction between the Viceroy of Egypt and the Governors annually appointed over other provinces, excepting the empty title of heredity.

This construction being altogether new to the Viceroy, who has himself conducted the administration of affairs for nearly three years, and who witnessed that of his predecessors for seven years under the same Firman, he naturally desires to continue to exercise the privileges hitherto exercised by them and by himself; and this is termed at the Sublime Porte obstinacy, and a contumacious resistance to the Sultan's authority.

In order to make a show of candour and justice in the eyes of the Representatives of foreign Powers, Egyptian Commissioners are invited to Constantinople to discuss the modifications of the Tanzimat requisite for the adaptation of that code to the circumstances of Egypt.

In that discussion none of the modifications proposed by the Viceroy which are of any real weight or importance will be accepted. The powers and authority which he has hitherto exercised, and under which the province has attained to such a height of tranquillity and prosperity, will be curtailed. If he does not object or resist, the intended aim of his humiliation and the transfer of all real power of administration to Constantinople will be effected. If he does resist, the Firman, with its newly construed clauses, will be shown to the European Powers, who will then be invited to compel him to obedience.

If the deposition of Abbas Pasha can once be brought about, the Sublime Porte well knows that the reckless extravagance of the next in succession, and the follies and incapacity of the junior members, will soon afford a fair pretext for setting aside altogether the family of Mehemet Ali, and resuming the direct administration of the government of this province.

Such, my Lord, is my view of the real objects and intentions of the Sublime Porte; and I beg to assure your Lordship that it is based, not upon the opinions that I have heard expressed by the Viceroy and his adherents, but upon an observation of the events passing before my eyes.

It is moreover the opinion held by nine-tenths of the persons with whom I

have conversed on this subject, who have good opportunity for judging of its merits. Many of these are men unfavourably disposed personally towards Abbas Pasha, but who, from having a large stake in the tranquillity of Egypt, and from having a constant business correspondence with well-informed parties in Constantinople, may reasonably be expected to take a fair and unprejudiced view of the question.

I have performed my duty in bringing these points under your Lordship's notice.

If, as it seems probable will be the case, the European Powers give their countenance and assent to the Sublime Porte's compelling the Viceroy to accept its version of the Tanzimat, without listening to the modifications required by His Highness, the future will prove to your Lordship whether I have been mistaken in the views which I have here advanced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 152.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 41.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 29, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 24, dated October 25, containing observations on the effect of the Tanzimat in those parts of the Turkish Empire where they have hitherto been promulgated.

I have already fulfilled the obligations of my duty by explaining to your Lordship repeatedly my views upon this subject, based upon such information as I am able to collect here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 153.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 42.)

My Lord, *Cairo, December 3, 1851.*

SINCE I last had the honour of writing to your Lordship on the subject of the pending discussions between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy, I have received a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador, which confirms me in the impressions which I then stated to your Lordship.

Notwithstanding the assurances of "favourable consideration," "conciliation," and other benefits which the Viceroy was led to expect as the result of his submission to the Sultan's wishes in respect to asking permission to commence the railway, the Council at Constantinople continue to refuse all those modifications in the Tanzimat which are necessary if the hereditary Governor of Egypt is entitled to the exercise of the powers of internal administration; and they pretend to find fault with His Highness for desiring to exclude the Sultan's name from the clauses in the Tanzimat to be applied to Egypt; whereas they themselves struck out the words "Local Government" from a penal clause concerning insubordination.

My Lord, if the Council discuss the question in this puerile spirit of cavil, the discussion can never end.

The Local Government is that with which the population of this province comes immediately in contact, and which it must be taught to respect and obey, if we are to have any security or tranquillity in Egypt.

It is a phrase always used by your Lordship and every other foreign Minister, in writing to their official employés here, and it was never before construed to mean "independent Government."

The Viceroy truly observes that in adopting the Tanzimat with such modifications as the peculiar circumstances of this province render necessary, in publishing it with the Sultan's cypher at the head of it, and in broadly stating in the opening clause, that the Code for Egypt has received the Imperial sanction, and that it is to be enforced by himself under the powers conferred upon him by His Majesty, he should imagine that there was offered a sufficient guarantee against any pretence to independence on his part, without dragging the Imperial name into all the minor clauses of the code.

But, my Lord, my despatches to your Lordship would be as interminable as the discussions at Constantinople, if I were to trouble you with all these points in detail, so I will content myself with alluding to one only, and that by far the most important, namely, the power of carrying into execution capital sentences on convicted criminals.

I gather from his Excellency's last despatch, that there is very little prospect of the Sultan's continuing to delegate this privilege to the Viceroy; and his Excellency adds that I cannot suppose the Porte to be ignorant of your Lordship's opinion in favour of that determination.

It is not in my province to offer any further observations on the subject in the abstract; there is, however, one point of view in which it may not have struck your Lordship, namely, that the privilege in question was not a new claim advanced by the Viceroy, it was one enjoyed by both his predecessors under the same firman as that which now exists; it is one also which His Highness has himself exercised during three years with remarkable moderation and humanity; and the sudden withdrawal of it without the slightest pretence of its having been once abused cannot fail to impress the population of this and the adjacent provinces with the conviction, not only that the Viceroy's authority is curtailed, but that he has lost the Sultan's confidence and favour.

The universal opinion of all the best-informed residents in Egypt, European as well as native, is that the measure, if enforced, will be productive of the most disastrous consequences to the tranquillity and prosperity of Egypt. The future will show whether these fears are without foundation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 154.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 359.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 26, 1851.*

HAVING observed in the reports of Sir Hamilton Seymour's conversations with Count Nesselrode, as transmitted in copy to me with your Lordship's correspondence, some passages describing the Russian Chancellor to have stated that during the late differences about permission to make a railway in Egypt, the Turkish Ministers had made direct overtures to Russia for the purpose of enlisting that power in opposition to the measure, I thought it desirable to afford the Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha an opportunity of rebutting or explaining a charge so injurious to their character for good faith.

From the copies inclosed herewith of my instruction to the interpreter and of his report, your Lordship will learn in what manner and with what result I performed this act of fair-dealing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 154.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. Pisani.

Dear Sir, *Therapia, November 24, 1851.*

I WISH you to call on Reshid Pasha, and to say to him confidentially, that I regret to hear from Petersburgh, that when the railway question was pending, overtures were made to Russia by the Porte for opposing the execution

of that measure. I fear that the overtures were even made in a very direct manner.

You will inform me of his answer.

Go immediately afterwards to Aali and say the same to him, without mentioning that you have seen the Vizier.

Sincerely yours, &c.
(Signed) S. CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 154.

M. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Sir, *Pera, November* 25, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to report that, in conformity with your Excellency's instruction of yesterday's date, I called on the Grand Vizier and subsequently on Aali Pasha, without, however, mentioning to the latter that I had seen his Highness, and told them confidentially that your Excellency regrets to hear from St. Petersburgh that when the railway question was pending, overtures were made to Russia by the Porte for opposing the execution of that measure.

Both the Pashas most positively deny the Porte ever having, either directly or indirectly, made any overtures to Russia to that effect. The same language which was held to Representatives of other Powers was also used, said they, to the Envoy of Russia, which was, "that were Abbas Pasha to refuse compliance with the contents of the Firman of investiture, and establish the railway without applying for permission and obtaining the Sultan's sanction, they would then submit the case to the European Powers to decide whether the pretensions of the Porte were well-grounded."

Aali Pasha moreover added that he is ready to prove the correctness of his statement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. PISANI.

No. 155.

Sir H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 119. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December* 3, 1851.

IT may be proper to acquaint your Lordship that having been informed that some reflections upon the foreign policy of England had appeared in a letter or supposed letter from London to be read in an obscure paper called the "St. Petersburgh News," I caused the article to be translated to me.

I found that it contained some allusions to the ambitious views of the English Government, and that with regard to the railroad about to be constructed in Egypt, it was predicted that this would be found a mere mode of conveyance for English soldiers, the English having the fixed purpose of making themselves masters of Egypt and of Syria as well.

I thought it right to take a note of this letter, and to state to Count Nesselrode that although such a publication was utterly unworthy of attention in a country where the press is free, I thought that it should be noticed where it must have passed through the hands of official censors.

The Chancellor was quite ignorant of the article, and indeed appeared to be hardly aware of the existence of the half-political half-literary paper in which it had appeared; he concurred with me, however, entirely as to the impropriety of such a publication as that alluded to, and requesting to be furnished with a memorandum of the paper, stated that I might be assured that the admonition which would be addressed to the censors would prevent the recurrence of any similar cause of complaint.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 156.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Seymour.

(No. 102.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 22, 1851.

I HAVE received your confidential despatch No. 119, of the 3rd instant, stating that you had called Count Nesselrode's attention to some observations on the foreign policy of England, especially in regard to Egypt and Syria, which had appeared in an obscure paper called the "St. Petersburgh News;" and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct in this respect.

Nothing can be further from the intentions or wishes of the British Government than to obtain possession of Egypt or of Syria. The desire of the British Government is that those two provinces should continue to remain integral portions of the Turkish Empire.

It was this desire which prompted the course of policy pursued by Great Britain in 1839, 1840, and 1841; and this desire is founded upon what Her Majesty's Government conceive to be a correct view of the general interests of Europe. That which the British Government desires with reference to British interests as connected with Syria and Egypt is, that Syria should be accessible like other countries to British commerce, upon an equal footing with the commerce of other nations; and that Egypt should, like France and Germany, afford by means of railroad communication, rapid and easy means of passage to travellers and correspondence. The British Government has no pretension to any right to send troops through the Turkish Provinces of Egypt, either by railroad or otherwise, more than through the territory of any other foreign State.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 157.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 1.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 1, 1852.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 40 of the 26th of December, containing observations on the supposed designs of the Porte in regard to Egypt; and I have to state to you in reply, that it is very possible and not unlikely that the intentions which you ascribe to the Ministers of the Sultan may be entertained by them; but their power of carrying those intentions into effect must in some measure depend upon the pretences which the course pursued by Abbas Pasha may offer them for doing so.

It may be perfectly true that during the lifetime of Mehemet Ali and of Ibrahim Pasha, the Porte was deterred by fear of the military capacity and ambitious character of those two Viceroys, from asserting practically the rights which the Firman of 1841 reserved to the Sultan; but that circumstance cannot debar the Porte from asserting those rights now if it thinks fit to do so. The question at issue is whether the pretensions now put forward by the Turkish Government are or are not borne out by the words of that Firman.

Now this is a question with regard to which the Four Powers who together with the Porte were parties to the Treaty of July 15, 1840, are not entitled to become arbiters; but even if they were so entitled it would be a conference of the Representatives of all four, and not the Government of one of them alone that would be entitled so to decide as to the interpretation of the Firman. But the Firman formed no part of the Treaty; it was issued by the Porte after the Treaty was concluded; it was only communicated by the Porte to the Four other Powers who with the Porte were parties to the Treaty of 1840, but was in no way guaranteed by those Powers.

All, therefore, that the British Government can do in regard to these matters is to use its friendly influence at Constantinople to induce the Porte not to

push too far the interpretation of the Firman; and that has been done and is still doing by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

It must however be borne in mind that although the hereditary government of Egypt has been assigned to the family of Mehemet Ali, that which has thus been assigned is the delegated government of one of the integral parts of the Turkish Empire, and the Pasha of Egypt and the inhabitants of Egypt are not on account of the hereditary grant, less to be considered as subjects of the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 158.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received January* 2, 1852.)

(No. 372.)

My Lord, *Therapia, December* 6, 1851.

THE Egyptian questions, by which I mean the points of difference between Abbas Pasha and the Porte, appear to be drawing towards a close.

Next to the railway in difficulty stands the Tanzimat. The present state of this question is made clear by the accompanying letter and its inclosure, taken in connexion with the contents of my despatch to your Lordship No. 351 of the current year.

The alleged intrigues and disrespectful conduct of those members of the Viceroy's family who have received marks of the Sultan's favour are still under consideration. The insolent and outrageous acts committed by some of their domestic servants in two recent instances at Cairo, as reported by Mr. Murray, have naturally enough been attributed to a spirit of insubordination roused by their pretensions. I have expressed myself strongly on this subject to the Turkish Ministers, and urged them on grounds of propriety and fairness to take such immediate steps as may restrain the young Princes from any further forgetfulness of their duty, and remove the painful impressions which their behaviour has no doubt produced on the Viceroy's mind. The Grand Vizier has promised to submit my remarks and suggestions to the Council, with the advantage of his recommendation,

The question of Mehemet Ali's appointments, which formed the subject of an instruction from your Lordship, is also submitted to the Council; and I trust that the manifest justice of the case, as urged by me in pursuance of that instruction, will have its due weight on their deliberations.

Abbas Pasha has complained of the course pursued on a late occasion by the Porte in nominating members of the new Academy of Sciences. Those of the members who were selected from Egypt received their appointments direct from the Porte, and they were in some cases ludicrously inappropriate. The Pasha's representations on this subject have had their effect, and the diplomas are to be returned.

The Porte objects to the Pasha's intention of furnishing his military contingent for the Sultan's army exclusively from the negro provinces under his command; and it is not improbable that His Highness will have to give way.

The accompanying letter shows how slender a chance there is of carrying the point of capital punishment agreeably to the Viceroy's wishes. I have not relaxed in my exertions, so far as I could make them with propriety, to procure a partial concession to His Highness' request, and hitherto no final negative has been put upon my representations. But the Sultan is understood to entertain a decided unwillingness to abate the smallest portion of his sovereign right in that respect; and the Grand Vizier is personally little inclined to support my view of the subject, however limited, at the risk of incurring His Majesty's displeasure.

It would thus seem probable on the whole, that the final arrangement will not be entirely satisfactory to Abbas Pasha, though there is a fair and immediate prospect of its being such as to terminate a state of open antagonism between the parties, and to remove every ostensible cause of apprehension on His Highness' part.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 158.

Abdurrahmân Bey to Sir Stratford Canning.

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 5, 1851.

THE work of the Commission has been wound up yesterday. The Articles that were kept in suspense were modified to a degree so as to meet as far as possible, according to their views, the desire of His Highness Abbas Pasha and the local exigencies.

The inclosed translation will show your Excellency how the three Articles that I had the honour to submit to you yesterday were modified. With regard to the three Articles of the Penal Code, a translation of which I sent to your Excellency some days ago, the form given to them in Egypt was not admitted, but some words were added so as to put His Highness Abbas Pasha and his Government on a footing with that of His Imperial Majesty. It will run in this way: "The instigators to rebellion against the Government of His Imperial Majesty, against the laws and institutions, and against the Governor-General (Wali) of Egypt and his functionaries," &c.

All discussion is ended, and the Pashas were informed that they had no need to go to the Commission until they were begged to do so, when the preamble the Porte intends to put at the head of this modified Tanzimat for Egypt will be drawn out.

A fair copy of this modified Tanzimat is to be made and submitted to the Council of Ministers, who will examine it and submit it to the sanction of His Imperial Majesty. We can say therefore that it has gone through the first of three stages, and the most difficult we may add.

With regard to the question of capital punishment, though nothing official has yet come out, the Pashas were made clearly to understand that no hope should be entertained on this point. I have no need to say now what I have already had the honour to express to your Excellency, that His Highness Abbas Pasha will be greatly disappointed for not obtaining the favour of a continuation of that right for ten years more at least.

The question of the members of the Academy of Sciences has been settled according to the wishes of His Highness Abbas Pasha, who has been authorized to return the diplomas. Remain unsettled the question of the contingent of the army to be supplied by Egypt, and which His Highness wishes to furnish from the negro provinces, and that concerning the irreverent behaviour of the members of the family, which, in consequence of the bad example, has already produced the known offences to two Europeans.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ABDURRAHMAN ROUCHDY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 158.

Extraits du Tanzimat.

ARTICLES sur lesquels on n'était pas d'accord, et qui ont été modifiés par la Commission dans le but de les rendre conformes autant que possible à ce que désire Son Altesse le Gouverneur-Général Abbas Pacha.

Original.	*Modifications.*
Attributions et devoirs des fonctionnaires civils et de la police.	Ce qui est souligné dans l'original est omis ou modifié, remplacé par ce qui est inséré dans cette colonne.
ARTICLE XXII.	
De même que les bons traitemens et les bons procédés gagnent l'affection du plus grand nombre de gens, de même	

un traitement rigoureux et humiliant envers des gens qui ont le sentiment de l'honneur et de la dignité, cause le mécontentement. Or cette dernière manière d'agir ne pouvant en aucune façon être permise par Sa Majesté Impériale, tous les sujets, *Musulmans, Chrétiens, ou autres*, devront être traités avec douceur, afin que les sentimens de fidélité et d'amour qui remplissent leurs cœurs pour la Royauté Auguste dont ils sont les sujets, s'affermissent et s'augmentent, et qu'ils *se sentent forcés de faire* des actions de grâce pour la clémence qui les entoure et pour les bienfaits répandus sur eux de la part de Sa Majesté Impériale.

qui se trouvent dans la Province d'Egypte.

se sentent portés à faire.

comme on devra être zélé pour faire que leur obéissance et leur soumission envers Son Altesse le Gouverneur soient augmentées.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Lorsque les Agens étrangers feront des réclamations et des communications relativement à des affaires commerciales, on y fera droit en se basant sur les Traités dont il a été précédemment expédié des exemplaires à tous les fonctionnaires *et dans les questions délicates en se référant à la Sublime Porte.*

En outre dans le cas d'affaires qui ne seraient pas susceptibles d'être résolues d'après les règles du droit international, et lorsque l'on pourra prévoir un inconvénient dans l'exécution de ce qui serait demandé, *le Gouverneur ne doit pas se croire obligé de donner lui-même une solution à ces affaires, mais il devra donner une réponse amicale, et conforme à ce que les circonstances exigent, et référer l'affaire à la Sublime Porte.*

Son Altesse le Gouverneur d'Egypte donnera une réponse amicale et conforme à ce que les circonstances exigent, soumettant les affaires importantes à Sa Majesté Impériale.

ARTICLE XXVII.

(*Chaque fonctionnaire*) *devra appliquer toute son attention et employer tout son zèle à l'exécution exacte de toutes les Ordonnances Impériales, de toutes les lettres Vizirielles, et de toutes les instructions supérieures relatives à l'administration publique et aux réformes bienfaisantes introduites et établies sous les heureux auspices de Sa Majesté Impériale dans les affaires civiles et militaires.*

Dans la Province d'Egypte les fonctionnaires devront mettre tout leur zèle à exécuter à la lettre tous les ordres et toutes les instructions qui, conformément aux réformes suprêmes établies avec la grâce du Très-Haut, sous les auspices augustes de Sa Majesté Impériale, émaneront de la part de Son Altesse le Wali (Gouverneur), aux Présidens des Conseils, aux Ministres, aux Gouverneurs (Moudirs) de Province et à tous les fonctionnaires sur les affaires civiles et militaires, ainsi que toutes les instructions qui émaneront de la part des Conseils et des Ministres sur les affaires d'utilité publique qu'ils auront.

Les lettres et rapports *qu'il aura* à écrire sur les affaires courantes devront être adressées aux départemens de l'administration desquels ces affaires ressortissent, et devront être rédigés avec la plus grande clarté en évitant toute redite inutile et tout équivoque. *Dans les affaires de grande importance, afin d'en faciliter et d'en accélérer la marche, l'on devra donner tous les détails avec la plus grande précision, conformément aux instructions spéciales qui ont été données sur cette matière.*

En somme, les fonctionnaires ne devront jamais s'écarter des lois de l'honnêteté et de la droiture, et ils ne devront pas engager sans nécessité leur responsabilité, *ni mettre Sa Majesté Impériale dans le cas de devoir les punir pour leurs transgressions.*

ni multiplier d'une manière superflue la correspondance entr'eux, dans le but d'obtenir des informations sur les affaires.

No. 159.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(*Received January* 2, 1852.)

(No. 379. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, December* 18, 1851.

WITH reference to your last despatch concerning the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship in copy, a confidential instruction which I had previously addressed to M. Pisani for communication to Reshid Pasha, and, if necessary, to the Sultan also.

M. Pisani informs me that the questions are under consideration at the Palace, and, judging from the Grand Vizier's manner of referring to them, he leads me in some degree to entertain the prospect of a favourable issue.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 159.

Sir Stratford Canning to M. Pisani.

(Confidentielle.)

Cher M. Pisani, *Thérapia, le* 14 *Décembre*, 1851.

IL me tarde d'apprendre la décision du Conseil relative aux affaires d'Egypte, desquelles vous avez entretenu son Altesse le Grand Vizir conformément à mes instructions.

Je veux parler des appointemens de Mehemet Ali, le jeune Pacha, et de la communication à faire à tous les jeunes membres de la famille d'Abbas. Vous n'ignorez pas mon opinion à ce sujet. La Porte a bien fait comprendre au Pacha son devoir envers le Sultan. Si son Altesse s'est laissé égarer un moment, il a été bientôt réduit à la nécessité de se mettre à l'ordre. Il n'est pas probable qu'il cède de si tôt à une nouvelle tentation. Le Grand Vizir a tout l'honneur d'un succès qui a tiré la Porte de beaucoup d'embarras; moi, j'ai la satisfaction d'y avoir contribué. A présent il me paraît que la véritable bonne politique de la Porte serait de contenter l'homme du Firman, de donner le démenti à tout ce qu'on a répandu relativement aux intrigues et aux dispositions sinistres d'ici, et de fournir au Pacha de nouveaux motifs pour servir le Sultan non-seulement avec loyauté mais encore avec un sincère dévouement et zèle.

Ce qui aurait le plus d'effet dans ce sens est sans contredit quelque concession accordée de pure grâce par le Sultan au sujet de la peine capitale. Comme principe, le droit de Sa Majesté est parfaitement reconnu et constaté. Il s'agit uniquement d'une grâce basée sur les besoins locaux de l'Egypte, et sur l'intérêt de l'Empire auquel rien de ce qui pourrait assurer la tranquillité d'une province aussi importante, et rendre plus efficace l'autorité de celui qui en administre les affaires au nom du Sultan, ne saurait être indifférent.

Le Pacha, qui n'a jamais levé l'étendard de la déloyauté contre le Sultan, comme l'ont fait sans scrupule son grand-père et son oncle, désire naturellement avoir aux yeux du peuple une preuve de la confiance que Sa Majesté daigne lui accorder pour le moins aussi grande que celle dont ceux-là ont joui de leur vivant; ce n'est pas un pouvoir arbitraire qu'on lui accorderait, mais seulement la faculté de faire exécuter la sentence légale du tribunal compétent, entouré des formes et des garanties de la loi sacrée. Encore ne serait-il que temporairement et pendant le bon plaisir du Sultan, qu'il lui serait permis de garder le privilège qu'il n'a jamais cessé jusqu'ici d'exercer. L'autorité suprême, en lui continuant cette grâce, ne ferait que ce que d'autres Souverains non moins jaloux de leur prérogative ont fait et font encore dans l'intérêt de l'administration d'une colonie ou d'une province éloignée de leurs capitales.

Voilà les considérations que je prie le Grand Vizir de bien vouloir peser dans sa sagesse, et de soumettre, s'il serait nécessaire, à Sa Majesté Impériale, dont la bienveillance et la pénétration ne sauraient être en défaut quand il s'agit de ce qui dépend entièrement de sa volonté.

Du côté de la forme, rien, ce me semble, n'existe pour rendre difficile l'adoption de ces idées. Quand même le texte du code à préparer pour l'application du Tanzimat à l'Egypte n'admettrait pas convenablement la modification proposée par rapport à la peine capitale, un Firman séparé pourrait facilement déclarer la suspension pendant un temps limité ou incertain de la mise à exécution de l'Article qui établirait, comme principe général, le recours à Constantinople pour tout jugement qui condamnerait un coupable à la peine de mort.

Je vous invite, Monsieur, à faire lecture de tout ce qui précède à son Altesse le Grand Vizir, et vous avez ma permission de lui en donner copie, si elle vous exprimait le désir d'en avoir.

Sincèrement à vous.
(Signé) S. C.

No. 160.

Earl Granville to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 3.)

Foreign Office, January 6, 1852.

Sir,

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve of the instruction which you gave to Mr. Stephen Pisani on the 14th of December, and of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch No. 379, of the 18th of that month, for a communication to be made on your Excellency's behalf to the Porte, respecting the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 161.

Nubar Bey to Earl Granville.

Londres, le 7 Janvier, 1852.

Excellence,

D'APRÈS l'ordre que votre Excellence a bien voulu me faire parvenir, je m'empresse de soumettre par écrit à sa haute considération les points principaux que j'ai eu l'honneur de lui communiquer.

Toute la question qui depuis plus d'un an pend entre la Porte et le Vicerοi, se résume dans la demande de la part de la Porte d'introduire en Egypte les lois

de l'Empire, c'est-à-dire, le Tanzimat. La Porte, dans le principe, demanda du Vicerοi l'acceptation pure et simple de ce Tanzimat. Le Viceroi, se fondant sur le Firman accordé à sa famille, éleva des objections à l'acceptation pure et simple du Tanzimat. Il s'adressa en même temps au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique pour la protection des droits que ce Gouvernment avait reconnus à sa famille en 1841. Mr. Murray se trouvait alors en Angleterre; après une communication préalable avec Lord Palmerston, il écrivit à son remplaçant dans le Consulat du Caïre, que si le Viceroi persistait dans les bonnes intentions qu'il montrait, le Gouvernement Anglais ferait respecter ses droits et lui prêterait son appui dans les "limites du Firman." Cette lettre fut communiquée au Viceroi.

Avec la permission de votre Excellence je prends la liberté de transcrire l'Article du Firman:

"Les principes fondés sur les lois de la sécurité de la vie, de la sécurité des propriétés et sur la conservation de l'honneur, principes établis dans mes salutaires ordonnances du Hatti-Shériff de Gulhané, tous les traités faits et à faire entre ma Sublime Porte et les Puissances amies, seront complètement exécutés dans la Province d'Egypte; et toutes les lois faites et à faire par ma Sublime Porte seront mises en pratique en Egypte, en les conciliant de la meilleure manière possible avec les circonstances locales et les principes de justice et d'équité."

La première partie de cet Article ne comporte aucun doute, et le Viceroi n'a jamais refusé d'accepter les principes fondés sur la sécurité de la vie et des propriétés. Ces principes, d'ailleurs, existaient en Egypte avant qu'ils n'eussent été promulgués à Constantinople, car du temps de Méhémet Ali des tribunaux civils réguliers avaient été institués dans le pays, et le Viceroi actuel, dès le commencement de son administration, a donné à ces tribunaux une base plus large et plus indépendante. Le doute ne pouvait donc porter que sur la seconde partie de cet Article, et la Porte reconnut la valeur des objections du Viceroi, en l'invitant à envoyer à Constantinople des Commissaires pour discuter les modifications que devaient subir les lois de l'Empire avant que d'être introduites en Egypte. Le Viceroi, sur ces entrefaites, déclara ouvertement son intention d'établir un chemin de fer d'Alexandrie au Caire; la Porte par l'entremise de son Envoyé, Mochtar Bey, avait préalablement tâché de dissuader le Viceroi de son projet; le Viceroi y persistant, elle déclara alors aux Commissaires Egyptiens, qu'elle discontinuait toute discussion ultérieure des Articles du Tanzimat jusqu'à ce que le Viceroi demandât l'autorisation de la Porte pour l'établissement de ce chemin de fer, espérant peut-être que le Viceroi y renoncerait, plutôt que de se soumettre à cette formalité.

Cette nouvelle demande de la Porte fut soumise de la part du Viceroi à l'appréciation de Lord Palmerston, qui, avant que d'exprimer publiquement son opinion, me fit l'honneur de me répondre, "que le chemin de fer étant un acte du ressort de l'administration intérieure, le Viceroi avait tout droit de le faire sans autorisation préalable." Cependant d'après les circonstances que j'ai eu l'honneur de soumettre à votre Excellence, le Pacha se trouva dans l'alternative, ou d'abandonner son projet ou d'en demander l'autorisation; c'est la seconde alternative qu'il choisit, et la discussion des Articles du Tanzimat fut de nouveau reprise.

Le Tanzimat n'est point un simple code civil et pénal, c'est un code administratif en même temps, et c'est justement ces Articles d'administration qui sont incompatibles avec le Firman d'investiture, et dont l'introduction en Egypte détruirait et le Firman et les droits garantis au Viceroi. Ainsi la Porte demande que

1°. Dans tous les Articles du nouveau Code qui va être introduit en Égypte, le nom du Gouvernement local Egyptien soit effacé et remplacé par celui de la Sublime Porte.

2°. Que l'Article 5 du Tanzimat, qui dit que: "Le Conseil Suprême de Constantinople étant le ferme soutien et protecteur des lois instituées et des règlemens établis, tout Ministre, tout fonctionnaire, de quelque grade ou rang qu'il soit, est responsable de sa conduite devant ce Conseil Suprême, et dans le cas où il serait accusé de négligence dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, et que la majorité des membres se déclarât contre lui, il serait obligé de donner sa démission," soit introduit en Egypte.

3°. Que le Viceroi doit consulter la Porte sur toutes les affaires délicates.

4°. Que le Viceroi doit renoncer au pouvoir de confirmer ou de commuer toute sentence emportant peine capitale.

Les trois premières demandes de la Porte sont en contradiction directe avec le Firman et les droits accordés et reconnus aux Viceroi d'Egypte.

Le simple octroi du Firman a fait à l'Egypte une position exceptionnelle. Le Sultan règne, mais c'est le Pacha qui gouverne; et le Firman indique les conditions et les institutions selon lesquelles le Gouvernement local du Viceroi doit procéder. Depuis douze ans la Porte n'a élevé nulle objection, et Lord Palmerston me fit l'honneur de me répondre, lorsque de la part du Viceroi je lui eus soumis que les prétentions de la Porte ne tendaient à rien moins que de priver Son Altesse de son pouvoir administratif, "Que la Porte pouvait introduire ses lois modifiées en Egypte, mais que d'après le Firman d'investiture l'exécution et l'application de ces lois dépendrait toujours du Viceroi."

Le Firman établit donc que le Viceroi administre et gouverne en Egypte, et que par conséquent un Gouvernement local existe.

Effacer dans tous les Articles du nouveau code qui va être promulgué en Egypte, le nom de ce Gouvernement local, pour y substituer celui de la Sublime Porte, serait annuler ce Gouvernement local et faire, pour ainsi dire, passer directement l'administration du pays entre les mains de la Porte. Pour préserver les droits souverains du Sultan, le nouveau code portera en tête le nom de Sa Hautesse et sera promulgué en son nom; mais pour préserver en même temps ses droits de Gouverneur, le Viceroi demande que le nom de Gouvernement Local Egyptien ne soit point effacé des Articles de ce nouveau code et remplacé par celui de la Sublime Porte; autrement ce serait discréditer son pouvoir en Egypte, et lui rendre difficile si non impossible le maintien du bon ordre et de la tranquillité publique.

La seconde demande de la Porte porte encore une plus grave atteinte aux droits du Viceroi. Les Viceroi d'Egypte, d'après le texte du Firman, ne peuvent être destitués qu'autant qu'ils auront forfait aux conditions posées dans ce Firman; vouloir rendre le Pacha justiciable de tous ses actes devant le Conseil Suprême de Constantinople, c'est ajouter une clause nouvelle au Firman, ce que la Porte n'a pas le droit de faire. Si cet Article du Tanzimat n'a rapport qu'aux fonctionnaires Egyptiens, mettre ceux-ci, qui sont nommés par le Viceroi, rétribués par son trésor, sous le contrôle du Conseil de Constantinople, c'est les rendre indépendants du Viceroi et de son Gouvernement, c'est nier l'autorité du Pacha à exécuter et à faire respecter les lois, c'est enfin le priver de toute autorité administrative. D'ailleurs si cet Article était admis, l'administration des affaires intérieures passerait directement à Constantinople, puisque cet Article dit que le Conseil Suprême de Constantinople est le ferme soutien et protecteur des lois de l'empire. Il appartiendrait donc à ce Conseil de faire exécuter les lois en Egypte, pouvoir qui d'après le Firman appartient au Viceroi.

La troisième prétention de la Porte tend au même objet que les précédentes; elle veut se mêler de l'administration intérieure de l'Egypte. Le Firman ne dit point que le Pacha doit consulter la Porte sur toutes les affaires délicates. Si par ce mot de "délicat" la Porte comme elle le veut faire entendre, n'a en vue que les affaires de politique intérieure, le Viceroi n'a jamais prétendu à une indépendance politique, et le Firman lui défend d'y prétendre. Ce terme de "délicat," très-élastique en lui-même, peut se rapporter à tout, car d'après une interprétation spécieuse toute question peut devenir délicate, et par l'introduction de ce seul Article, le Viceroi se trouverait privé d'une grande partie de son pouvoir administratif. Cet Article suffirait pour mettre des obstacles à l'accomplissement du chemin de fer d'Alexandrie au Caire, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de le soumettre à votre Excellence, et certainement priverait le Viceroi de tout pouvoir de le continuer jusqu'à Suez.

Pour la quatrième demande de la Porte, le Viceroi reconnait que le pouvoir de confirmer une sentence capitale est un des attributs de son Souverain, et s'il réclame ce pouvoir ce n'est point comme un droit, mais bien comme une délégation de droit, comme une faveur. Sans ce pouvoir en ses mains, il déclare qu'il lui est impossible de maintenir le bon ordre et la tranquillité parmi les éléments hétérogènes qui composent les populations Egyptiennes. La sécurité de la vie, c'est-à-dire, qu'aucun criminel ne sera mis à mort sans un jugement préalable, principe établi par le Khatt de Gulhané, existe en Egypte; comme j'ai eu l'honneur de le soumettre à votre Excellence, la vie du criminel est entourée de toutes les garanties possibles; les deux sentences, l'une du tribunal civil, et

l'autre du tribunal religieux, important peine de mort pour le criminel contre lequel elles ont été émanées, doivent passer une double révision, la première dans le Conseil de Justice du Caire, dont une partie des membres sont du corps des Oulémas, et la seconde dans le Conseil des Ministres, qui s'adjoignent dans des cas semblables les deux chefs des Oulemas du Caire; et ce n'est qu'après que cette sentence capitale a été doublement revisée, conformément à la loi civile et à la loi religieuse, que le Viceroi peut en ordonner l'exécution ou bien la commuer. Depuis l'administration du Viceroi nulle exécution capitale n'a eu lieu, et vers les dernières années de Mehémet Ali deux ou trois cas seuls se sont présentés. Mais que les Fellahs et les Arabes apprennent que pour qu'une sentence capitale soit exécutée, elle doit être revisée à Constantinople et confirmée par le Sultan, le prestige du Gouvernement Egyptien serait détruit, et les anciennes scènes de désordre et d'assassinats reparaîtraient bientôt en Egypte.

Les émissaires que, par le moyen des Princes Egyptiens qui sont allés à Constantinople, la Porte entretient en Egypte, sont parvenus par leurs menées à déconsidérer jusqu'à un certain point le Gouvernement aux yeux des populations, et des troubles que le Viceroi a pû appaiser à grande peine ont éclaté dans quelques provinces de l'Egypte, particulièrement celles où les Arabes se trouvent en plus grand nombre. Si le pouvoir de vie et de mort lui était retiré, le mal serait plus grand, et dans ce cas le Viceroi se déclare incompétent de maintenir le bon ordre et la tranquillité, de garantir la sécurité du transit et des nombreux voyageurs qui visitent ou traversent l'Egypte en tous sens, et qui vont jusqu'en Abyssinie, sans garde, sans escorte, et sans rencontrer de peril. Quelle est la province de l'Empire, même de celles qui sont les plus rapprochées de Constantinople, et où l'action du Gouvernment Central se fait plus fortement sentir, qui présente la même tranquillité, le même bon ordre, les mêmes garanties de sécurité? Mais si la Porte traîne encore en longueur la question actuellement pendante, comme il est de son intérêt de le faire, car la prolongation de cette question ne peut que discréditer le pouvoir du Viceroi aux yeux des populations Egyptiennes, il ne serait pas étonnant de voir, sans qu'un long temps se passe, l'Egypte présenter le même aspect que la Syrie, ou Bagdad ou l'Arabie.

D'ailleurs le Viceroi ne demande point ce pouvoir comme un droit, mais bien comme une délégation de droit. Si le Viceroi en abusait jamais, la Porte serait toujours à temps de le lui retirer; mais une fois l'ordre troublé il serait difficile de le rétablir, et il coûterait beaucoup de sang.

Avant que de prendre une décision sur ce point important, le Viceroi prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien considérer que la tranquillité, et par conséquent la prospérité de l'Egypte, reposent en grand partie sur le prestige que lui donne ce pouvoir, et que la sécurité du transit y dépend tout-à-fait.

L'argent que Mehemet Ali dépensait en travaux militaires, le présent Viceroi le dépense en améliorations qui ont déjà donné un plus grand développement à la culture et au commerce du pays il désire pouvoir continuer à exécuter ces améliorations, et c'est pour cela qu'il s'est adressé au Gouvernement Anglais, qui, plus que tous les autres, est intéressé au maintien du bon ordre et à la prospérité de l'Egypte; et comme il ne réclame absolument rien qui ne lui ait été garanti par le Firman, c'est-à-dire, l'administration intérieure du pays, et comme il n'a nulle intention de sortir des bornes de ce Firman, il espère que la protection de ce haut Gouvernement lui sera accordée, et par son intervention la question actuellement pendante amenée à une fin prompte et satisfaisante.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) N. NUBAR.

No. 162.

Earl Granville to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 17.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 19, 1852.

I ACQUAINTED your Excellency in my despatch No. 3 of the 6th instant, that Her Majesty's Government approved the confidential instruction which you had given to M. Stephen Pisani on the 14th of December, and of

which a copy was inclosed in your despatch No. 379 of the 18th of that month, for a communication to be made to the Turkish Government with the view of inducing the Sultan to relax in some degree as regards Egypt the strict application of that provision of the Tanzimat by which local Governors are required to suspend the execution of capital sentences, until they shall have received special permission from the Sultan to carry such sentences into effect. Her Majesty's Government sincerely trust that the representations which you have thus made to the Porte will be attended with success. But Her Majesty's Government continue to receive such strong opinions as to the injury which may result from the refusal of the Porte to leave in the Pasha's hands the power of capital punishment, that they consider it an act of friendship to the Porte not to conceal from it the impression which those opinions have made upon them.

I have therefore to instruct your Excellency immediately on the receipt of this despatch, to seek an interview with the Grand Vizier on this matter. You will say to the Grand Vizier that Her Majesty's Government fully admit the right of the Sultan to insist upon the recognition by all Governors in every part of the Turkish dominions, of his exclusive right to that essential prerogative of sovereignty—the power of life and death; and that Her Majesty's Government consider, that so long as a question was raised by Abbas Pasha whether that right had not been renounced by the Sultan's predecessor in favour of the hereditary Governor of Egypt, the Sultan could not do otherwise than insist upon the exercise of that exclusive right in Egypt as in every other part of his dominions. But you will observe, that as the Sultan's right is no longer questioned by Abbas Pasha, it appears to Her Majesty's Government that the Sultan would act wisely in allowing to Abbas Pasha, as an act of grace, the same privilege of inflicting capital punishment, without prior reference to the Porte, which his predecessor was permitted to enjoy.

Your Excellency may state to the Grand Vizier, that Her Majesty's Government, in offering this suggestion to the Porte, are only recommending the Sultan to adopt a course with regard to his Viceroy in Egypt, which the Queen of England adopts with regard to all her Colonial Governors.

In all the colonial possessions of the British Crown, as well as in the Channel Islands and in Ireland, now brought by the rapidity of communication within a few hours' distance of the metropolis, the local Governors are empowered by the Crown to inflict capital punishment, or, rather to speak more correctly, to exercise the prerogative of mercy in cases of capital sentences, without reference to the Sovereign. For, according to the law of England, a capital sentence, pronounced by a competent tribunal, must be carried into effect, unless the Sovereign, or, in the case of the colonial possessions of the Crown, the local Governor of a colony, in pursuance of the power to that effect vested in him by the Crown, exercises the prerogative of mercy to stay its execution.

You will say to the Grand Vizier that Her Majesty's Government have received from various quarters the strongest representations pointing out the mischief which may ensue if the Viceroy of Egypt should be deprived of the power which he has hitherto successfully though sparingly exercised for the maintenance of tranquillity, for the security of life and property, and for the safety of travellers passing through the country.

It is not only the Viceroy himself who affirms that if those powers are now withdrawn from him he will no longer be able to afford the wonted protection to residents or travellers in the Egyptian territories; but those persons generally who have an interest in the matter, whether as traders or travellers, and who are conversant with the state of society in Egypt, corroborate the Viceroy's assertion, and deprecate the contemplated change in a system under which they have hitherto enjoyed security for their persons and their properties.

As one example of these representations, I inclose a memorial which was lately addressed to Lord John Russell by a numerous and influential body of merchants, interested either in the direct trade with Egypt, or in the transit trade through Egypt with the British possessions in India.

Your Excellency will point out to the Turkish Ministers that the signatures to this memorial are not those of persons engaged in political schemes, or desirous of interfering with the principles of Turkish Administration for political objects; but that they are those of persons engaged in commercial pursuits,

whose only desire is that the success of those pursuits should not be endangered by political troubles or lawless depredations in the country in which their commerce is carried on.

It is for the interest of the Sultan as Sovereign, and of Great Britain for commercial purposes, that tranquillity and order should be maintained in Egypt, and Her Majesty's Government feel assured that the Government of the Sublime Porte will not push the assertion of a right which is not denied, so far as to throw that country into a state of confusion, by which the roads will be rendered insecure, life and property placed in jeopardy, and commercial enterprise paralyzed.

Her Majesty's Government therefore earnestly recommend that the Porte, while still firmly asserting the Sultan's sovereign prerogative in regard to capital punishments, should nevertheless yield to the representations which have been made to it in this matter, and should at once grant, at any rate for a term of years, to the Pasha of Egypt the same delegated power in this respect which both he and his predecessors have been allowed to exercise.

I have to instruct your Excellency to exert all your influence with the Turkish Ministers to induce them to press these considerations on the attention of the Sultan; and Her Majesty's Government are so satisfied of the high importance of the decision which the Porte may take on this point, that I have to instruct your Excellency, if necessary, even to ask an audience of the Sultan himself, in order to press the matter personally on His Highness' consideration.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 163.

Memorial to Lord John Russell.

To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, M.P., First Lord Commissioner of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c.

The Memorial of the Undersigned, Merchants and others interested in the communications through Egypt with India, China, and other places in the East, adopted at a Public Meeting held

Showeth,

THAT the safety, facility, and permanent maintenance of the transit through Egypt for the public mails and despatches, travellers, treasure, and valuable articles of merchandize to and from the East, has become an object of great national importance, whether considered with reference to the commercial, political, or social interests of Great Britain and her vast Oriental dependencies and commercial relations;

That it therefore merits the anxious solicitude and active support of Her Majesty's Government;

That under the administration of the Government of Egypt by the late Mehemet Ali Pasha, Ibrahim Pasha, and more particularly by His Highness Abbas, the present Pasha of Egypt, this transit has been efficiently protected and greatly improved, at a cost far exceeding any pecuniary benefit which they have yet derived from it;

That His Highness the present Pasha, with the view of further improving this transit, had determined to construct a railway through Egypt, and has actually contracted with an eminent engineer, and for material to the amount of 200,000*l.* sterling, for constructing it; also that a considerable number of engineers and mechanics have already been sent to Egypt to assist in its construction;

That your memorialists have learned with considerable alarm that the Ottoman Porte has claimed a power to annul the arrangement made by the Pasha for constructing this railway: Also that the Porte seeks to deprive the Pasha of the authority which his predecessors have, since the Treaty of 1841, possessed and exercised in Egypt, and which is considered indispensable to enable him to maintain the necessary subordination and order in that country;

That your memorialists, and particularly some of them who have resided in, and are well acquainted with the circumstances of, Egypt, are of opinion, that should the Porte enforce these pretensions, not only will the continuation of the railway be indefinitely postponed, and all other improvements stopped, but the security which the transit of the mails, &c., has hitherto enjoyed, as well as its permanency, will be seriously endangered.

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully address you as the head of Her Majesty's Government, with the view of averting a result fraught with such serious danger to the important British interests involved in the questions now pending between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt; and pray that the prompt and active interference of the Government may be used to induce the Porte to withdraw pretensions which she now for the first time has put forward, and which your memorialists consider cannot be sustained under the settlement of 1841 for vesting the hereditary administration of Egypt in the family of the late Mehemet Ali.

Your memorialists would further suggest and recommend that a formal convention or contract be entered into with a view to secure permanently the facility and safety of the mail transit through Egypt.

(266 Signatures.)

No. 163.

Earl Granville to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 2.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 20, 1852.*

I HAVE received your despatches to No. 49 of the 27th of December inclusive.

I have to acquaint you that I have instructed Sir Stratford Canning to press upon the Porte the expediency of granting to Abbas Pasha, at any rate for a term of years, the same delegated power in regard to the execution of capital sentences, without previous reference to Constantinople, which both Abbas Pasha and his predecessors have been allowed to exercise.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 164.

Sir H. Seymour to Earl Granville.—(Received January 26.)

(No. 6.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, January 10, 1852.*

ALTHOUGH not ordered to do so, I have not hesitated to read to Count Nesselrode Viscount Palmerston's despatch of the 22nd ultimo, marked No. 102.

The Chancellor listened to it with much interest and said, "then after all we need not regret what occurred,—an injurious article in an obscure Russian paper has had its use in proving the means of calling forth from the English Government a declaration of its policy with regard to Syria and Egypt, which is very noble and statesmanlike."

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 165.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Earl Granville.—(Received February 1.)

No. 1.)

My Lord, *Cairo, January 16, 1852.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have received a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, conveying to me the intelligence that the Sublime Porte has finally decided upon taking away from the Viceroy of Egypt the power of ordering the execution of criminals legally convicted and condemned to death.

As I consider this a question of vital importance to the tranquillity of Egypt as well as to the security of our travellers and residents, and of the transit of our Indian mails, goods, and passengers across the Desert, I make no apology for requesting your Lordship's early and earnest attention to it, notwithstanding the time and trouble that it must cost you to make yourself master of its merits.

The records of the Foreign Office will prove to your Lordship that neither your predecessor nor Her Majesty's Ambassador have attached the same importance as I do to this matter.

Having thus frankly stated the disadvantage under which my opinions on this subject lie, in differing from those of my superiors, it only remains for me to refer your Lordship to the despatches in which I have advanced all the principal arguments which I wish to adduce, and it is for your Lordship after perusing them to decide upon their weight and validity, and to give the instructions that you may deem expedient.

The despatches referred to are as follows: to Viscount Palmerston, No. 2, February 17; No. 7, March 24; No. 10, May 3; No. 15, June 27; No. 22, August 6; No. 24, August 18; No. 26, September 5; No. 31, October 5; No. 38, November 7; No. 42, December 3, 1851.

The word *Khissas*, which constantly recurs in the original correspondence between Turkey and Egypt, and which is often rendered "the power of life and death," signifies in strict interpretation, the power of carrying into execution the Lex Talionis, which is the foundation of Moslem law in capital cases. (See my despatch No. 26, September 5, 1851, above referred to.) This law, being according to the Moslem creed, of divine origin, has never been repealed, and the power thereby given has from time immemorial been vested in all Kings, Princes, Governors, and in the Sheiks or heads of Arab tribes. But the Sultan has of late, in the new code called the Tanzimat, arrogated it to himself as the sole and peculiar privilege of royalty.

Having never resided in Roumelia or in any of the districts immediately adjoining to Constantinople, I am not prepared to deny the wisdom or humanity shown by the Sultan in withdrawing this power from the Governors of provinces adjacent to the seat of Government; provinces from which criminals and their accusers might be easily transferred to the metropolis, and in which His Majesty's troops might speedily be sent to the aid of the civil authorities in case of necessity.

Nevertheless, if I am rightly informed, this branch of the Tanzimat has not yet been enforced either in Bosnia or Kurdistan; and the consequence of its being attempted to be enforced at Aleppo and Damascus has been the shedding of more blood by the military than would need be shed by the local Governor in as many years.

My Lord, the Viceroy of Egypt claims this privilege not as a sovereign right, but as a delegated authority hitherto exercised under the hereditary Firman of investiture by his grandfather, his uncle, and himself. He claims it upon the ground that his worst enemies cannot say that he has ever abused it. He claims it in order that he may maintain this province in the security and prosperity that it has attained under the administration of himself and his family, and he claims it upon the same grounds of public good, according to which it is intrusted by England and all other civilized countries to the Governors of their distant colonies.

His Highness is firmly convinced that the withdrawal of this power has been brought about by the influence of his enemies at Constantinople, in order

to render it impossible for him to maintain the public tranquillity in Egypt, and that they may thence obtain the ultimate object of all their plans, namely, his deposition from the Viceroyalty; and he is the more confirmed in this belief from the fact that the privilege of the Khissas has not up to this day been withdrawn from the Governor of Hedjaz, who is not an hereditary Pasha, and whose Government is not to be compared to Egypt in extent, population, or importance.

I cannot conceal from your Lordship that the Viceroy is deeply hurt at the lukewarm support he has experienced at the hands of the British Government in this matter; and he expressed himself in very strong language on the subject to me the day before yesterday, just after he had received his despatches from Constantinople.

He represented to me that on account of his steady leaning to England and English interests, he had entirely forfeited the friendship and support of France, who would never forgive him for making the railroad in opposition to her repeated remonstrances; and he was upon bad terms with his own family, every member of which was devoted to French interests.

His Highness added that the Representatives of the other Great Powers were all angry with him on account of what they called the predominance of English influence here, evinced by his great exertions in improving the transit to India, and most of all in making the railway; and he complained that in exchange for these solid benefits and proofs of friendship, England had as yet given him no return but fair words.

I assured His Highness that Her Majesty's Ambassador had during the late discussions with the Sublime Porte made the most strenuous exertions in his power to procure favourable terms for Egypt; and that even in this matter of the Khissas, his Excellency had made the strongest representations consistent with the tenour of his instructions.

The Viceroy replied that he knew nothing about the instructions issued to the Ambassador, but he felt sure that if Her Majesty's Government had authorized his Excellency simply to protest against the injustice and inexpediency of a measure which threatened the security of the Anglo-Indian transit and the tranquillity of Egypt, the resolution now adopted would have been abandoned at once, and then he should have had cause to be grateful for England's friendly interference.

His Highness concluded the conversation by saying that he should write me his sentiments on this subject; should the letter arrive before the departure of this mail, I will forward to your Lordship a copy of it with a translation.

One other topic occurs to me which I do not remember to have referred to in the preceding despatches, and I adduce it now in order that your Lordship may weigh its merits.

The Pasha, when he succeeded to the Viceroyalty, received at the hands of the Sultan a Firman of investiture, conferring upon him all the powers and privileges enjoyed by his predecessors. Apart from the question of expediency, is it now just that the most important of all those powers and privileges should now be withdrawn, without the existence even of a pretence on the part of the Sublime Porte that it has been illegally or inhumanly exercised?

Has not England, as a friendly Power most deeply interested in the tranquillity of Egypt, a right to protest against so flagrant a violation of a solemn firman bearing the Imperial seal?

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 165.

Abbas Pasha to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(Translation.) 23 *Rebi-ul-Eevel*, 1268. (*January* 16, 1852.)

To the Honourable, trustworthy, &c.

IT is known to your Excellency that during the time of my predecessors, and also since my own accession up to the present date, that is to say, during a period of forty-five years, the Khissas having been entrusted to our hands, the

Arabs and other tribes not venturing to commit excesses nor deviate from the path of right, have been restrained from all kinds of violence.

Thus all the travellers, the specie, merchandize, and mails belonging to the illustrious British Nation passing from India to England, and *vice versâ*, and also from Alexandria to Cairo by land, and thence to Suez across the Desert, have enjoyed complete security.

According to the Vizierial letter that I have just received, I understand that this power (of Khissas) no longer entrusted to my hands, is withdrawn from me.

No sooner will this intelligence be spread among the inhabitants and others, than they will return to their former wild habits, and (saying that the Governor of Egypt has no longer the power of inflicting capital punishment without previously asking permission of the Sublime Porte) they will doubtless recommence their former practices of robbery, pillage, and murder, for this is according to what we have observed in former experience.

Now the obedience and subordination of the Egyptian, Arab, and adjacent tribes, consisting entirely in their fear of capital punishment, as soon as they hear that this power has been taken away from me, they will begin, agreeably to their lawless nature and character, to be disobedient; it will be impossible then to levy in due time and full amount, the contributions imposed upon them; and consequently not only will difficulties ensue in raising the funds sufficient for constructing the railway, but, owing to the feebleness of the executive power, it will be impracticable to collect from the different provinces the number of men requisite to continue the work.

Hence it is evident that the construction of the railway being exposed to these serious difficulties and delays, its completion may be rendered almost impossible.

As the English mails pass by land from Alexandria to Cairo, and from Cairo to Suez, across the Desert, on the camels of Arabs and under charge of their drivers, I, if deprived of the power of Khissas, can hold myself no longer answerable for their safety; wherefore, if hereafter the English mails sustain any loss between Alexandria and Cairo, or in crossing the Desert, or if English merchandize or specie should happen to be stolen, or if loss of life should occur either among the travellers to and from the places above mentioned, or among those who go by land or in boats to see Upper Egypt, I shall not be able to hold myself responsible for those things.

If, on the contrary, the power of Khissas remains delegated as it has hitherto been to my predecessors and myself up to the present time, the Arabs and other tribes and inhabitants, in awe of that power, will not venture upon the crimes above referred to, and consequently I could be answerable on the score of security; and in that case if by accident any loss occurred to English mails, specie, or merchandize in transit, or if any British subject were killed, the responsibility would fall upon me, and the construction of the railway would meet with no delay.

In order to explain to your honourable person these my sentiments, I have in friendship addressed to you this official letter.

(Sealed) (L.S.) ABBAS HELMI.

No. 166.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Earl Granville.—(*Received February* 1.)

(No. 2.)

My Lord, *Cairo, January* 19, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday the Viceroy invited the attendance at his palace of the Agents and Consuls-General of the Five Powers whose Representatives had approved by their signature, and to that extent guaranteed, the settlement of the Egyptian question in 1841, as exhibited in the Firman of hereditary investiture granted to Mehemet Ali.

When we were assembled, the Viceroy informed us of his having received advices from Constantinople to the effect that the Sublime Porte had withdrawn, or was about to withdraw from him, the power of Khissas, and he explained in terms very similar to those employed in his letter to me (forwarded to your

Lordship in my despatch No. 1 of the 16th instant) the disastrous effects which such a measure, if enforced, would naturally produce in Egypt.

His Highness also observed that of all the administrative or executive powers entrusted to Mehemet Ali at the time of the Firman of hereditary investiture and exercised by him and his successors, this was the most important, and that as the Sultan had at his own succession to the Viceroyalty, delegated to him all the powers and privileges enjoyed by his grandfather and his uncle, this, the most important of them, could not with justice be revoked unless it could be proved that he had cruelly abused it.

His Highness further observed that the plea of making this innovation on the ground of its being necessary to the uniform adoption of the Tanzimat was an absurdity, for that the Tanzimat were in existence in the latter days of Mehemet Ali, in those of Ibrahim, and since his own succession; during all the earlier portion of this period, and during the first year and-a-half of his administration, while he was on good terms with the Sublime Porte and enjoyed the favour of the Sultan, they had never disturbed the executive power of capital punishment in Egypt; but no sooner had a party of mischievous intriguers, Egyptian refugees at Constantinople, succeeded in alienating from him the confidence and goodwill of the Porte, than they suddenly made the discovery that the Khissas was an abstract and divine right of the Sovereign and could not be delegated.

His Highness proceeded to say that as it was the arms of the European Powers and not those of Turkey that had imposed the existing arrangement on Mehemet Ali and his family, so were they morally bound to see that it was observed on both sides, for without such an understanding it would never have been accepted; and he added that if the Sublime Porte considered itself entitled to take away one by one from him, every administrative and executive function hitherto exercised by him, but not found specially named in the Firman, then so far as the rights of his family were concerned, the settlement of 1841, although made with the cognizance and approval of the Five Powers, was a fiction, and the Firman of hereditary investiture a piece of waste paper.

After expatiating at some length on the practical evils which must result from an enforcement of the proposed measure, especially as regards the security of European persons, property, and commerce, His Highness invited those present to give him their views on the question at issue, and also to write as they might deem advisable thereupon to their respective Governments.

My four colleagues who have been more or less personally piqued with Abbas on account of his having leaned so decidedly towards English commercial interests, and having undertaken the railway without consulting their advice, were I believe not sorry to see him in a scrape, and received his energetic appeals somewhat coldly.

Yet although all were disinclined to serve or assist the individual, they were candid enough to say to the hereditary Governor that they highly disapproved the proposed measure, and that they considered its enforcement likely to be attended with serious evil and disaster in Egypt; they promised to write in this sense to their several Governments, expressing at the same time their doubts whether their representations would tell with any effect on a decision that seemed already adopted by the Sultan.

The French Consul-General told His Highness that if he had called the Consular Corps together some months ago, and had then shown the same confidence in them as at present, by asking their advice and assistance on this matter while it was in discussion at Constantinople, possibly the representations addressed to their respective Governments by His Highness' request would have influenced the Councils of the Sublime Porte, and have prevented the disastrous decision now pronounced.

This was a hit at me, and it told with some effect, as there was truth in it; nevertheless the blame rests with the Viceroy and not with me, for I have repeatedly during the last summer and autumn recommended His Highness to invite the visits of my colleagues more frequently, and to show them at least the outward courtesy of consulting their advice and opinion on his relations with the Sublime Porte.

His Highness could not bring himself to do so, partly, he said, because he knew that one or two of them were more friendly disposed towards the disaffected members of the family than to himself, and partly because all of them when

they did visit him wearied and annoyed him by harping always on one subject, and that without tact or mercy, namely, his predilection for my society and his general leaning towards England.

The interpreting department at the meeting was very lamely performed, partly owing to the slowness of enunciation of the person officiating, and partly owing to the energetic rapidity of the Viceroy, which would have left far behind the readiest interpreter. The result was that my colleagues did not comprehend more than one-third of His Highness's observations. They heard enough, however, to lay the general bearing of the question before their respective Governments.

I have thought it my duty to give your Lordship an account of what passed on this occasion, as the subject is one which if not early set at rest, may not only throw this country into anarchy, but re-open the Eastern Question settled in 1840-41.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 167.

Sir Stratford Canning to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 6.)

(No. 392. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, December 31, 1851.*

THE Sultan has declined to comply with Abbas Pasha's request that the power of carrying into execution legal sentences condemning an offender to death, should be left, even temporarily, to him. Inclosed herewith in copy is M. Pisani's confidential report, which I transmit for your Lordship's information. I have reason to hope that the other questions will be favourably considered by the Council.

My endeavours to obtain a result more satisfactory to the Viceroy appear to have had their effect upon His Highness' Commissioners; but I question whether he will enter fully into the difficulties of the case, and his disappointment on a question of which he exaggerates the importance, may possibly shake his reliance on British counsels. I should not indeed be surprised if he were to convey the expression of his mortification to England, and apply to your Lordship for instructions enjoining me to renew my efforts on his behalf.

My present conviction is, that a renewal of my efforts, even with the advantage of your Lordship's immediate support, would be unsuccessful. The Sultan is too strongly impressed with the rights and duties of sovereignty to be inclined to give way; and his Ministers, whatever appearance they may put on to me, are by no means prepared to thwart his pleasure in that respect.

I propose to forward a copy of a translation of the Grand Vizier's letter to Abbas Pasha on this subject by an early occasion. The original will be forwarded to Cairo in a few days, together with the Tanzimat and its preamble as prepared for application to Egypt. The Commissioners have no authority to accept the new arrangement without the Viceroy's express consent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 167.

M. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

(Most Confidential.)

Sir, *Pera, December 24, 1851.*

THE Grand Vizier upon whom I waited this morning, showed me in strict confidence the Sultan's answer about the Egyptian affairs, and especially respecting the capital punishment. His Majesty expresses himself as follows:

"I have attentively perused his Excellency Mr. Canning's letter, marked secret, to M. Etienne Pisani, and communicated to you (the Vizier) through the latter. With reference to the capital punishment, a prerogative appertain-

ing solely to the Sovereign can by no means be conceded to the subject. As regards the other points contained in the said letter you will submit them to the early consideration of the Council, and report thereon."

Such being the purport of the Sultan's reply to the Grand Vizier, I deem it a duty to report the same, word for word, for your Excellency's guidance and information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. PISANI.

No. 168.

Sir Stratford Canning to Earl Granville.—(Received February 1.)

(No. 5.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January 17, 1852.*

BY way of sequel to my communication on the subject of Egypt, I avail myself of the present opportunity to forward herewith a copy of my last despatch to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo.

Your Lordship will observe that the Sultan has declared his intention not to comply with Abbas Pasha's desire to retain the privilege of enforcing capital punishment without reference to Constantinople.

The other points of difference are in course of adjustment, and if they be adjusted, as I expect, to the Viceroy's satisfaction, His Highness will owe the advantage in a great measure to the friendly exertions of Her Majesty's Embassy on his behalf.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 168.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 1.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 7, 1852.*

THE return of one of the Egyptian steam-packets to Alexandria affords me an opportunity of addressing you.

I understand from the Viceroy's Commissioners, that a letter from the Grand Vizier to His Highness on the subject of capital punishment will be forwarded by the same occasion.

A copy and English translation of this letter, which was not communicated to me before it had been sent to Mochtar Bey, are herewith inclosed for your information.

You will learn from its contents that the Sultan and his Government persist in their intention of reserving the right of sovereignty in that respect. My earnest endeavours to obtain a decision more agreeable to the wishes of Abbas Pasha have been wholly unsuccessful. Limited to the employment of friendly representations on a point of admitted right on the Sultan's side, and of doubtful importance as to local interests, I could not in reason anticipate a different result, though unwilling to relax in my efforts until a conclusive decision had been taken by the Sovereign himself. The decision which is now announced will I fear be a subject of more disappointment to the Pasha than perhaps it intrinsically deserves. The regret which I feel on that account is however accompanied with a conviction that His Highness will fully appreciate the circumstances, and bear in mind the advantages which he has derived in other more important respects, at a juncture of no small embarrassment and danger, from the cordial exertion of British influence on his behalf.

The same motives which have fixed the Sultan's determination as to the point of capital punishment will have their full weight in maintaining the insertion of His Majesty's name in the preamble and articles of the Tanzimat preparing for application to Egypt. In matters of sovereignty the Porte's punctiliousness appears to be more than ever uncompromising. I have reason to

believe that in other respects a more satisfactory deference will be shown to the Viceroy's explained views. Such at least is the assurance conveyed to me by the Grand Vizier, and confirmed by the terms in which the Egyptian Commissioners describe the apparent effect of their latest communications with the Porte.

It is unnecessary for me to say more at present, as Edhem Pasha expects to be able to inform the Viceroy by to-morrow's packet, of the positive result obtained thereon. He has however sent me word that he will be obliged to reserve the transmission of the whole work for another and an early opportunity, as the preamble and final composition of certain passages are not yet completed, though orders have been given by the President of the Council to prepare them for communication to the Commissioners.

Having more particularly in view your despatch No. 42 of last year, I have endeavoured to guard the Viceroy's interests by expressing my opinion in distinct terms to the Grand Vizier, and the Commissioners are fully aware of their obligation to refer to Cairo before they finally accept the proposed version of the Tanzimat. In case of difficulty on points admitting of further discussion they will no doubt apply to me, but I think it advisable not to interfere with details, except on their invitation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 168.

The Grand Vizier to Abbas Pasha.

(Translation.) *7 Rebi-ul-Evvel, 1268. (December 30, 1851.)*

IN answer to the communications made by your Highness' Commissioners, Edhem Pasha and Hair-ed-deen Pasha, on the matter of capital punishment, a report was drawn up by the Special Council organized for debate concerning the local development and establishment in Egypt of the Tanzimat-i-Hatriyé, which was founded by His Imperial Majesty for the purpose of appointing a system for carrying out the rules of justice and the principles of the Holy Law, and given by Imperial command to those Pashas; and His Majesty has taken cognizance of your Highness' representations on the subject, after consideration of that report.

As is explained in the said report, the execution of Khissas being a matter appertaining exclusively to the person of the Khaliph, the shadow of the Almighty, and, with respect to criminals condemned to death in accordance with the law, since the execution of their punishment, the manner of punishment or its modification depend absolutely on the will of the Sovereign (these also being the high prerogatives of the Khaliphate), a change in the fundamental principles of the law is in no way possible. With respect to its affecting the Government of the country, the Khissas being one of those matters which concern private individuals, there is no reason for its affecting the affairs of the country in general. If a movement disturbing the public tranquillity in any part of the Imperial dominions takes place, those who thus presume are first summoned to return to the right path by means of advice and exhortation; and if they do not submit, recourse is had to coercive measures, and the blood of such as perish in the act of resistance will be shed with impunity.

In these circumstances permission is legally granted to all Governors of provinces, and with respect to those who are captured in a conflict of that nature, and in short persons who have committed great crimes, to whatever class they may belong, and who, being unable to escape and in the hands of authority, after trial and conviction are condemned to death by the sentence of the law, since their execution depends upon the will and command of the Sovereign, even although in order that the Royal sanction may be obtained, a delay of fifteen or twenty days should take place, no disorder in the Government of the country can result therefrom; that is to say, it is perfectly clear that no inconvenience can arise from a prisoner, who even if he has the wish is without the power to commit a crime, remaining a little longer in confinement.

Moreover, the full execution of this principle during so many years in every part of His Imperial Majesty's dominions, is extinguishing those numerous and constant disorders witnessed in former times, the proofs of which amount to a

certainty. Therefore if in the time of your illustrious predecessors the Tanzimat Hairiyé were in force, and permission was given them on this score, and refused in your Highness' time, then you would have a just ground for taking offence at a refusal in your time. But such is not the case, for the refusal is a necessary consequence of the coincidence of the Tanzimat-i-Hairiyé with the present time, that is to say, the Article of capital punishment being first and foremost of its fundamental Articles, their introduction must naturally be coincident. There is no necessity, therefore, for your Highness to feel in any way aggrieved on this account. To conclude, by reason of His Majesty's favour which is manifested towards you, there is no doubt that your Highness' special requests will always meet with a gracious acceptance; but the fact of your demand in this instance affecting the high prerogatives of the Khaliphate is an impediment to its concession.

His Majesty trusts that all the considerations now communicated to your Highness will be duly weighed and appreciated. Your Highness is therefore informed that His Imperial Majesty has recommended that the Kanoun Namé, now under discussion before the Council, should be drawn up in conformity with these bases.

No. 169.

Earl Granville to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 31.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 6, 1852.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatches No. 392, of the 31st of December, and No. 5, of the 17th of January, from which it appears that the Sultan has refused to continue to Abbas Pasha the power enjoyed by his predecessors in the Government of Egypt, of carrying into execution, without reference to Constantinople, capital sentences pronounced by the Egyptian courts of law.

Her Majesty's Government trust, however, that the representations which by my despatch No. 17, of the 19th ultimo, you were instructed to make to the Turkish Minister, and if necessary to the Sultan himself, on this matter, will overcome the reluctance of the Sultan to grant to Abbas Pasha the privilege which he solicits in this respect.

Your Excellency will press the point on the Turkish Government with all your influence; and you will not conceal from it the opinion of your Government, that the result of the continued refusal of the Sultan may not only seriously affect the tranquillity of Egypt, and if so, produce a very unfavourable opinion in this country towards the Turkish Government, but may even be attended with very disastrous consequences to the Turkish Empire in general.

It may not be too much to say that there may be parties ready and willing to turn to account, for objects inconsistent with the welfare of the Turkish Empire, a protracted estrangement between the Sultan and his vassal.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 170.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Earl Granville.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 4.)

Sir, *Cairo, January* 24, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a memorial which has been sent to me for presentation to Sir Stratford Canning, signed by the most respectable and influential of the merchants and other British subjects resident at Cairo and Alexandria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 170.

Memorial to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

Sir, *Alexandria, January* 20, 1852.

WE, the undersigned British merchants and others resident in Egypt, have learned with considerable alarm that a notification has been sent by the Sublime Porte to His Highness the Pasha of Egypt, to the effect that the power of capital punishment is in future to be withdrawn from the Viceroys of Egypt; also that the Pasha has publicly notified to the several Representatives in Egypt of the European Powers, that, should that power be withdrawn, he will no longer be able to give effectual protection to persons and property in Egypt.

This measure, which we were led to conclude had, from its obvious dangerous tendency, been tacitly abandoned, will, if persisted in, jeopardize the safety of our persons and property, by substituting anarchy, insubordination and plunder, in the place of that order and security which we have hitherto enjoyed under the administration of the present and former Viceroys.

As the question appears to have been again mooted at Constantinople at a time when no instructions could have reached Her Majesty's Ambassador there from the British Cabinet (as recently constituted by the appointment of a new Minister for Foreign Affairs), we respectfully but earnestly entreat you to urge upon the British Ambassador at Constantinople to use every means in his power to induce the Porte to suspend any further proceedings in regard to this question, until at all events the British Government shall have had a further opportunity of considering the question in its new aspect.

We have further to request that you will be pleased to avail yourself of the very earliest opportunity to make the desired communication to the Ambassador at Constantinople.

(Signed)

F. H. Gilbert.
H. Johnson.
A. Farquhar.
J. Davidson.
E. Winder.
Ponthonier and Co.
R. L. Green.
R. Holt.
Hugh Thurburn.
F. A. Broock.
Tho. Smart.
J. Scambali.
R. Thurburn.
W. Foxton.
Giovanni Bora.
A. C. Harris.
Alexander A. Bethuné.
G. Chasseaud.
Briggs and Co.
Beel and Co.
Joyce, Thurburn and Co.
William Moore.
p. p. Tod, Rathbone & Co.
Robert Fleming.
Galloway, Reinbein & Co.
Cassavetti and Co.
Fowler and Co.
H. J. Ross.
Frede. Smart.
J. F. Ogilvie, M.D.
C. O. Macquart.
F. Perini.
Chas. T. Hicks.
C. W. Taylor.
p. p. Cassy and Malin,
C. B. Short.
John Levick.
C. Sinana.
Robert Innes.
George Haynes Betts.
Barker Levick.
N. Longshaw.
R. R. Wilkinson, Junr.
R. R. Wilkinson and Co.
Cuthbert Vara.
W. J. Sturley.
Richard Crozer.
A. P. Wilkinson.
H. W. Wilkinson.
J. P. Wilkinson.
Go. Minotto.
S. Serika.
G. Giglio.
Forto. C. Perini.
Carlo Lanzon.
Geo. Lanzon.
Mo. Camponello.
S. Nani.
D. Bellamue e Fratello.
A. E. Minotto.
Oliver Levick.
Theops. Richards and Co.
A. Sinano.
Cost. Popolani.
Thos. Forty.
Ths. Douglas.
Schiff and Co.
Andrew Mc Kensie.
John Manning.
John Lonsdale.
Austen Straud.
William Allen.
Vincenzo Biancardi.
Georgio Cechrà.

Cairo, January 22, 1852.

(Signed) Tod, Rathbone and Co.
p. p. Cassy and Malin,
C. Sauer.
A. Nicolopuolo and Co.
Fce. Cassanetti and Co.
A. F. C. Mistrovachi.
A. Emmanuele.
H. E. Paleologo and Co.
G. Coen, p. p. G. Cochdonis.
Samuel Shepheard.
L. M. A. Caminit.
Alfred Eccles.
Mr. J. Brewitt.
J. Hatchutoor Noory.
H. F. Marston.
H. Margetts.
Charles Bowles Hare.
Charles Lamb.
W. A. Arowhead.
W. S. Alexander.
E. Bud.
C. J. Longridge.
Henry Böhmer.
A. J. Edwards.
Nicolà Datzli.
John Branzetti.
J. R. T. Lieder.
F. Regnaud Carcas.
D. Robertson.
Hy. Regnaud Carcas.
Charles Betts.
Edward Williams.
Thomas Bartlett.
Chapple Gin.
Stephen Page.
John Watson.
John Maxton.
Walter Shaw.
Henry Swinburne.
James Turnbull.
Charles Grover.
Wm. Krusé.

No. 171.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Earl Granville.—(*Received February* 15.)

(No. 5. Secret and Confidential.)

Cairo, January 25, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the invitation of the Viceroy, I went yesterday to pay him a visit. As soon as we remained *tête-à-tête* and His Highness had removed all his attendants from the apartment, he told me that he wished to make a communication to me in strict confidence, and to ask my advice as to the course which he should adopt. He then took out of his writing-desk a paper, on which were one or two letters that had passed between a merchant here and a person in the service of Prince Napoleon Bonaparte. Both the parties are known to me personally: the merchant is an Italian, active, very clever, and well-informed on Egyptian affairs; and his correspondent is an officer always about the Prince's person and enjoying his fullest confidence.

The latter writes to the merchant desiring him to inform the Viceroy that the President views with great regret the partial estrangement that has taken place between France and His Highness, and that he is prepared to offer to His Highness a renewal of the friendly relations that for many past years had existed between the French Government and His Highness' predecessors; and that if His Highness is disposed to meet this offer in the spirit in which it is made, and to re-establish the former relations of cordial friendship between the two countries, the President would be happy to send a confidential officer to communicate with His Highness, who would be commissioned to proceed afterwards to Constantinople to intervene with the Sublime Porte on His Highness' behalf, in respect to those questions which still remained unsettled between the Sultan and himself. Such was the purport of the letter, though owing to my only having heard it read once in Turkish, I cannot pretend to give your Lordship its precise words.

The Viceroy then turned to me and said: "As you know that I have from the beginning entertained a sincere friendship for yourself and the country that you represent, I do not wish that you should be able to say that I have changed my sentiments, or have done anything which you might consider at variance with that preference which I have always avowed for England beyond any other European nation; for this reason, although I have been specially

warned to keep this matter secret from you, I have thought it right to mention it to you in confidence, and also to ask your advice how I should act."

After thanking His Highness for the frankness which he had evinced in making me this communication, and for the confidence which he had reposed in my discretion, I told him that in so far as I was possessed of the views of Her Majesty's Government, England had never been anxious to monopolize His Highness' friendship to his own detriment, or to alienate from him the good offices and support of so powerful a country as France; nevertheless I should wish His Highness to understand that if in proposing to "re-establish the former relations of cordial friendship," the President's object was to restore those relations to the footing on which they were when I arrived in Egypt, when French officers were in every branch of the service and at the head of the principal departments, and when on matters of importance the Viceroy's measures had been mostly dictated at Paris; certainly Her Majesty's Government could not view a return to those relations without great dissatisfaction; but that as I felt assured, both on account of His Highness' personal sentiments, and on account of the obvious commercial and financial advantages which Egypt derived from a friendly intercourse with England, that His Highness would never permit a return to the system above referred to, I could not advise His Highness, consistently with his own interests at this crisis, to do otherwise than to authorize the merchant to send a reply to his correspondent, assuring him of the value which His Highness attached to the President's friendship, and of his desire to cultivate the most amicable relations with France.

I moreover told His Highness, that in my opinion, if the President followed out his purpose of sending an officer here and hence to Constantinople, to advocate His Highness' interests warmly at the Sublime Porte, such a measure would materially aid the exertions made by Her Majesty's Ambassador on His Highness' behalf; and it would annihilate the greatest danger that he had to encounter, namely, the intrigues of the members of his family, which had hitherto derived their chief strength from the support of France.

In giving His Highness this advice, I was aware that to a certain extent I risked the diminution of that "preponderance of British influence," which personal vanity might have led me to retain, and which had caused so much jealousy; but I acted from a conscientious belief that the course which I recommended was the best for His Highness' own interests and for the tranquillity of the country at the present crisis; and also that Her Majesty's Government would appreciate and approve the motives by which I had been guided.

Trusting that your Lordship's reply will confirm me in these impressions,

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 172.

Consul Walne to Earl Granville.—(*Received February* 16.)

(Separate.)

Cairo, February 3, 1852.

My Lord,

IN the absence of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, who is at present in Upper Egypt with His Highness the Viceroy, and at the particular request of the merchants in this place, I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a petition from the principal British residents in Alexandria and Cairo, having reference to the present relations between the Sublime Porte and the Pasha of Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ALFRED S. WALNE.

Inclosure in No. 172.

Memorial to Earl Granville.

My Lord,

WE, the Undersigned, merchants and other British subjects residing in Egypt, beg respectfully to submit to your early and attentive consideration the following representation.

The questions which have for some time past been raised by the Divan of the Sublime Porte in respect to the internal administration of Egypt have excited among us a deep apprehension, but more particularly the threatened withdrawal from the Viceroys of Egypt of the power of executing capital punishments.

Without such power we feel convinced (especially those among us whose long residence in Egypt has rendered practically conversant with the habits and feelings of the Arab population) that it will be impossible for the Pashas of Egypt to give that effectual protection to persons and property which has hitherto been enjoyed under the administration of the late Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim, and the present Pasha.

A few weeks since we were much relieved by a current report that the question of withdrawing from the Viceroys of Egypt the power of capital punishment would not be pressed, and that some other points mooted by the Divan of Constantinople having been acceded to by the Viceroy, the affairs of Egypt would be permitted to proceed in their hitherto satisfactory manner.

Our surprise, disappointment, and alarm, have therefore been proportionally excited by learning that a few days since a despatch from the Porte had been received by His Highness the Viceroy, intimating that it was the intention of the Sultan to withdraw from him the power of capital punishment, and that the Pasha has in consequence publicly notified to the Representatives of the European Powers here, that should such power be withdrawn, he can no longer be answerable for the effectual protection of persons and property in Egypt.

As this question appears to have been again brought forward at Constantinople, at a time when no instructions from your Lordship since your accession to your present high office could have reached the British Ambassador there, we are led to indulge a hope that your Lordship may have already interposed to check a course of policy at the Sublime Porte, which, if persisted in, will, by introducing anarchy into Egypt, seriously compromise if not destroy the important and increasing British interests, local as well as those in connexion with India, which are involved in the good government and tranquillity of this country.

We however deem it necessary most earnestly to entreat your Lordship to give to this question your earliest attention, and to use that influence which Great Britain, both in support of her interest and honour, has a right to exercise in it, to put an end to a course of policy on the part of the Porte as inexpedient from any practical necessity as it is calculated to be ruinous to the best interests of Egypt, and to those of all other countries connected socially or commercially with her.

We have, &c.

(135 Signatures.)

No. 173.

Earl Granville to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 4.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 18, 1852.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to Abbas Pasha, as reported in your secret and confidential despatch No. 5, of the 25th of January, respecting an overture which the Pasha informed you that he had received from the French President for the renewal of cordial relations between the French Government and Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 174.

Earl Granville to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 34.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 20, 1852.

I FORWARDED to your Excellency in my despatch No. 17, of the 19th of January, a copy of a memorial which had been addressed to Her Majesty's Government by a large number of British merchants in this country, setting forth the apprehensions which they entertained as to the possible result of the course which the Porte was inclined to pursue in regard to Egypt.

I received by the last mail a memorial to the same effect from the British residents at Cairo and Alexandria. I inclose a copy of that memorial* in order that you may avail yourself of it to prove to the Porte that it is not without sufficient cause that Her Majesty's Government earnestly recommend the Sultan to allow Abbas Pasha to retain and exercise a power which it appears is very generally considered to be indispensably necessary for the good and tranquil administration of Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 175.

Earl Granville to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 5.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 20, 1851.

MR. CONSUL WALNE has transmitted to me in a despatch dated the 3rd instant, a memorial addressed to Her Majesty's Government by the British residents at Cairo and Alexandria, respecting the state of the questions in discussion between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt, which memorial, in consequence of your absence in Upper Egypt, Mr. Walne was requested by that portion of the memorialists who reside at Cairo to forward to this country.

I have to instruct you to state to the memorialists, that Her Majesty's Government are fully alive to the importance of the question which has given rise to their representation; and that Her Majesty's Government trust that the communication which they have directed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to make to the Porte on that matter, will avert the injury to British interests which the memorialists appear to apprehend.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 176.

Sir H. Seymour to Earl Granville.—(Received February 29.)

(No. 68.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 18, 1852.

WHILST I was at Brussels I became acquainted with Solyman Pasha, who related to me different instances of the summary punishments which during a time he had been obliged to inflict upon malefactors of various descriptions in Egypt, and who took credit to himself for the perfect order and tranquillity which, by the occasional resort to measures of severity, he had maintained among the populations amongst which his delegated authority had been exercised.

* See Inclosure in No. 173.

Solyman Pasha had with him a French gentleman with whom I had formerly been well acquainted, and who had been at a later period the Pasha's guest in Egypt, and to him I could not help remarking upon the extreme severity of the punishments which had been alluded to.

My acquaintance, a man of talent and standing in society, replied that it was clear that I did not know the countries of which I was speaking; that among an uneducated and barbarous race, capital punishments could not be dispensed with, and that the safety of the community required that the extreme rigour of the law should follow rapidly upon a flagrant violation of the law.

The system, as my French acquaintance further stated, had been found to work well under Solyman Pasha's rule; public security being, he said, at least as great in Egypt as it was in France or England.

After relating to Count Nesselrode this conversation, and some instances of the stern but salutary justice which Solyman Pasha had been obliged at the commencement of his governorship to resort to, I communicated to him your Lordship's despatch to Sir Stratford Canning marked No. 17 of this year.

Count Nesselrode requested me to leave this despatch in his hands, saying that he had been apprized by the Russian Consul in Egypt of the Pasha's intention of making an appeal to the Allied Governments upon the subject of those powers which it was the wish of the Porte to withdraw from him, and that he should be glad if upon consideration, he could shape the instructions to be sent to Constantinople upon those which your Lordship had dispatched to the Queen's Ambassador.

I did not hesitate to comply with his Excellency's request.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 177.

Sir Stratford Canning to Earl Granville.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 34.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 18, 1852.

BEFORE I received your instruction respecting capital punishments in Egypt and inclosing a memorial addressed on that subject to Lord John Russell, I had communicated to Aali Pasha the memorials of a similar purport transmitted to me by Mr. Murray, and obtained from his Excellency an assurance that the intended reconsideration of Abbas Pasha's request should be kept back until I could have an opportunity of discussing the question with him in person.

The difficulty of overcoming the Sultan's repugnance to adopting the view taken by Her Majesty's Government was found to be insuperable in the first instance, notwithstanding the strenuous exertion of my good offices on the Viceroy's behalf. Nothing has since occurred to make the task more easy. On the contrary, there is much in the Pasha's more recent proceedings to increase the Porte's ill-will towards him, and its jealousy of British interference in his favour. His Highness' appeal to the Consuls at Cairo, and the declaration which escaped him of a resolution to persist in opposing the Sultan's decision, cannot but tend to confirm the impressions already prevailing to his disadvantage. The memorials, whether proceeding from Egypt or from England, are ascribed to the intrigues of interested parties, and I am told that an intercepted letter addressed to Nubar Bey by his brother in Egypt, writing as if with the Pasha's authority, has corroborated the suspicions which were previously entertained on that head. I am myself not entirely free from an impression that there is no inconsiderable exaggeration in the importance attached to the desired privilege as a necessary instrument of power in Egypt for preserving the public tranquillity and securing the safety of trade. The Egyptian Commissioners hold a language little calculated to remove this impression, and they are personally convinced that the Ottoman Government has taken its decision irrevocably. I am bound to add that our influence was most untowardly

affected by the early proceedings at Cairo with respect to the railway, and that our interference on the Viceroy's behalf is almost as great an object of jealousy to the Porte as the Viceroy himself.

These considerations will not, however, slacken my efforts in the cause embraced by your Lordship, and I have already taken the first essential steps towards a successful issue. I have apprized the Sultan privately, of the instructions which direct my conduct, and have put him in possession of the principal points of argument contained in them. I have also had an interview with Aali Pasha, and after reading to him your Lordship's instructions, I urged such additional arguments and appealed to such motives as I thought most likely to produce a strong impression on his mind.

It was necessary to begin with the Sultan not only because the question at issue immediately concerns him as Sovereign, but because the known state of his opinions cannot but determine the advice of his Ministers. His Majesty received my confidential interpreter in private, and listened with gracious attention to the message in writing with which he was charged. After remarking on some of its passages in an adverse sense, he said that he should reserve his answer until he had seen his Ministers upon the subject.

My next step would have been to wait on the Grand Vizier, had Reshid Pasha been still in that office. But taking into consideration the age and deafness of the present Prime Minister, I thought it would best answer my purpose to employ Aali Pasha as the channel of communication to him, with the precaution of sending him a messenger to explain the object of my visit to the latter, and recommending it on the part of Her Majesty's Government to his particular attention and support.

Aali Pasha was of course unprepared to give me any answer of a conclusive character. His remarks, like those of the Sultan, were unfavourable. He promised, nevertheless, to explain the whole matter, as stated by me, to the Grand Vizier, and to abstain from bringing it before the Council until I had leisure to follow up my verbal communication with any argument which I might wish to offer in writing. This I fully intend to do before the next meeting of the Council, as also to see its President, Reshid Pasha, whose antagonism to the Viceroy it is essential to neutralize, if not to remove.

My colleagues in the Diplomatic Body have heard from their respective Consuls, and I have some reason to hope that, with the exception of M. de Lavalette, their opinions are favourable to the Viceroy's pretension. But I question their inclination, unless it be in the case of Prussia, to act upon the subject in concert with Her Majesty's Embassy, without at least receiving special instructions from home.

Apart from this question of capital punishments, the code of Tanzimat and its preamble, as prepared eventually for Egypt, are in general freed from the objectionable passages declined by the Egyptian Commissioners; but the Porte is at liberty to revise the whole of its concessions in case of a continued disagreement as to the principal point of difference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 178.

Sir Stratford Canning to Earl Granville.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 35. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 18, 1852.

FOR your more complete information I have the honour to inclose herewith an exact copy of my message to the Sultan respecting Egypt, and also a memorandum of what passed in His Majesty's presence when M. Stephen Pisani presented it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 178.

Message of Sir Stratford Canning to the Sultan.

LE Sultan agréera, j'espère, avec sa bonté accoutumée l'expression de mon profond respect. Je veux lui donner encore une preuve de mon dévouement à sa personne. Des instructions péremptoires viennent de me parvenir de Londres; et comme elles touchent une question que le Souverain seul peut résoudre, il importe aux intérêts de Sa Majesté qu'elle en soit instruite la première, et qu'elle sache, à ne pas en douter, de quelles intimes convictions elles partent.

Il s'agit d'une province qui deux fois de mes jours a été rendue à l'Empire par les armes victorieuses de l'Angleterre, et dont l'influence amicale s'exerce sans cesse pour raffermir le droit du Souverain et la tranquillité de ses Etats. Le maintien du bon ordre en Egypte dépend de l'autorité locale, qui pour agir efficacement doit être respectée, et dont l'affaiblissement compromettrait la sûreté du commerce, et surtout de cette branche du commerce qu'intéresse au plus vif ma nation et son Gouvernement.

On est généralement convaincu que l'administration du Pacha perdrait le prestige de sa force morale si elle cessait de pouvoir faire exécuter la peine capitale ordonnée par la loi, et que son découragement sous ce rapport exposerait le pays au désordre et le commerce à des obstructions ruineuses. Ces dangers sont forcés sur la conviction de mon Gouvernement tant par les cris des étrangers résidant en Egypte, que par les sollicitations des négocians de Londres intéressés au commerce des Indes.

Il n'est pas question du principe, car le droit de Sa Majesté le Sultan est parfaitement reconnu à cet égard, mais uniquement de la manière de l'appliquer selon les besoins locaux prévus déjà par le Firman Impérial d'hérédité. Il n'est question non plus d'introduire quelque chose de nouveau, mais simplement de ne pas déranger sans aucune nécessité ce qui existe. En laissant au Pacha d'Égypte le pouvoir tel que l'ont exercé constamment ses deux prédécesseurs, et tel qu'il l'exerce lui-même depuis sa nomination sans restriction et sans abus, Sa Majesté Impériale ne ferait que ce que fait spontanément et habituellement la Reine d'Angleterre par rapport aux Gouverneurs de ses possessions d'outremer, même des plus proches.

Inclosure 2 in No. 178.

M. E. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Pera, February 16, 1852.

I READ and thoroughly explained to His Majesty the Sultan the contents of the memorandum drawn up by Her Majesty's Ambassador relative to capital punishment, the privilege of which is claimed by Abbas Pasha.

His Majesty listened with remarkable calmness and attention to its contents, and only interrupted me two or three times to comment upon it. On reading the part which says in substance, "que la tranquillité du pays et le commerce souffriraient si le privilège de faire exécuter la peine capitale était retiré du Pacha," &c., His Majesty observed "that he could not conceive how such a refusal would be attended with evil consequences to commerce and public safety." "In former days," proceeded he, "every Pasha exercised this right with uncontrolled authority, when undoubtedly great abuses were committed; but since the introduction of the Tanzimat, this power was withdrawn from all the Governors, and the privilege now exclusively belongs to the Sovereign, who has the sole right of authorizing its execution. At Bagdad and in most of the other large provinces of my dominions," rejoined His Majesty, "where the Pashas have also had this right taken from them, what prejudice has arisen hitherto, either to commerce or public tranquillity?

"Abbas Pasha in insisting upon having this privilege left in his hands, has not certainly either the country's good or the promotion of commerce in view,

but seeks only to further his own ends, which are very obvious. It is true," continued His Majesty, "that this power was enjoyed by his predecessors and himself until now, but it must be borne in mind that the Tanzimat was not yet introduced into Egypt. Now that it is to be extended to that province, the Pasha must in common with the rest conform to its purport. I well know that Abbas Pasha aims at becoming independent.

"It is stated in the same memorandum," observed His Majesty, "that Her Majesty the Queen grants the power of capital punishment to all her Governors beyond seas, and even to those who are nearest, but I am led to believe that they are men of a more upright character than Abbas Pasha."

The Sultan all this time spoke with great calm and dignity, and finally desired me to tell the Ambassador with his compliments, that before giving a definitive answer, he would see his Ministers upon the subject; on this I made a respectful bow and withdrew.

(Signed) ET. PISANI.

No. 179.

Sir Stratford Canning to Earl Granville.—(Received March 7.)

(No. 36.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 18, 1852.

A TRANSLATED copy of Abbas Pasha's letter to the Grand Vizier soliciting a reconsideration of the question of capital punishments in Egypt is inclosed herewith, and I avail myself of the opportunity to mention the effect of another letter received at the same time from the Viceroy by Reshid Pasha. Both letters were written after His Highness had been apprized of the late partial change of Administration here, and the last-mentioned having an air of condolence, was expressed in terms which according to Turkish usage are only employed by a superior. The President of the Council, who preserves the rank of Grand Vizier, was so much irritated by the advantage thus taken of the change in his official position, that he appears to have manifested his sense of the supposed affront in presence of that assembly; and I fear that so marked an explosion of feeling will operate unfavourably on the slender chance which exists of persuading the Sultan to take a more indulgent view of his vassal's request.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 179.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Traduction.) 1 *Rébi-ul-Akhir*, 1268 (23 *Janvier*, 1852.)

J'AI reçu respectueusement et compris la lettre de votre Altesse portant la date du 7 Rebi-ul-Evvel, 1268 (30 Décembre, 1851), dans laquelle il est dit que l'exposé que leurs Excellences Edhem Pacha et Hafir-ed-dyn Pacha ont fait au sujet du Khissas (la peine du talion) dans la commission qui avait été formée pour y discuter de l'établishment des bases du Tanzimat Hairiyé dans la Province de l'Egypte aussi, avec les points qui en découlent, en les conformant aux circonstances locales, les délibérations de la commission, ainsi que mes représentations sur cette question, ont été portées à la connaissance de Sa Majesté Impériale; et que votre Altesse a reçu du Sultan l'ordre de me faire savoir que bien qu'indubitablement mes demandes seront toujours accordées, celle que je fais relativement au Khissas compromet les droits de la souveraineté, et par conséquent elle ne peut pas être accordée.

Le Khissas est effectivement, et moi-même je ne le nie pas, inhérent aux droits du Sultan. Mais tout le monde sait fort bien qu'ainsi que les circonstances locales l'exigent, l'administration des affaires en Egypte, vû le caractère des habitans, est exceptionnelle, on ne peut guère l'assimiler et la conformer à ce

qui est pratiqué dans les provinces de l'Empire. Et puis il se trouve ici de nombreuses peuplades et des tribus éparses, des hommes qui diffèrent de caractères et de mœurs, tels qu'Arabes, Arabes du Désert, Béchari, Havari, Zenghis, et Barbaresques. Dans le temps de mes prédécesseurs, et même depuis l'expédition du Firman Impérial concernant l'hérédité jusqu'à ce moment-ci, l'exécution de la loi du talion nous était confiée à nous, vû notre qualité de fonctionnaire fidèle de l'Empire. Si, à présent, sur les différends survenus depuis deux ans, et après les bruits qui se sont répandus dans le pays, ce privilège m'était enlevé tout d'un coup, les habitans et d'autres croiraient que je ne jouis pas de cette confiance et de cette faveur dont mes prédécesseurs avaient été l'objet de la part du Sultan. Les sentimens perfides des habitans acquiéreront beaucoup de consistance et de hardiesse; ceux-ci se mettront, suivant leur manière d'agir habituelle, à dépouiller les voyageurs, à exercer le brigandage par-ci et par-là dans la province et dans le Désert jusqu'au Mont Sinaï, et à assassiner les étrangers qui voyagent dans la Haute Egypte, dans la Nigritie, Darfour, &c., ou qui y vont pour les affaires de commerce. Indépendamment de cela, ceux des habitans qui auront commis un crime se réfugieront auprès des tribus Arabes. Or, on sait quelle importance les tribus Arabes donnent à la question de l'asile, jusqu'à quel point ils y tiennent. Ils ne consignent point donc de bonne grâce les individus coupables auquels ils auront donné l'asile; et il faudra par conséquent employer la force; ce qui sera cause, comme cela s'est vu tant et tant de fois, de l'effusion du sang Musulman, car des deux côtés il y aura des morts et des blessés; de là la disparition, dans très peu de tems, de la prospérité et de la sécurité dont l'Egypte jouit actuellement, et le pays en souffrira. C'est pourquoi je supplie Sa Majesté le Sultan de me confirmer ce privilège afin que le bon ordre du pays n'ait pas à souffrir et ne reçoive aucune atteinte. Et certes mon but n'est point, Dieu m'en garde! d'usurper les droits du Sultan, ou bien, Dieu m'en préserve! de commettre des injustices envers qui que ce soit, ou de mettre à mort injustement, ce qui serait un crime horrible que je n'aurai jamais l'audace de faire.

Votre Altesse dit aussi dans la lettre que j'ai reçue de sa part, que quand même il se passerait quinze ou vingt jours entre la condamnation légale d'un coupable et son exécution, cela ne saurait porter la moindre atteinte au bon ordre du pays; voilà ce qu'elle suppose. Il est dit dans une autre partie de votre lettre: "Si le Tanzimat Haïriyé était en vigueur en Egypte du temps de mes prédécesseurs, qu'on leur eût permis d'exercer le Khissas, et qu'on l'eût interdit de mon temps, je devrais en être offensé personnellement." Mais il n'en est pas ainsi; et c'est à cause de la coïncidence de l'exécution du Tanzimat Haïriyé avec le temps présent, que la prohibition du Khissas, qui est la première des bases du Tanzimat, doit tout naturellement marcher avec les autres points.

Or, il est de fait, et l'on n'a pas besoin de le faire observer, que non pas au commencement de feu mon grandpère, Méhémet Ali Pacha, mais que quoiqu'il soit dit dans le Firman émané de la Sublime Porte par lequel l'hérédité a été accordée, qu'on doit exécuter les dispositions du Hatti-Shérif de Gulhané, non seulement on ne les a pas exécutées, mais le Tanzimat Haïriyé n'a été publié même de vive voix en Egypte, ni du temps de feu Méhémet Ali, ni du temps de feu Ibrahim Pacha.

Les Egyptiens, les Arabes, et les tribus, ignorant le véritable motif de la détention des coupables en prison, ne seront plus retenus par aucune considération; et dès le moment qu'un criminel aura été emprisonné afin que l'on procède à la vérification de son crime, ses parens et les siens quitteront leurs labeurs ordinaires, leurs bestiaux et leurs occupations en général, et ils se mettent à roder par-ci, par-là. Même les habitans du village du coupable, affectés de sa détention, prendront la fuite; en conséquence de quoi les revenus publics ne pourront être recouvrés ni à tems ni entièrement, et le bon ordre du pays en souffrira.

Quoiqu'il en soit, moi, votre serviteur, étant l'ami sincère et fidèle de notre religion, de notre Gouvernement, de votre empire et de notre nation, j'ai pris l'engagement d'exécuter les points qui sont les bases du Tanzimat Haïriyé, savoir; la sûreté de la propriété, de la vie, et la conservation de l'honneur; et j'ai fait prendre aux troupes réglées de l'Egypte tout-à-fait le même vêtement que celui des troupes réglées Impériales à Constantinople; chose qui ne s'est effectuée que dans mon temps. C'est moi aussi qui ait rempli quelques conditions insérées dans le Firman qui accorde l'hérédité, conditions restées dans l'inexécution jusqu'à ma nomination comme Vali. Agissant en serviteur fidèle et dévoué, j'ai proposé et demandé l'amendement et l'arrangement de l'acte organique, sans porter atteinte ni causer du préjudice au bon ordre, au bien-être, et au repos de cette partie de l'Empire, et en autant que le pays peut le comporter, c'est-à-dire, en autant qu'on peut conformer les choses aux circonstances locales. Le principal objet, objet très utile que j'ai en vue, c'est de rendre toujours des services fidèles à l'Empire, de maintenir la prospérité et le repos de cette vaste et belle partie de l'empire du Sultan, et d'augmenter de plus en plus ses richesses et sa tranquillité sous les puissans auspices de Sa Hautesse. Mais si ma demande n'est pas accordée, si on me prive tout d'un coup et complètement du privilège du Khissas, les tribus Arabes et d'autres, comme je l'ai fait savoir il y a quelque temps, et dernièrement encore, et comme je viens de le représenter cette fois-ci aussi, des bandes de barbares qui n'ont pas encore compris et senti les avantages de la civilisation et de l'humanité, ne resteront pas certainement tranquilles; mais elles commenceront à commettre des actes de brigandage; la vie et la propriété des étrangers ne seront pas sûres, et, par conséquent, devenus inquiets, les étrangers ne cesseront guère d'importuner la Sublime Porte; et la sûreté et le repos dont le pays jouit actuellement, obtenus depuis longtemps avec tant d'efforts et de peines, seront indubitablement perdus.

Aussi est-ce d'après les inconvéniens et sur les considérations sus-énoncés que l'on a inséré dans le Firman Impérial concernant l'hérédité, la clause "en se conformant aux circonstances locales."

Non, la bonté et la clémence de Sa Majesté Impériale ne sauraient tolérer de pareils désordres, de tels actes de brigandage qui ruinent le pays. C'est pourquoi, et plein de confiance que Sa Majesté le Sultan daignera, d'après l'amour pour ses peuples et la bonté infinie qu'il a reçus du ciel comme son don, écouter favorablement mes respectueuses représentations, j'ose faire de nouveau l'exposé de la vérité du fait et renouveler ma prière.

Il n'est que juste et généreux de montrer de la confiance à un fidèle serviteur du Sultan. Je supplie donc votre Altesse de vouloir bien être, quoi que je ne sois pas digne, mon organe auprès de Sa Hautesse, lui baiser ses pieds, et mettre sous ces yeux toute la vérité du fait; et afin que chacun rentre dans un état normal et qu'il se tranquillise, et que cette province Impériale soit préservée de désordres et mise à l'abri de toute ruine, m'obtenir la faveur que le privilège du Khissas me soit conservé comme par le passé, et confirmé; ou bien qu'il me soit octroyé pour un terme convenu; soit huit à dix ans. Telle est la prière que je fais à votre Altesse en la suppliant d'une manière toute particulière de vouloir bien l'accueillir favorablement, étant à cette fin que j'ai l'honneur de lui adresser la présente lettre.

No. 180.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Earl Granville.—(*Received March 17.*)

(No. 8.)

My Lord, *Cairo, March 4, 1852.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have lately received a despatch from Sir Stratford Canning, informing me that notwithstanding the representations which he had made to the Sublime Porte in consequence of your Lordship's instructions respecting the continuance of the power of inflicting capital punishment hitherto exercised by the Viceroys of Egypt, there seemed as yet to exist but little disposition to adopt the friendly suggestions of Her Majesty's Government.

The advices received by the Viceroy from his Commissioners at Constantinople are to the effect that the British Ambassador's representations upon this subject had been seconded by the Representative of Austria, and also, though less warmly, by that of Russia.

The Prussian Ambassador had offered no recommendation whatever upon

the subject, and the French Ambassador had energetically opposed the Viceroy's cause.

Such being the communications made to His Highness by his Representatives at the Sublime Porte, I think it my duty to mention them to your Lordship, in order that you may compare them with the advices you may receive from the British Embassy.

It is almost superfluous to add that to all the Powers above mentioned the question at issue is one of a remote or secondary interest; whereas to England, whose safe and regular communications with India depend upon the tranquillity of Egypt and the adjoining Desert, it is one of vital importance.

I will not trouble your Lordship with a repetition of the arguments and observations which I have before submitted upon this subject, as I feel assured that your Lordship is already in possession of the merits of the case, and is prepared to take such measures as the protection of British commercial interests and of our Anglo-Indian intercourse may render necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 181.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 9. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, March 24, 1852.

Sir,

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that a private letter from Mr. Consul-General Murray reached Earl Granville on the 20th instant, which his Lordship forwarded to me, stating that Abbas Pasha was under considerable apprehensions respecting an attack upon Egypt from Constantinople.

Although Her Majesty's Government are inclined to believe that such apprehensions are only founded on vague rumours, and not traceable to any credible authority, they are confident that should the Sultan meditate any such measures against his vassal, he will not put them in force until your Excellency shall have used all your resources of argument and personal influence to arrest such a movement; and that your Excellency will point out to the Sultan all the dangers and difficulties he might bring on himself by taking coercive measures against the Pasha of Egypt, without first appealing to the Powers who were parties to the Treaty which resulted in the Firman which gave Egypt to Mehemet Ali and his successors.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 182.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 10.)

Foreign Office, March 24, 1852.

Sir,

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Murray respecting the apprehensions entertained by Abbas Pasha of an intended attack on the part of the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 183.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 1.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 24, 1852.

EARL GRANVILLE has forwarded to me a private letter which he received from you on the 20th instant, stating that Abbas Pasha was under considerable apprehensions respecting an attack upon Egypt from Constantinople. Her Majesty's Government are, however, inclined to believe that such apprehensions are only founded on vague rumours, and are not traceable to any credible authority.

Abbas Pasha must know that the British Government has recognized the Sultan's right to apply the Tanzimat to Egypt, and its application must be only a question of time. But Abbas Pasha may feel equally assured that England will not see with indifference any attack upon his rights as established by the Firman of 1841.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 184.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 2. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 24, 1852.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith confidentially, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir Stratford Canning respecting the apprehensions entertained by Abbas Pasha of an intended attack on the part of the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 185.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 30.)

(No. 80. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 28, 1852.

I HAVE been informed confidentially, that the French Government is favourably inclined towards the Porte in the Egyptian question; but as Great Britain and France have not always understood each other in questions relating to that part of the world, I have not thought myself justified in asking any questions of M. de Turgot without especial instructions from your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 186.

Sir Stratford Canning to Earl Granville.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 46.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, February 26, 1852.

AS the Council was expected to deliberate yesterday on Abbas Pasha's request to retain the privilege of giving effect to capital sentences in Egypt without reference to Constantinople, I made a point of seeing the Grand Vizier before the hour appointed for its meeting. At the interview which I obtained

with his Highness, I reminded him of your Lordship's instructions on that subject and of the memorials on which they were grounded, endeavouring at the same time to impress upon his mind the deep importance which Her Majesty's Government and a considerable portion of the commercial community in England attach to the point in question, and the painful, not to say indignant, disappointment which would infallibly result to both from an unseasonable disregard of their remonstrances. I further presented to him a memorandum or *note verbale*, which I had drawn up in French with a view to its being immediately read by those members of the Council who are acquainted with that language. A copy of the paper thus prepared is inclosed herewith. Your Lordship will observe that it comprises the leading arguments contained in the instructions and petitions. I have studied to adapt them to the state of feeling here, and as the chief difficulty lies with the Sultan, I have not hesitated to show that in case of a refusal, the British Government and nation would not be at a loss to recognize the quarter whence it came.

I called subsequently on the President of the Council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. To both I held similar language, and to the latter I read my *note verbale*, leaving it finally in his hands for communication to the Sultan as well as to his colleagues, and declaring my expectation that no decision should be taken on the point at issue until its contents had been fully weighed by His Majesty and his Council. Attention will no doubt be paid to this demand, and in the meantime I think it prudent to abstain from provoking any idle discussion. The Turkish Ministers can only insist upon their often-repeated objections until the Sultan's resolution is known to be shaken. Neither he nor they will yield the point except from deference to England, and fear of losing the good-will of Her Majesty's Government. Whether it be yielded or not, the course pursued by us appears in their view to be derived from exaggerated notions, and the influence of the Embassy is put to a very severe test. The Viceroy's Commissioners are encouraged by my exertions, but they find it difficult to conceal their despair.

Through them I have obtained a confirmation of my previous impression that the Austrian and Russian Representatives were favourably disposed. Conceiving that any support to be derived from those quarters would have most effect, under the circumstances, if disconnected with me, I engaged the Commissioners to see M. de Titoff as well as the Austrian and Prussian Chargés d'Affaires, in the hope of persuading them to make some demonstration at the Porte in favour of the Viceroy's request. This I am happy to say has been done by each of the two former, and it is probable that M. de Rosenberg will not lag behind, unless the daily expectation of his Minister's arrival from Athens may deter him from incurring the responsibility of taking an unauthorized step. Of the three Representatives in question, the Austrian is the most ready to step forward on Abbas Pasha's behalf. M. de Lavalette's opinions on the whole subject of Egypt and the Pasha's conduct are too exclusively national to warrant a hope of any support from him at the present juncture.

I avail myself of this opportunity to inclose a copy of my last despatch to Mr. Murray. Your Lordship will observe that I have therein expressed my apprehension of the Pasha's resorting to positive resistance in case of further disappointment. Private advices from Egypt justify a strong and painful foreboding in that respect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 186.

Memorandum on Capital Punishment in Egypt.

Péra, 23 *Février*, 1852.

GRACES au Tout-Puissant, les diverses questions qui s'étaient élevées entre la Sublime Porte et le Pacha d'Egypte sont heureusement résolues à la satisfaction de Sa Majesté le Sultan. Un seul point arrête encore pour un moment la communication formelle du Tanzimat au Pacha. Son Altesse désire que la faculté de faire exécuter les jugemens auxquels la loi attache la peine capitale lui soit laissée. Il nourrit ce désir dans l'intérêt de la province dont l'administration lui est confiée, et pour la tranquillité de laquelle il est toujours

plus ou moins responsable. Ayant à faire avec une population mixte, isolée, barbare, disposée au brigandage, et tenue dans la soumission par la crainte, il croit avoir besoin de tout le prestige d'un pouvoir sans recours en matière criminelle, pour la gouverner avec clémence et légalité. Ecarter toute chose qui pourrait affaiblir ou décréditer le Gouvernement local dans la sphère de ses attributions est d'autant plus urgent que les principes du Tanzimat doivent être bientôt établis en Egypte; l'attente de cette mesure a déjà excité les esprits et fait naître l'espoir d'un relâchement peu favorable au maintien du bon ordre.

Ce n'est pas uniquement le Pacha qui voit un danger éventuel dans l'innovation dont il est menacé. Le commerce en général partage l'inquiétude de Son Altesse, et les résidens étrangers en Egypte ont exprimé de haute voix le sentiment dont ils sont pénétrés. A Londres les négocians intéressés au trafic qui se fait soit avec l'Egypte, soit avec les Indes par l'Isthme de Suez, ont déclaré la même conviction. Des mémoires rédigés avec toute la force de la sincérité et revêtus de nombreuses signatures en font foi.

Le Gouvernement Britannique ne saurait être indifférent à un tel état de choses. Il verrait avec peine de si grands intérêts exposés sans la moindre nécessité à des chances dont il serait difficile de parer les conséquences. Il en serait d'autant plus affligé que la malaise de l'Egypte ne manquerait pas de se faire ressentir dans les autres parties de l'Empire Ottoman, en même temps que la sûreté d'une branche essentielle du commerce Anglais en resterait gravement compromise.

Quand on se demande pourquoi la Porte devrait affronter de pareils risques, la réponse n'est pas facile à trouver. Voudrait-elle sauvegarder le droit de souveraineté? Le droit n'est pas en question. Personne ne le conteste. Craindrait-elle l'abus du privilège? L'expérience dément cette crainte. Prétendait-elle que le Tanzimat s'y oppose? Il est notoire que le Firman d'hérédité tient compte des exceptions requises spécialement pour l'Egypte. Mettrait-elle en doute l'utilité de la grâce qu'on demande? L'opinion des mieux informés, l'instinct du commerce, les conseils des Puissances amies, et l'exemple de l'Angleterre par rapport à ses propres délégués, même au Vicerοi d'Irlande, concourent pour la constater. Lui répugnerait-il, enfin, de trop relever l'autorité d'un vassal? Un tel signe de méfiance serait tout-à-fait déplacé envers un Vizir, qui, tout en exerçant sans cesse le privilège en question, n'a jamais manqué d'obéir aux justes réquisitions de son Souverain.

Il est fort à désirer que cette affaire soit envisagée dans son vrai point de vue. Il y a eu dans le commencement des illusions, des malentendus, peut-être même des fautes. Les passions se sont allumées; les intrigans ont joué leur rôle; et des préventions difficiles à guérir occupent encore les esprits. Ce dérèglement nuit à bien des intérêts, et menace, pour peu qu'on le néglige, d'être une source permanente d'embarras et de malheur à toutes les parties intéressées. Le mot d'ordre doit sortir de la Porte. Abbas Pacha n'a pas été sourd aux conseils de la prudence. Il s'est soumis avec loyauté à Sa Majesté le Sultan. La grâce qu'il demande aujourd'hui est motivée par le désir de pouvoir répondre dignement à la confiance de son Souverain. La tranquillité de l'Egypte, le bien-être de sa population, la sûreté des voyagems et du commerce, l'intérêt général de l'Empire, et des considérations politiques d'une haute importance, engagent Sa Majesté à daigner la lui accorder. Un refus serait d'autant plus dur qu'il s'agit d'une chose dont l'existence n'a subi nulle interruption, nul reproche, depuis l'inauguration des Gouvernemens héréditaires en Egypte, et dont la continuation, au moins pour un certain temps, est instamment recommandée par un Gouvernement ami, convaincu de sa nécessité et fort des titres que lui fournit l'histoire de cette province à la sympathie et à la reconnaissance de la Porte.

On aurait, en vérité, pleine raison de s'étonner si le Gouvernement Ottoman persistait à se roidir aveuglement contre tant de considérations propres à lui indiquer la marche à suivre dans cette circonstance. Accorder ou refuser la grâce demandée par Abbas Pacha, moins pour lui-même que pour les intérêts de l'Egypte, de l'Empire, et du commerce, dépend exclusivement du Chef Suprême de l'Etat, dont le droit Impérial est reconnu par tout le monde et parfaitement garanti. Pour l'accorder le Souverain n'a qu'à laisser continuer ce qui existe déjà, se réservant la faculté d'y revenir en cas d'abus. Pour la refuser, Sa Majesté aurait à déclarer le Pacha d'Egypte privé dorénavant d'un privilège dont il jouit à l'instar de ses prédécesseurs, et dont l'abrogation, pro-

voquée par de fausses impressions, se présente au commerce Européen et au Gouvernement Britannique comme un juste sujet d'inquiétude et de remontrance.

Il est à remarquer, en conclusion, que les marchandises et les communications qui dépendent du transit en Egypte, sont, les unes d'une grande valeur, les autres de la plus haute importance. C'est l'Angleterre qui a l'intérêt le plus direct et le plus vaste dans la sûreté de ce passage. Jusqu'ici les voyageurs et négocians Anglais ont eu grande raison de se louer de la protection efficace que leur ont assurée les Gouverneurs héréditaires de l'Egypte. Le Gouverneur actuel a déclaré que le pouvoir du Khissas lui est nécessaire pour continuer à leur garantir cet avantage indispensable. L'opinion publique, non seulement en Egypte, mais en Angleterre aussi, s'accorde avec la déclaration de Son Altesse. Est-il donc possible qu'en face de ces témoignages imposans, la Porte se dispose par des motifs dénués de fondement, à renverser la digue qui abrite de si grands intérêts et à priver par ce moyen le commerce dont il s'agit, de la confiance qui est l'âme de ses entreprises et le gage de son succès? Assurément que non. La Porte ne voudrait pas courir le risque de réduire l'Egypte à l'état de Bagdad. Elle doit sentir l'importance de pouvoir compter sur l'affection comme sur la loyauté du Pacha. Elle est sans doute incapable de méconnaître ce qui est dû aux instances et aux intérêts de son allié le plus fidèle.

Inclosure 2 in No. 186.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 8.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February* 24, 1852.

AS the Egyptian Commissioners have apprized me of their intention to send off to-day one of the steam-packets at their disposal, I avail myself of the opportunity to acknowledge the last despatches which I have received from you. Their respective dates and numbers are noted in the margin.

Having my hands strengthened by fresh instructions from Her Majesty's Government, I am making the most strenuous exertions to obtain a favourable reconsideration of the Sultan's decision respecting the execution of capital sentences in Egypt. The chances of obtaining an assent in place of a refusal, where the Sovereign is known to have declared his pleasure in the latter sense, cannot be otherwise than slender; and unfortunately more recent circumstances, far from recommending the change, are calculated to rivet the first resolution by means of increased irritation, resentment, and suspicion.

The letter addressed on this subject by Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier appears to have been drawn up in judicious terms, nor have I heard that any exception has been taken to its expressions. But His Highness' appeal to the Consuls, the language which he is reported to have held at his interview with them, a general impression that the petitions transmitted to me have been got up under party influence, and some military movements indicating a preparation for resistance, have had no effect but that of confirming the Sultan's disinclination to comply with his vassal's request, and of furnishing the Viceroy's opponents with additional means of attack.

His Highness' letter was referred by the Sultan to his Council, and had I not requested some delay, a final decision would probably have been taken several days ago. The question now stands for deliberation to-morrow, and it will then be seen whether my urgent representations on the Pasha's behalf are likely to be attended with the desired result. My hopes are by no means sanguine; but the Pasha's request being now limited to a short term of years, while a compliance with it might be accompanied with safeguards against the possibility of abuse, it would seem unreasonable for the Porte to turn a deaf ear as well to the solicitations of its own functionary as to the entreaties of a friendly Government and the remonstrances of the mercantile body in Egypt.

Should the Viceroy be nevertheless destined to sustain a further and final disappointment in this matter, I venture to rely upon your influence for rescuing him from the danger of listening to counsels which by acting at once upon the springs of pride and fear might lead him into courses inconsistent with his duty to the Sultan and the tenure of his hereditary Government. As every pending

question between the Viceroy and the Porte appears to be settled, on the whole, with mutual satisfaction, excepting this single point of capital punishment, respecting which His Highness' request is urged on the mere grounds of favour and usefulness, with an ample admission of the Sultan's right, there would be much room for surprise if the Viceroy were to be hurried by his feelings to the extremity of resistance, and to drag the Empire into a struggle of which it would be easier to foresee the end than to calculate the cost.

I received but yesterday a distinct assurance from Aali Pasha that no Turkish troops have been sent, as reported, towards the frontier of Egypt; and I learn this morning that his Excellency has declared to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires that no measures of a nature offensive to Egypt are as yet in the contemplation of the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 187.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 1.)

(No. 60.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 19, 1852.

INCLOSED herewith for your Lordship's information, is a translated copy of a confidential reply to my memorandum on the subject of Abbas Pasha's wish to retain the power of carrying into execution capital sentences without referring to Constantinople. It was communicated to me by Aali Pasha after I had demanded an audience of the Sultan in pursuance of Lord Granville's instruction. It was accompanied with a message expressing His Majesty's readiness to receive me if I should still desire an audience after perusing it.

I have since waited on the Grand Vizier, and told him that I must persist, under my instructions, in soliciting an audience, and the more so as I had found in the reply to my memorandum nothing which had not been anticipated.

Though I preferred this mode of dealing with the paper in question, as most favourable to the interest which I am instructed to support, the arguments adduced by the Porte are by no means unworthy of your Lordship's attention.

The short discussion which ensued between Reshid Pasha and myself was characterized by a certain degree of vivacity on both sides. He accused Abbas Pasha of seeking to humiliate the Sultan, and he threatened to send away the Egyptian Commissioners, who according to his statement had appealed to the foreign Representatives and endeavoured to excite them against the Porte. I defended both the Viceroy and his Commissioners from these aspersions, and insisted on the impolicy of placing the Sultan without necessity in a position of antagonism to the local interests of Egypt and the urgent solicitations of England.

I took occasion also to offer some remarks on the announced intention of sending Fuad Effendi on a special mission to Cairo. I repeated what I had already observed to Aali Pasha on this subject, namely, that the moment was ill-chosen for sending such a mission at all, and that the measure itself was the more liable to misconstruction from Fuad Effendi's well-known attachment to the Grand Vizier. The Sultan was of course at liberty to do as he pleased, but I could not disguise my impression that His Majesty had not been well counselled in the matter. I expressed, moreover, an earnest hope that Fuad Effendi would at all events not leave Constantinople before my audience, and that formal assurances respecting the object and character of his mission would be given to me for the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government.

Reshid Pasha informed me in reply, that the object of the intended mission was to regulate several pending questions concerning the Viceroy's relations with his family, and to obtain from local inquiry a more precise knowledge of the state of affairs in Egypt. I have since been further assured by Aali Pasha that Fuad Effendi's mission, far from involving any hostile intention towards Abbas Pasha, is altogether of a conciliatory and amicable nature.

I am not sanguine enough to expect that I shall succeed in obtaining either a postponement of the mission or a compliance with the Pasha's request; nor

can I shut my eyes to the danger which threatens our influence at the Seraglio. But my instructions are peremptory, and I feel the obligation of showing beyond a question that the Viceroy's favourite point has received the full and unreserved exertions of Her Majesty's Embassy in its support.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 187.

Memorandum of the Porte on Capital Punishment in Egypt.

L'EGYPTE fait partie de l'Empire, et c'est pour cela que Sa Hautesse n'a rien tant à cœur comme l'augmentation de sa tranquillité, de sa sécurité, et de son bien-être, ainsi que la dignité du Vali de cette province. La Sublime Porte a déjà donné des preuves incontestables de ses égards pour le Gouvernement Anglais, par les marques de la véritable amitié qu'il a données jusqu'à présent, et par la juste appréciation de ses conseils bienveillans. Tout le monde convient des facilités que la Porte a données au commerce.

La résolution qui a été prise par la Porte relativement à la question dont il s'agit n'est en aucune manière contraire aux points qui ont été représentés.

La faveur que demande le Pacha d'Egypte touche aux droits sacrés du Sultan, et consiste en un sacrifice qui n'est pas du tout nécessaire; et c'est ce que nous allons prouver de nouveau, en remettant à la justice et à la bienveillance de son Excellence Sir Stratford Canning les considérations suivantes.

D'après la Loi Musulmane, la peine capitale décrétée contre un assassin par un Ilam donné par le tribunal ne peut être exécutée qu'à la demande des héritiers de la personne assassinée. Du moment que les héritiers dispensent l'assassin de subir le Khissas (la loi du talion), l'autorité n'a plus aucun pouvoir de mettre le Khissas à exécution; c'est pourquoi l'exécution ou la non-exécution du Khissas dépend de la volonté de la partie plaignante, et non des ordres de l'autorité gouvernementale. Et certes il n'y a aucun déshonneur pour le Pacha, pas l'ombre de danger pour la tranquillité du pays, à demander d'après la règle établie, un Firman d'ici pour l'exécution du Khissas.

Venons à la question de la punition par la peine capitale des hommes qui se sont révoltés contre l'autorité établie. Cette question a deux faces: 1°. La catégorie des hommes qui se sont rendus coupables de prendre les armes contre l'autorité établie, et qui, pour avoir résisté aux ordres de l'autorité, sont attaqués par des troupes; ceux qui tombent morts en combattant ne font que subir la peine qui est une suite de la mesure de nécessité qui a été prise. Si l'on ne pouvait rien faire avant de demander des ordres d'ici dans les cas de rebellion dont on vient de parler, alors, comme Abbas Pacha le pense, une rude atteinte serait portée au bon ordre du pays. La seconde catégorie est celle des hommes pris après avoir commis des actes de rebellion; comme ceux-ci ne sont plus en état de faire du mal, il ne faut pas les mettre d'abord à mort; il faut qu'ils soient jugés, et s'ils sont légalement condamnés à la peine capitale, il faut que la peine soit mise à exécution; mais attendre une à deux semaines la réception des ordres d'ici, n'est pas une chose capable d'encourager les mal-intentionnés.

Quand même les habitans de l'Egypte seraient réellement enclins au brigandage, comme cela est dit dans le mémoire, il est clair que le fait de la demande des ordres d'ici ne peut pas les enhardir. Le fondement du maintien du bon ordre consiste dans la certitude de la punition des hommes barbares lorsqu'ils ont commis quelque crime, la certitude de subir la peine qu'ils ont méritée, et non pas dans la mise à exécution quelques jours plus tôt de la peine prononcée par le tribunal. Si Son Altesse le Pacha d'Egypte veut aller jusqu'à pouvoir exercer le droit de la peine capitale sans un jugement, bien que l'on puisse admettre l'idée qui lui passe par la tête que la publication de ce manque d'autorité lui ferait tort aux yeux du peuple, et que la crainte qui est le moyen de maintenir le bon ordre disparaîtrait du cœur du peuple, Son Altesse sait que ce qu'il veut est défendu par tous les Gouvernemens, et on ne peut pas lui supposer cette volonté. Il faut donc croire que ce que le Pacha veut est au fond que les malfaiteurs soient intimidés par la rigueur de la loi.

Il est vrai que cette crainte est nécessaire pour l'administration du pays.

Et si l'on disait que le peuple sachant que le Pacha ne peut pas mettre à mort à volonté, quelque mal résulterait de cette connaissance, et que de la non-autorisation à Abbas Pacha de mettre à mort sans que la loi l'ait ordonné, l'administration perdrait de son énergie, on pourrait tout de même dire que la publication de la nécessité d'obtenir la permission du Sultan, le maître de l'empire, est sujette aussi à des inconvéniens. Mais le fait est, que cette prétention d'Abbas Pacha, c'est-à-dire, celle de mettre à mort les coupables sans recours à une sentence juridique, est une chose qui ne peut ni être demandée par lui, ni accordée par la loi. Aucun inconvénient ne saurait naître de la connaissance par le peuple que les accusés ne peuvent pas être mis à mort sans un jugement préalable; aucun danger, aucun mal, ne sauraient non plus survenir de la connaissance par le peuple que le Pacha ne peut pas mettre à mort un homme sans en avoir obtenu l'autorisation de son Souverain légitime.

Venons à la diversité des caractères des habitans de l'Egypte. La Porte n'a pas besoin de rappeler au souvenir d'un homme aussi versé dans des connaissances historiques que son Excellence Sir Stratford Canning, que les habitans de l'Egypte se font voir depuis 3000 ans soumis et obéissans aux ordres positifs et négatifs de tel Gouvernement qui existe et qui y domine. Non, il n'y a aucun doute que le Pacha lui-même a la conviction intime que du court délai qui s'écoulera jusqu'à ce que l'on obtienne l'autorisation de Sa Majesté Impériale pour l'exécution du Khissas, il ne peut pas s'ensuivre que le peuple Egyptien se départe de ses communes habitudes, qu'il oppose de la résistance à l'autorité administrative, et qu'il se mette à commettre des déprédations.

Il n'y a rien dans les Tanzimat qui puisse laisser impunis les coupables. La fin qu'on s'est proposé en les faisant, leur effet naturel sont, ainsi que toutes les religions l'exigent, ainsi que les lois de tous les Gouvernemens et de toutes les nations l'ont entendu, de substituer à l'arbitraire une autorité équitable. Voilà la fin très-salutaire qu'on s'est proposée par les Tanzimat; ainsi si la nouvelle qui a couru de leur introduction en Egypte a causé de l'inquiétude dans les esprits, ce sera le Pacha lui-même qui aura produit cet effet dans les esprits. Et si, par impossible, quelques hommes ont conçu de l'inquiétude à cet égard, dès que ces hommes auront compris ce que c'est que les Tanzimat, ils seront convaincus qu'ils étaient en erreur.

Il conste de ces détails aussi, que si l'on examine à fond le danger annoncé par le Pacha, et l'inquiétude et la peur qu'il a inspirées aux négocians étrangers, on verra qu'ils sont dénués de fondement. Dieu en soit loué! il n'est pas question de prendre en Egypte des mesures extraordinaires. Le commerce n'a donc rien à craindre par-là, et on ne peut voir aucun motif pour le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de s'inquiéter. Et ainsi qu'on l'a dit plus haut, la Sublime Porte écoute toujours les conseils bienveillans de l'auguste Cour de la Grande Bretagne, et n'omet rien de ce qui peut faciliter son commerce; ce qui prouve tout cela et fait voir qu'elle ne veut rien faire qui puisse tourner au préjudice de son commerce c'est la permission qu'elle a accordée tout récemment pour la construction d'un chemin de fer.

Il est vrai, en effet, que la faveur demandée par Abbas Pacha a été accordée par le Gouvernement Britannique à quelques-uns de ses Etats; mais il est superflu de dire que la nature et les règlemens de chaque pays ne peuvent être appliqués à un autre pays. Une chose, par exemple, avantageuse ici, est comme on sait, nuisible en Angleterre; et nous avons l'espoir fondé que M. l'Ambassadeur, doué comme il est d'un profond discernement et d'une parfaite sagacité, conviendra que la mesure en question ne saurait pour plusieurs raisons être appliquée à l'Egypte.

Dans le Firman de l'hérédité, on fait voir, il est vrai, que quelque exception à l'égard de l'Egypte, suivant les circonstances intérieures, quant aux détails du Tanzimati Hairiyé sont permises; mais ces exceptions ne concernent que les conséquences et nullement les principes. Il est dit aussi dans le Firman, que tous les règlemens fondamentaux de la Sublime Porte doivent, au privilège de l'hérédité accordée aux Pachas d'Egypte près, être mis complètement à exécution en Egypte aussi, tout-à-fait et dans chaque point, comme ils le sont par les autres Vizirs de la Sublime Porte. D'après cela, et considérant que dans la manière de voir de la Sublime Porte, que dis-je! dans la manière de voir de tout le monde, il n'y a pas de règlement d'une plus haute importance que celui dont il s'agit; considérant que le Traité conclu à Londres le 15 Juillet, 1840,

de l'ère Chrétienne entre les Quatre Hautes Puissances, sans faire mention de ces exceptions, dit clairement en termes généraux, que tous les règlemens de la Sublime Porte doivent être complètement mis à exécution en Egypte aussi, la faveur demandée à présent si elle était accordée, serait en contradiction avec deux points importans insérés dans le Firman Impérial sus-mentionné, à savoir, le plus important des réglemens fondamentaux de la Sublime Porte sortirait de sa compétence; et ce serait aussi accorder aux Pachas d'Egypte un privilège de plus que celui de l'hérédité, ce qui aurait changé les conditions de l'hérédité. Or, l'insistance sur ce point met Son Altesse Abbas Pacha en contradiction avec les conditions susdites, tandis qu'on sait combien de facilités ont été données dans les négociations qui ont eu lieu avec les Commissaires arrivés dernièrement de sa part au sujet des points qui découlent des principes des Tanzimat, et dont l'exécution a été résolue.

Les inconvéniens montrés par Son Altesse Abbas Pacha comme dérivant du refus de la faveur demandée, sont dénués de fondement. Au contraire, l'accorder ce sera toucher aux droits sacrés du Sultan, et violer les conditions du Commandement Impérial de l'hérédité; et c'est pourquoi il n'y a aucun doute qu'on ne peut pas dire qu'Abbas Pacha ait raison d'insister sur la demande qu'il fait, ni que la Sublime Porte la refuse sans raison.

Si jusqu'à présent ni Abbas Pacha ni ses prédécesseurs n'ont pas eu recours ici, cela ne veut pas dire que ce droit leur a été donné. La question qui s'agite aujourd'hui ne provient pas d'une intention d'affaiblir l'influence de l'administration du Pacha, ni de lui témoigner de la méfiance, mais de la nécessité qui prend sa source dans les circonstances qu'il s'agit du plus important des points principaux des Tanzimat, et que d'après le Firman susdit on doit introduire en Egypte aussi les points principaux des Tanzimat. La question dont nous parlons roule sur un point essentiel qui fixe les limites des devoirs et du privilège des Pachas d'Egypte. Son Altesse Abbas Pacha n'a absolument aucune raison de considérer cela comme un méfiance, parceque ce n'est pas une chose inventée et imaginée contre lui, une chose qui le concerne particulièrement, mais les principes fondamentaux sont l'âme des Gouvernemens, et comme tels ils sont de la plus haute importance; et la Sublime Porte est convaincue qu'il serait déraisonnable d'y mêler des personnalités.

Il est dit dans le mémoire que nous avons reçu, que si la Sublime Porte refuse la faveur demandée, elle aura mis la Province d'Egypte aussi dans l'état où Bagdad se trouve. Avant que le Sultan, la gloire du Gouvernement et de la nation, eût octroyé les Tanzimat à l'Empire et à ses sujets, la plupart des Gouverneurs mettaient à mort ceux qu'ils voulaient, et cela pour assurer, comme ils croyaient, la tranquillité et la sécurité publiques; et malgré cela il n'y avait dans aucune partie de l'Empire ni sûreté ni repos. Mais qu'on voye quelle différence immense, sous ces rapports, entre ces temps-là et depuis que, grâce aux Tanzimat, le pouvoir de vie et de mort a été levé aux Gouverneurs! Si certaines choses se sont passées à Bagdad, ces choses n'ont pas eu lieu parceque le Pacha de Bagdad ne peut mettre personne à mort sans y être autorisé par la Sublime Porte. Et même dans les pays les mieux administrés il se passe souvent des choses semblables à celles qui se passent à Bagdad. Mais nul doute que son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur, cet ami de la vérité et de la justice, ne convienne que des cas particuliers ne peuvent pas détruire une règle générale.

En un mot, on vient de voir les motifs et les excuses qui mettent la Sublime Porte dans l'impossibilité d'accorder la demande faite par Son Altesse le Pacha d'Egypte. La Sublime Porte ne doute nullement que le Gouvernement Britannique les appréciera avec justice, qu'il leur donnera toute l'attention qu'ils méritent, et qu'il avouera que la Sublime Porte est tout-à-fait dans son droit; et c'est ce qui est porté confidentiellement à la connaissance de M. l'Ambassadeur, par ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale.

22 *Djemazi-ul-Evvel*, 1268. (13 *Mars*, 1852.)

No. 188.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Earl Granville.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 9.)

My Lord, *Cairo, March* 12, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, relative to the power of executing capital sentences in Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 188.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 5.)

Sir, *Cairo, March* 6, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch No. 3, dated 24th February last, and in reply to express my regret that notwithstanding the recent and more urgent recommendations offered to the Sublime Porte, to the effect that the power of executing capital sentences hitherto exercised by the Viceroys of Egypt should be continued to Abbas Pasha, there appears to be a strong if not an increased unwillingness on the part of the Sultan to gratify his vassal and his ally at the same by granting the request referred to.

I am not much surprised, Sir, however much I may regret, that the irritation, resentment, and suspicion entertained against the Viceroy should be either increased or diminished by late events, for while there exists so large a party both in Egypt and at Constantinople busily employed in perverting, misconstruing, and exaggerating all that His Highness says or does, it is very natural that the Sultan when their reports reach his ears, should be irritated and offended; and so long as His Majesty shall listen to the suggestions of that party or their protectors, it is impossible that there can ever be a renewal of the friendly relations that should exist between the Sultan and his vassal.

For instance, considering that it was the arms of the Five Powers and not of the Sublime Porte that placed Mehemet Ali in the limited sphere that his successor now occupies, it seems very reasonable that, when threatened with the withdrawal of the most important of all his administrative functions, the Viceroy should call together the Representatives of those Powers and ask their opinion as to the effect which such a withdrawal would have on the tranquillity of the country, and on the security of European life and property; and if in the course of that interview His Highness did, in a moment of excitement, utter a sentiment that might have given just umbrage to the Sublime Porte, as he withdrew and retracted it most fully immediately afterwards, and told us that we were to consider those expressions as unsaid, it was equally unfair in any Consul to report them, and in the Sublime Porte to listen to them.

As to the memorandum sent to your Excellency having been got up under party influence, all that I have to say is, that not only was it signed by the English residents of every class of life and every shade of politics, but it must ere this be known by the Governments of all the Powers, that the sentiments which it embodied were shared by all the European residents in Egypt, however jealous many of them may be of English interests and influence.

While the irritation on the Sultan's mind is kept up by misrepresentations such as these, that on the Viceroy's side is studiously fostered by the Sublime Porte itself.

His Highness writes a letter of condolence according to custom to Reshid Pasha on his retirement from the post of Grand Vizier, and its expressions, although worded in the most friendly and respectful manner, are complained of as being discourteous.

It has lately occurred that the Governor of Yemen and other Turkish Pashas passing through Egypt on their way to the Red Sea, went first to Said Pasha, Ahmed Pasha, and the other leaders of the disaffected family party at Alexandria, and afterwards paid their visit to the Viceroy; His Highness says that the Sublime Porte must well know that in Mehemet Ali's time no Pasha or personage coming to Egypt from Constantinople, ever paid a visit to any other member of the family until he had first seen the Viceroy, and His Highness of course considers the deviation from this rule as a decided slight.

Such, Sir, are some of the causes of irritation against which we have to contend in our endeavours to restore the amicable relations between the Sultan and the vassal. It is a difficult task, and will be rendered doubly so if His Majesty should persist in rejecting the advice respecting capital punishment which I have reason to believe has been or will be offered to him with more or less warmth by all the Great European Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. MURRAY.

No. 189.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Cowley.

(No. 47.)
Foreign Office, April 2, 1852.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 80, of the 28th ultimo, respecting the views of the French Government in regard to the matter in dispute between the Ottoman Government and Abbas Pasha, I have to state to your Excellency that it is not necessary that you should voluntarily seek any communication with M. Turgot upon this subject. But it may be useful for your own guidance, that I should refer you to the various despatches relative to this question which you will find in the archives of your Embassy, and which will show you that Her Majesty's Government admit the right of the Sultan to execute the Tanzimat in Egypt; but that they have represented to the Sultan the expediency of deferring the application to Egypt of that part of the law which relates to capital punishments, until such time as property may be considered on a safe footing in its transit between Alexandria and Suez.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 190.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 3.)
Foreign Office, April 8, 1852.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 9, of the 12th of March, inclosing a copy of a despatch which you had written to Sir Stratford Canning on the 6th of that month, respecting the continued refusal of the Porte to defer to the wishes of Abbas Pasha in regard to the execution of capital sentences in Egypt, without the previous sanction of the Sultan.

Her Majesty's present Government, no less than their predecessors, have acknowledged the Sultan's right to extend the Tanzimat to Egypt; and the Sultan has hitherto persisted in doing so. All that Her Majesty's Government under existing circumstances can do is to act at Constantinople by moral weight, by argument, and by proof that Egypt would not be a secure road or residence if the Tanzimat prevailed there.

Her Majesty's Government have reason to fear that the natural dislike existing in the breasts of two men placed in so anomalous a position as Abbas Pasha and the Sultan, has not been sufficiently discouraged by British Agents, who ought to use every means to soften such feelings.

The Pasha must use respectful remonstrances against the Tanzimat, and it will be your duty to assist him in framing such remonstrances as Sir Stratford

Canning can support; and you and Sir Stratford Canning must severally do all in your power to prevent a collision between the Sultan and his vassal.

All that Her Majesty's Government can now ask of the Sultan is to delay for a time the enforcement of the Tanzimat in Egypt; and to urge the Pasha to violent resistance would be a most fatal course.

You will have seen by my despatch to Sir Stratford Canning No. 9, of the 24th of March, of which a copy was transmitted to you in my despatch No. 2 of that day's date, that his Excellency has been instructed to prevent any attack on Egypt, and if the Sultan should meditate such an attack, to endeavour to induce His Highness to refer to the Powers* who signed the Treaty which led to the Firman of 1841.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 191.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 4.)
Foreign Office, April 8, 1852.

Sir,

I HAVE to state to you that Her Majesty's Government consider that under existing circumstances it might be desirable that Abbas Pasha should be induced to withdraw his Commissioners from Constantinople, where their arguments against the Tanzimat can have no result but that of keeping up the existing irritation. If the efforts of a powerful and friendly Power like England, exercised both in London and Constantinople, prove unavailing to shake the Sultan's determination, it is clear that no language used by persons who must obviously be disliked by him can prevail.

I have accordingly to instruct you to recommend the Pasha to adopt this course.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 192.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 16.)
Foreign Office, April 8, 1852.

Sir,

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information a copy of a despatch† which I have addressed to Mr. Murray, respecting the discussions now pending between the Porte and Abbas Pasha.

As Her Majesty's late and present Government have successively recognized the right of the Sultan to apply the Tanzimat to Egypt, and as it appears by your last despatch, No. 60, of the 19th of March, that the Sultan is determined sooner or later to exercise this right, the doing so can only be a question of time; and the accounts given by men equally experienced in Eastern affairs vary so much as to the probable effects which the application of those ordinances to Egypt will have on the security of life and property in that country, that it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to decide whether such a change of the law, as would result from the introduction of the Tanzimat, has the real importance attributed to it by some persons.

One thing appears certain, that the power of life and death is looked upon as an indispensable attribute and emblem of sovereignty both by the Sultan and by the Pasha.

Her Majesty's Government has some reason to fear that sufficient care has not been taken by those in communication with the Sultan and Abbas Pasha to soften the unavoidable jealousies arising from their anomalous position relatively to each other; and that the excitement of local politics has, in Egypt especially,

* France was not party to this Treaty.

† No. 191.

caused the British Agent to narrow the scope of his vision, and to forget all the bearings of the case upon the future as well as the immediate interests of England; whether, in fact, he may not have identified himself too personally with the Pasha, however ably and according to his instructions he has advocated his cause against an unfair invasion of authority.

If your Excellency should think that such has been the case you will see that my despatch to Mr. Murray is framed with the view of recalling him to an impartial view of the position of affairs.

Her Majesty's Government cannot but see the whole importance of the Egyptian question as regards the communication between England and India; but it is precisely for this reason that circumstances oblige them to look further, to the future as well as the present moment. If the present Pasha should die, his successor will notoriously be a Frenchman in habits and feeling; and with such a ruler in Egypt, and with a Sultan at Constantinople whom Her Majesty's Government should have alienated from England, British interests would be in a more precarious situation than they now are or are likely to be, should the Sultan peremptorily enforce the Tanzimat in his vassal's dominions. Any independent authority or moral power which we should from present convenience have added to the Egyptian Executive, would be used against us hereafter under a new Pasha, and we should have weakened and offended our old ally.

Her Majesty's Government consider that two courses are at present open to your Excellency to pursue:

1st. That your Excellency should again try to obtain a suspension of the enforcement of the Tanzimat in Egypt for two years, or until the railway is finished to Cairo, on the ground that it would be unfair to the English contractor, Mr. Stephenson, who is seriously alarmed for the safety of his works, to deprive him of the security on the faith of which he undertook to carry them into execution.

Or 2ndly. That your Excellency should suggest that the Sultan might leave to the Pasha a limited power of immediate capital punishment, confining it to cases of high treason against himself, and of murder, to both or either, or to any other crime your Excellency may think proper to include.

Her Majesty's Government consider that some adjustment of this kind might be effected by your Excellency's ability and discretion.

Her Majesty's Government also consider that it might be desirable that Abbas Pasha should be induced to withdraw his Commissioners from Constantinople, where their arguments against the Tanzimat can have no result but that of keeping up the existing irritation; and your Excellency will see by the inclosed copy of a further despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Murray,* that I have instructed him to recommend this course to the Pasha.

Your Excellency will understand from what I have now said, that Her Majesty's Government consider that the great object at present is to soften down the personal jealousies between the Sultan and Abbas Pasha, by showing how the indulgence of them will tell against their own personal and public interests.

Your Excellency will prevent to the utmost of your power any overt acts of coercion on the part of the Porte, or the issue of any Firman of destitution, or any other decree which could so humiliate Abbas Pasha, or weaken his power as to encourage against him any of those family conspiracies which are supposed to be smouldering in Egypt; and should the controversy reach extremes, your Excellency will exercise all your influence to have the question referred to the Powers who signed the Treaty of the 15th of July, 1840.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

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* No. 191.

No. 193.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir Stratford Canning**.

(Separate and Secret.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 8, 1852.*

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are not without some anxiety lest a squadron of eight French sail of the line which went to Algiers about a week ago, may possibly be designed to convey troops to Egypt; and they have accordingly directed the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean to cruize with his squadron in the direction which in such a contingency the French squadron might be expected to take.

As the language of the French Government at present is, that the Sultan is right in enforcing the Tanzimat in Egypt, it is not likely that they would accept an invitation of the Pasha to land troops at Alexandria for the purpose of protecting him in his recusancy; but I have instructed Mr. Murray, if the Pasha should show any disposition to apply for assistance from French troops, to oppose his doing so in the strongest manner.

It appears to be out of the question that the Sultan should encourage such a demonstration on the part of France even in support of his own ideas.

But there may be a third case, that, namely, of the French troops attempting to land at Alexandria without invitation; and I have instructed Mr. Murray in such a case to express to Abbas Pasha the hope of Her Majesty's Government that he would look upon such a landing of French troops as an invasion, and meet it with resistance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 194.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 10.)

My Lord, *Cairo, March* 23, 1852.

I TAKE the opportunity of the departure of the Austrian steamer to inform your Lordship that I have just received a despatch from Sir Stratford Canning advising me that the Turkish Divan had resolved to deprive the Viceroy of Egypt of the power of carrying into execution capital sentences hitherto enjoyed by himself and his predecessors, and that although his Excellency is to have an interview with the Sultan upon the subject, he entertains scarcely any hope of obtaining the annulment or even the suspension of the firman about to be issued.

Your Lordship being already in possession of all the facts and circumstances referring to this question, and being aware of its vital importance not only to the security of our Anglo-Indian intercourse but also to that of the lives and properties of European residents and travellers in Egypt, it is unnecessary for me to dilate upon it. The fact that it is a pure act of spite intended to humiliate the Viceroy and to take from him the means of maintaining the tranquillity of this country, may be inferred from two considerations: 1st, the unexampled prosperity of this country, coupled with the unprecedented moderation which the Viceroy has hitherto shown in the exercise of this power; and 2nd, if it were merely a question of asserting a sovereign prerogative, that prerogative would be exercised as evidently and efficiently by delegating it to the Viceroy in a firman for a limited term of years, as by withdrawing it altogether.

Neither can there be any doubt that one of the chief causes of this humiliation to which the Viceroy is about to be subjected has been his marked friendship for England, and his constant leaning towards her commercial interests.

Whether this measure (if adopted) will defer or prevent the completion of the railway now in progress, it is impossible to foretell with any certainty; but its bearing upon all our commercial relations here may be gathered from the

* A similar despatch to Mr. Murray.

fact that I am at this moment engaged in assisting the chief Agent of the Honourable East India Company to make a contract with the Viceroy for carrying the Anglo-Indian mails through Europe by means of the Egyptian Transit Administration, according to which arrangement a considerable present advantage will accrue to the public in respect of time, and a saving of expense to the Honourable East India Company in future, inasmuch as the bulk of the India mails is daily increasing.

The very first article of the proposed agreement is that the Viceroy guarantees the security of the mails, provided that he himself continues in the undisturbed exercise of those powers which he has hitherto enjoyed for maintaining the tranquillity of the province and the adjacent deserts.

Thus we are threatened at the very outset with an interruption of the proposed beneficial project, by the mischievous and vexatious measure about to be carried out at Constantinople. It is more than probable that the Sublime Porte, if applied to on this particular point, would offer a similar guarantee; but it would exist merely in words, for they are no more able to insure obedience and tranquillity among the Bedouins of the Suez Desert, than they are at present able to enforce it among those of Syria or the Hedjaz.

It is for Her Majesty's Government to decide what tone they will adopt towards the Sublime Porte in respect of this unfriendly conduct towards a Power which has so lately and so frequently afforded it substantial assistance in the hour of need. For myself, it is my duty, and it shall be my earnest endeavour, to follow out the instructions of Her Majesty's Ambassador, and to use my best influence with the Viceroy to prevent him from exhibiting his vexation in a manner calculated to endanger the public peace, or to give the Sublime Porte a pretext for declaring him a rebel to his Sovereign.

Since writing the above I have received a private letter from Sir Stratford Canning, informing me that the Sublime Porte had determined on sending Fuad Effendi to Egypt in the course of eight or ten days. The ostensible purpose of his mission is to obtain information respecting the probable effects of withdrawing the Khissas (power of life and death). This, however, cannot be its real purpose; for if it had been so, it is obvious that the Sublime Porte would have sought and obtained this information before and not after deciding the question in the negative.

It is to be apprehended that the secret object of the mission of Fuad Effendi is to discover the relative strength of the parties here; and in the event of his being able to find or make a pretext for deposing Abbas Pasha, to ascertain whether it would be practicable to enforce obedience to a firman conferring the Viceroyalty on Said Pasha, who is both the head of the French or family party and the next in order of succession.

Should Fuad Effendi ascertain the improbability of the success of such an attempt, he may then fulfil his ostensible mission, and after having given to the Viceroy the usual assurances of friendship and the highest consideration, return to Constantinople.

In the event of the former of these issues, it would have been highly desirable, both for the protection of British interests, and with a view to the prevention of an attempt, which, whether successful or unsuccessful, must be disastrous to us, that one or two English ships of war had been in Alexandria Harbour; but I understand that the greater part of the Mediterranean fleet has sailed towards Minorca, leaving only a few vessels at Malta.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 195.

Sir H. Seymour to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 31.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March* 31, 1852.

I HAVE renewed my inquiries of the Chancellor as to the course which he proposed taking with regard to the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt.

After stating that no final decision as to the course which would be approved of had yet been taken, Count Nesselrode said that he would nevertheless observe that he must admit it would be a strong measure to deprive

the Pasha entirely of the power of inflicting capital punishment; and that this consideration had prompted him already to write to Constantinople, and to suggest that the Porte should be recommended to devise some "terme moyen."

In reply to my inquiry as to the nature of this middle course, Count Nesselrode replied that he had no very decided opinion upon the point, but that it appeared to him that it might be found expedient to leave in the Pasha's hands the right of dealing summarily with such malefactors as robbers and murderers, the Porte reserving to itself the right of deciding whether capital punishments should be inflicted upon criminals of a higher station.

I inquired of Count Nesselrode whether he had heard any report of the intention ascribed to the Sultan of deposing his vassal. His Excellency had heard, but did not attach any belief to the rumour; according to the intelligence of which he was in possession, one of the great officers of the Crown was, on the contrary, to be dispatched from Constantinople to Egypt, for the purpose of adjusting the differences between the Sultan and the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 196.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received April* 12.)

(No. 63.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 22, 1852.

THE audience for which I had applied to the Sultan took place this morning. It was private, but Aali Pasha attended. The Sultan listened with calmness to all that I urged on behalf of Abbas Pasha, and when I was silent he replied by explaining that the measure which appeared so unpalateable to His Highness was a natural consequence of the introduction of the Tanzimat Hümiyé into Egypt, and that even if it could be dispensed with it would still be necessary to ascertain by local investigation, whether its relinquishment was really, as alleged, essential to the maintenance of good order and the security of commerce there.

He went on to assure me that the character and object of Fuad Effendi's mission to Cairo were altogether friendly, and destitute of any reserved purpose, any "arrière-pensée," said His Majesty, who is now making some progress in French. He added, good-humouredly, that the Pasha could not complain of the delay, since he continued meanwhile in possession of the power which he rated so highly.

Considering this respite to be as much as there was any chance of obtaining under present circumstances, and having previously exhausted all that could be said in the way of argument, I pressed the matter no further. I had already gone the length of intimating that a refusal on His Majesty's part would produce so painful an impression in England as to shake that confidence which formed the basis of a cordial sympathy and virtual alliance between the two countries and their respective Governments. It was observable that on this occasion the Sultan said nothing expressive of a desire to maintain that policy unimpaired. He is no doubt jealous of the Viceroy's hold upon English support, and it is probably one of the objects of Fuad's mission to dissuade His Highness from leaning upon that or any foreign connexion.

Whether it be so or not, the Egyptian negotiation ceases here for the present; what may remain to be done is in the Viceroy's own hands, and it will require a strong exertion of whatever prudence he possesses, to bring the Sultan's Commissioner into his views. If both parties, laying aside their jealousies and suspicions, would be content to rest in good faith on the Firman of investiture, there would be ample room for mutual accommodation and renewed confidence between them. Whatever disappointment the Pasha's more sanguine hopes may have undergone, it must be allowed in fairness that he owes this opportunity to British influence at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 197.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 64.)

Constantinople, March 29, 1852.

My Lord,

THE Sultan's Commissioner, Fuad Effendi, embarked for Alexandria late on the 27th instant in the screw-steamer which Abbas Pasha presented to His Majesty some time ago.

On the same evening, Edhem Pasha, the Viceroy's Chief Commissioner, embarked for the same destination in an Egyptian steam-packet.

To the latter I consigned my despatches for Mr. Murray, and the accompanying copy of one of them, marked confidential, will apprize your Lordship of the character and object of Fuad Effendi's mission as explained to me by the Turkish Government, and of the manner in which I conceive that it may be most advisable for Abbas Pasha to receive his Excellency and to deal with his communications.

Notwithstanding the positive assurances given to me by the Sultan, and repeated by His Majesty's Ministers, to the effect that Fuad Effendi would be instructed to inquire into the real nature of the grounds alleged by Abbas Pasha in support of his demand, implying thereby a willingness to shape the final decision respecting capital punishments in Egypt according to the result of that inquiry, I am led to conclude from information since received, that there is no serious intention of relinquishing under any circumstances a particle of the Sultan's prerogative in that matter. The Grand Vizier thinks, or pretends to think, that Abbas Pasha seeks to humiliate his Sovereign, and the Sultan suspects his vassal of looking to a degree of independence not sanctioned by the Firman.

Your Lordship will have learned from other parts of my correspondence, that I have fully carried out Earl Granville's instructions, and that even the chance which still remains in favour of the Viceroy's wish, is due to British influence though exerted at a great disadvantage.

If there be much exaggeration in the degree of importance attached to His Highness' continued exercise of the privilege which he solicits, it is probable that Fuad Effendi will succeed in carrying the object of his mission. If it be otherwise, and that the opinions conveyed to Her Majesty's Government as to the danger which threatens the tranquillity of Egypt and the security of its traffic be well grounded, the two parties may possibly be placed in circumstances of hostile opposition to each other. In that case it is difficult to imagine how a collision is to be avoided, except by an appeal to the European Powers, and their intervention to settle the dispute. It is not indeed quite impossible that other interests of the Porte may operate to produce a compromise between Abbas Pasha and the Sultan's Commissioner. But no reliance can be placed on any such contingency; and if Her Majesty's Government be not prepared either to advise an unreserved compliance on His Highness' part, or to support him in his resistance at every sacrifice, the urgency of ascertaining the sentiments of the several Powers who took part in the settlement of 1840, and of concerting a joint course of proceeding among them, is too obvious to require any further remark.

Judging from what has reached me of the sentiments entertained by my colleagues, I should anticipate no great difficulty in the endeavour to arrive at such an understanding. Even the French Minister told me before he left Constantinople, that although he did not attach any extreme importance to the privilege solicited by Abbas Pasha, he should not be sorry to see the question at issue arranged to His Highness' satisfaction. It has indeed come round to me that the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, instead of recommending the Porte, as he did at first, to adopt the Egyptian view of the case, expresses now a contrary opinion to the Egyptian Commissioners; but the apparent contradiction is probably to be resolved into indifference as to the question for itself, and apprehension as to the consequences of a prolonged antagonism between the parties. At all events I am anxious to bring the present state of the affair without delay under your Lordship's most serious consideration; and with this intention I await myself of the departure of Her Majesty's steam-ship "Growler," to send

my despatches to Malta, with a call upon the Admiral to forward them immediately to Marseilles, whence they may be transmitted by an express to England.

It is to be hoped that Abbas Pasha, supposing him to stand out, will find means to prolong his negotiations with Fuad Effendi. But there is evidently no time to spare; and it is clearly of urgent importance that at Cairo, as well as here, the course to be finally taken, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, should be made known with all practicable dispatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 197.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 5.)

Constantinople, March 26, 1852.

Sir,

EDHEM PASHA has just now called with his colleague and Abdurrahman Bey to inform me that he proposes to start for Egypt this evening, if he can succeed, as he hopes, in obtaining the Sultan's permission. I fully approve of the step which he has thus decided to take. His presence in Egypt during the period of Fuad Effendi's mission will I think be useful to the Viceroy. I had already advised him to prepare the means of sending an express to Alexandria if needed, after my audience of the Sultan, and the delay of Fuad's departure till to-morrow enables him to use the steam-packet which came in yesterday with despatches for him from Cairo. Hair-ed-deen Pasha and Abdurrahman Bey remain here for the present, and I conceive that by doing so they best consult their master's interests at this juncture.

Whoever suggested the idea of sending a special Commissioner to Egypt, and of selecting Fuad Effendi for the purpose, I saw from the first but little prospect of good in a measure so fraught with elements of suspicion and anxiety, nor did I hesitate to express an opinion adverse to its adoption. The Porte however thought proper to persist in the intention which it had announced, and I could only obtain a tacit suspension of Fuad Effendi's departure till after my audience of the Sultan.

The result of that audience may be stated in very few words. His Majesty assured me that the character of Fuad Effendi's mission was friendly, that its object was conciliatory, and that no mental reservation or *arrière-pensée* whatever was entertained by his Government. After repeating some of his principal reasons for insisting on his own right of Khissas as part of the Tanzimat, His Majesty added that even if it were possible to suspend that right in compliance with Abbas Pasha's wishes, it would be desirable to verify by local inquiry the correctness of the information in virtue of which the Pasha's request had been urged.

Such an inquiry may really be one of the duties assigned to Fuad Effendi. At all events it is pretty certain that his mission is used as an expedient to defer, if not to avoid the risk of giving a flat refusal to my solicitations, and that the Porte has moreover and principally in view the detachment of Abbas Pasha from his present confiding reliance on British support.

Whatever may be the eventual success of the scheme, we so far gain by it as to prolong for an uncertain period the Viceroy's possession of the privilege which he is anxious to retain a few years longer.

The negotiation has now to be transferred to Egypt, and the right of Khissas is virtually the sole remaining point of difference, not as a principle, but as a favour; ostensibly indeed the whole range of the Tanzimat lies still open to renewed discussion; but it is to be hoped that neither party will have the perverseness to disturb the arrangement provisionally made here.

It remains for me to apprize you in substance of what I suggested confidentially to the Pashas, when during their visit to-day they requested me to state my opinion as to the most advisable mode of dealing with Fuad Effendi on his arrival in Egypt.

I recommended that the Sultan's Commissioner should be received and treated with every testimony of respectful good-will; that his residence in Egypt

should be made agreeable to his feelings; that he should be put in the way of obtaining information corroborating those opinions which had been given out in favour of the Viceroy's demand; that every facility should be afforded him for prolonging his visit; and finally, when matters had reached the unavoidable alternative of unqualified submission or open resistance on the Viceroy's part, that His Highness should either declare his readiness to submit to the Sultan's pleasure on a secret understanding that His Majesty would then spontaneously accede to his request for a limited term of years, or in failure of such hope, that the Pasha should submit to his Sovereign the propriety of his being relieved from all responsibility towards foreign Powers interested in the transit trade of Egypt, by the Porte's communicating with those of its allies who took part in the Settlement of 1840, and ascertaining that their opinion as to the point at issue was similar to its own.

This suggestion could only be adopted as a last resource under a sincere conviction of the Pasha's inability to ensure the safety of the transit trade without an undiminished enjoyment of his present privilege, and with the view of avoiding a worse extremity. Although the effect of an appeal to the principal Powers of Europe would be softened by proposing that the Porte should make it, there would still remain in that course of proceeding enough to give umbrage and to cause its success to depend on a previous understanding among the Powers themselves, who to judge from existing appearances, would probably rather incline to the Pasha's view of the matter than to that of the Porte.

After stating these impressions of mine in confidence to the Egyptian Commissioners, I reminded them of an opinion not then expressed for the first time, namely, that the true interest of both parties was to abide within the terms of the Firman of investiture, and, thus secured as of right, to deal with each other in a spirit of mutual accommodation and in the sense of a common interest.

Following out this idea, I remarked that in case Fuad Effendi should enter as might be expected on any pending difference between the Viceroy and certain members of his family, it would be desirable to receive his overtures with cordiality, and rather to adopt the strict rule of right to the Sultan's wishes, than stand out upon grounds of objection supported by no positive necessity. In like manner, if the Commissioner, who has been lately employed in questions of financial inquiry, should be authorized to sound the Pasha's disposition with respect to an advance of the Egyptian tribute money, it might be more advantageous to encourage a full disclosure of his proposals, than to repulse him in the outset by a manifest reluctance to consider them with favour.

Upon the whole I cannot doubt that the Viceroy, acting under your counsels, will be fully alive to the urgent expediency of managing his negotiations in the manner most likely to produce a conciliatory result, and best calculated to convince an agent of so much experience and sagacity as Fuad Effendi, that His Highness is not only free from the ambitious tendencies imputed to him by his adversaries, but that he is also sincerely devoted to the Sultan's interests, and thoroughly borne out by facts in the importance he attaches to that object which forms the more immediate object of his anxiety.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—I wish to add, that in speaking of the Pasha's family differences, I expressed to His Highness' Commissioners my hope that in return for a spirit of accommodation on his part he would obtain a suitable security for that degree of dutiful respect from his relations and their adherents to which he is justly entitled.

S. C.

No. 198.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received April* 12.)

(No. 65.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 30, 1852.

IN execution of the instructions addressed to him by Earl Granville, Colonel Rose embarks to-day for Alexandria, and I have furnished him with an additional instruction respecting Fuad Effendi's mission and the present position of Egyptian affairs.

Of this instruction I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy for your Lordship's more complete information.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 198.

Sir Stratford Canning to Colonel Rose.

Sir, *Constantinople, March* 30, 1852.

AS you have had free access to every part of the Egyptian correspondence preserved in the archives of this Embassy, and as Mr. Murray will no doubt place in your hands such other despatches as have passed between him and Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs respecting certain differences between Abbas Pasha and the Sultan's Government, it is unnecessary for me to add any special instruction except for the purpose of fixing your more particular attention upon two or three points immediately connected with the present state of the discussions.

You cannot fail to have observed that the questions ostensibly at issue between the Sultan and his vassal are in truth reduced to a single head. The Tanzimat, or code of judicial and administrative regulations, prepared for introduction into Egypt, leaves no point unsolved to the mutual satisfaction of the parties, except what relates to the Khissas, or qualified sovereign right of carrying capital sentences into execution. A memorandum on this subject, presented by me to the Porte, and the reply which was returned to it by the Sultan's order, together with my last despatch, marked confidential, to Mr. Murray, my report to Her Majesty's Government of what passed at my late audience of the Sultan, and a despatch which I have since addressed to the Earl of Malmesbury, will serve to place before you in distinct colours all the essential parts and bearings of the pending question, including the character and objects of Fuad Effendi's mission, as explained to me by the Turkish Government, and the danger to which any abrupt or early rejection of his overtures may eventually lead.

There are doubtless other interests to be regulated between the parties, especially in what regards the treatment of the Viceroy's collateral relatives, and their behaviour towards His Highness; but I repeat that the privilege of carrying capital sentences into effect without referring to Constantinople, now forms the sole declared point of difference between Abbas Pasha and his Sovereign.

It is greatly to be desired that Fuad Effendi, directing an impartial attention to objects of local investigation, should adopt and convey to his Government those very prevalent impressions on which Abbas Pasha has founded his claim to the privilege in question. So fortunate a result of the Commissioner's visit to Egypt is hardly, however, to be expected, and it is far more likely that he and the Viceroy will each retain unaltered his present opinions. In that case it will be very desirable to manage the negotiations in such manner as to afford time for a more complete knowledge of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with reference to the course suggested in my despatch of this day's date to Lord Malmesbury, and at all events to prevent, if possible, an abrupt and acrimonious termination of the discussions. The longer Fuad Effendi, under such circumstances, can be induced, without restraint or embarrassment, to protract his stay in Egypt, the better will be the prospect of rescuing each party from the consequences of an intemperate adherence to his own demand.

Whatever influence may be employed, when necessary, on your side in furtherance of these views, too much discretion cannot be used in guarding against the jealousy of foreign interference, which has of late particularly shown itself with respect to the affairs of Egypt. The difficulty of the problem presented by these affairs from the beginning, in so far as we are interested, consists in the almost contradictory nature of the objects to be combined, namely, securing by means of a railway the best mode of transit for our communications with India; defending the Viceroy's just privileges against encroachment of every description; maintaining in full vigour our influence at the Porte; and warding off the danger of a collision without appealing to European intervention. Hitherto these several objects have been more or less guarded to good purpose; but in proportion as the struggle, though narrowed, draws towards a close, there is increase of danger, and an additional motive for acting with prudence in expectation of final instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

It may be as well in conclusion, for you to know, that throughout the long series of my communications with the Porte and with His Majesty the Sultan on this subject, I have given, with rare exceptions, a confidential character to the negotiation; and I have not felt myself at liberty to solicit the co-operation of my colleagues in the Diplomatic Body, conceiving that, even when it was wanted, a better effect would be produced by separate representations tending to the same result.

With respect to the question immediately at issue, after securing the Sovereign's right by the admission of a principle which could not be disputed, I have acted with all the zeal, perseverance, and energy on behalf of the Pasha's interest, which my instructions warrant, and which a sincere respect for the opinions expressed by so many of our countrymen, and a feeling of national honour towards the Viceroy could inspire.

I have reason to believe that His Highness is perfectly satisfied in this respect. It is desirable for the character and interest of our country that he should be so; and the language of his Commissioners here, identified with the terms of their latest instructions from him, confirms my impression that any disappointment which he may have experienced, has not betrayed him into injustice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

P.S.—You will of course communicate this instruction to Mr. Murray; I have written it on the supposition of his departure.

S. C.

No. 199.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 11.)

On the Nile, April 2, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of a despatch of the 17th ultimo addressed to me by Mr. Addington, informing me of your Lordship's wishes that I should make no arrangements for leaving Egypt until I had received your Lordship's despatches by the English mail now daily expected.

I can assure your Lordship that had I, when I applied for leave of absence, been able to foresee the grave and threatening complications which have lately been superadded to the difficulties already existing between Egypt and Turkey, I should, notwithstanding the painful and sacred domestic obligations which demand my presence elsewhere, have deferred my application to a season more compatible with the discharge of my public responsibilities.

I cannot explain these complications more fully than by sending your Lordship copy of my last despatch to Sir Stratford Canning, which I have the honour of inclosing herewith. Since writing that despatch I have had an interview with the Viceroy, who requested me to write to the Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, urging him to send as soon as possible one or two British men-of-war to anchor in the harbour of Alexandria. As such a step

appeared to me equally desirable for the protection of British interests and for the maintenance of public tranquillity, I have thought it my duty to accede to His Highness' request; and in doing so I have given to Admiral Dundas a general outline of the grounds upon which the request was based.

The latest advices which I have this day received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Sublime Porte do not throw much light upon the secret instructions which had been given to Fuad Effendi, the Turkish Envoy, who is expected to arrive at Alexandria to-morrow.

His Excellency does not give me reason to believe that Fuad Effendi is authorized to waive any of the demands hitherto made by the Sublime Porte; and although in one part of his despatch his Excellency speaks of the expediency of each party keeping within the legitimate bounds of the Settlement of 1841, in another he speaks of there being only the unavoidable alternative of "unconditional submission or open rebellion" on the part of the Viceroy.

If this latter view be correct, it is impossible to calculate how soon this country may be involved in the miseries and disasters of civil strife; for the Viceroy knowing the hatred entertained towards him by the Grand Vizier and by the members of the family whose intrigues have been supported by the Sublime Porte, may probably believe that he has nothing to hope from unconditional submission but further humiliation and degradation, and he may prefer giving a direct refusal to the demands made upon him, and leaving the issue to be decided by force.

I have done all in my power to counsel His Highness to keep a strict guard upon his language and his temper in his intercourse with Fuad Effendi, and not to compromise himself by any hasty expression which he would afterwards gladly recall.

But if it be the secret object of the Turkish Envoy to draw forth any such expressions, I fear that he is more than a match for our Viceroy in diplomatic experience, and that without himself transgressing the bounds of official courtesy, he will find it no hard task to irritate His Highness and to make him use language which may be turned to his disadvantage.

On arriving at Alexandria to-morrow I shall hope to receive your Lordship's despatches of the 24th ultimo, and perhaps to answer them by the same mail; this however is doubtful, as the arrival of the Calcutta steamer at Suez is already telegraphed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 199.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 6. Secret and Confidential.)

Cairo, March 27, 1852.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information copy of a letter which I have just received from the Viceroy's principal Dragoman.

The substance of it was mentioned to me the day before yesterday by His Highness himself in conversation, but it seemed to me to be a statement of such importance that in order to prevent any possible error of memory or of comprehension of the exact value of the (Turkish) expressions employed by His Highness, I requested to have it in writing.

Your Excellency has a right to expect that I should give you all the information in my power respecting the sources from which this intelligence has been derived, and also my opinion as to its entire or partial authenticity. This I now proceed to do to the best of my ability, leaving it to your Excellency to take at Constantinople, or to recommend to Her Majesty's Government at home, such measures as may seem expedient under circumstances which, to say the least of them, wear so threatening an aspect.

Although my honour has been pledged to secrecy as to names, I have it in my power to inform your Excellency that this intelligence has been conveyed from Constantinople in a letter written by a Frenchman to another Frenchman resident here.

The writer of the letter is so necessarily and intimately acquainted with all that passes at the French Embassy, even its most secret communications, that it is impossible that he can be mistaken, but it is not impossible that he may have written the letter purposely to mislead his correspondent, and thereby further to embroil matters here in case the latter should divulge its contents, although strongly urged to secrecy, and to destroy the letter as soon as read. We have no present means of testing this latter alternative, excepting those which accrue to us from a comparison of the probabilities of the case with the motives of the writer, and the accessory circumstances which may have come under our cognizance.

The writer being a warm partisan of French interests here, and also bitterly hostile to Abbas Pasha, it is difficult to see what object he could have in making to a private friend a communication which, if true and if allowed to transpire, could only have the effect of putting the Viceroy on his guard, and enabling him to adopt preventive measures, and even if untrue, must increase the dislike which His Highness is already supposed to entertain towards the French.

It is however possible that in the latter event the object may have been to incite the Viceroy to the commission of some overt act which would justify hostile measures on the part of the Sublime Porte, and also give a pretext to France to aid and abet those measures in vindication of her wounded honour.

Finally, I repeat to your Excellency that I can by no means feel assured of the honesty or veracity of the writer, but his means of information are beyond all doubt.

Let us now examine some of those accessory circumstances by which we can test the probability of this intelligence having some foundation in fact, and if in doing so I mention some that may appear trivial, your Excellency will only allow them the weight that they deserve as forming links in a chain of argument.

I will venture to remind your Excellency that more than once in the course of correspondence on the Turco-Egyptian question, I have taken the liberty to suggest to you (in consequence of information transmitted to the Viceroy from the Sublime Porte) that Reshid Pasha, notwithstanding all the friendship and efficient support with which you have honoured him, was playing a double game with your Excellency, and endeavouring to mislead you as to some of the most important measures contemplated by the Sublime Porte. He was probably unwilling to tell you that jealousy of England and of our increasing commercial and political interest here was the real cause of the hostility shown by the Sublime Porte towards Abbas Pasha, and of the honours and favours showered upon the other members of the family, the "enfans de la France," as also of the countenance shown to Artin Bey, Mustapha Bey, and all that party who are heart and soul in the French interest.

I have read the official report of the Egyptian Commissioners to the Viceroy transmitted by the last Austrian steamer, in which, while mentioning their communications with the several Embassies, they state that it was from them that your Excellency first learnt that Fuad Effendi had been named for the Egyptian mission, whereas they found the French Ambassador already informed of that nomination by the Sublime Porte. If this be so, it would seem, considering your Excellency's long-standing friendship for Reshid Pasha, that you ought to have been the first person to whom this intelligence should have been communicated; moreover I am given to understand that Fuad Effendi, however conciliatory may be his manners, and however great his experience and abilities in negotiation, has of late been the constant and intimate associate of Kiamil Pasha and Mustapha Bey, two of those most actively employed at Constantinople in bringing about the downfall of Abbas Pasha. Whether this be so or not your Excellency has better means of ascertaining than I can command at this distance, but as the Viceroy is informed that such is the case, it naturally increases his distrust of the mission and the Envoy selected.

Your Excellency may remember that in January last, by desire of Aali Pasha, you instructed me to endeavour to procure a passage on board a British steamer from Suez to Mocha or Djedda for Mustapha Pasha, the new Governor of Yemen; that personage passed through Cairo, and though I was unable to fulfil the object of his wishes, several polite and complimentary messages passed

between us, and I believe he was satisfied that it was not my fault that he was disappointed. He afterwards went on to Suez with the other Pashas and Beys lately appointed to command at different ports on the Red Sea, and he was obliged to remain at Suez for two days, during which time his suite were engaged in preparing the vessel which was to convey him and in embarking his baggage. During the period of his stay he was the companion and guest of the Governor of Suez, who has the reputation of being an easy, good-natured man, rather too much addicted to good living. I lately obtained access to a letter written by the Governor to one of the Beys, a friend of his in Cairo, and if Mustapha Pasha's sentiments concerning England are in any respect an echo of those entertained by the Government that sent him out, nothing can be conceived more jealous or hostile than they are.

He pointed out to the Governor how defences should be raised in one place, and Paixhan guns in another, to guard against the meditated attack of England; and the words "false," "treacherous," "grasping," &c., were liberally bestowed upon us in almost every sentence. I could not obtain a copy of this letter, but I read it myself, and saw the Governor's seal at the bottom of it; and being a private communication from one Turkish officer to another, and obviously not intended to be shown to a Frank, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of its statements.

Further, with regard to this recent and sudden increase of activity on the part of the Sublime Porte in the Red Sea, I know not whether any explanation has ever been given to your Excellency of the reasons for a movement involving so large an expense without any corresponding legitimate object in view.

It certainly seems strange that at the time that the finances of the Sublime Porte are so crippled that the Government is compelled to sell diamond decorations, and to cut off a per centage of pay from all its officers, it should send out half-a-dozen Pashas and Beys with their treasurers and attendant suites to unimportant posts, the united revenues of which accruing to the Sublime Porte will not defray the amount of the salary of one of these Pashas with his suite. Take for instance Souaken, a port on the south-west coast of the Red Sea, the whole revenue of which, payable to the Sublime Porte, is about 60 purses (300*l.*) a-year, and for which a captain or major with one or two companies of soldiers had heretofore been deemed a sufficient garrison. It is now to have a Pasha Governor, with all the heavy expenses attendant upon such an establishment. In short, it would seem that unless there be some ulterior and secret object in view, the recent increase in the Red Sea establishments are, in the present financial condition of the Sublime Porte, the extreme of folly and extravagance; but when these measures are viewed in comparison with the language above referred to on the part of the new Governor of Yemen, and with the fact that a French frigate has lately been seen cruizing in that quarter, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they have an ulterior object in view.

Massowa and Souaken are the only two ports which afford an eastern outlet for the commerce of Abyssinia. Caravan roads exist from the latter to Soudan, on which side the entrance into Egypt, though tedious, is not difficult; and the above-named ports are not unimportant to France, on account of the trade which might be opened between them and the Isle of Bourbon.

Under all the circumstances of the case I shall not be surprised to learn at no distant date, that by an arrangement with the Sublime Porte, France has obtained a settlement at or near one of these ports.

To return from the Red Sea to the matter more immediately before us, the Viceroy assures me that he is positively informed that Saïd Pasha has signed a letter by which he binds himself, if invested with the Viceroyalty, to accept all the Tanzimat, to concede the privilege of Khissas, and in short to obey the Sublime Porte in everything.

I have no means of ascertaining whether this information be correct, but if Saïd has made these promises, and if the plot now going forward for his investiture succeeds, your Excellency may rest assured that within two years from the period of his accession, Egypt will either be ruined by the greedy demands of the Sublime Porte and the reckless extravagance of Saïd, or the latter will be like the Bey of Tunis under the direct protection of France, and bid defiance to Imperial firmans, either of which events will be fatal to British interests in the East.

Having now placed before your Excellency several of the accessory topics

which bear upon the present crisis, I think that you will not be surprised at the Viceroy's desire to see one or two English men-of-war in the harbour of Alexandria, the presence of which might give confidence to himself and his friends, and possibly prevent an attempted coup-de-main, which, whether successful or not, must lead to considerable loss of life and property. And if your Excellency considers the case sufficiently urgent, you will probably take whatever steps may be in your power to detach a steamer and frigate here as soon as possible. So far as I know, the Austrian Consul-General is the only one of my colleagues to whom the Viceroy has communicated the contents of the inclosed letter, and he will write by this post upon the subject to the Austrian Mission at Constantinople.

Meanwhile there is a casualty for which the Viceroy must be prepared; supposing the information of the letter to have a foundation in fact, it is possible that one or two French vessels may drop in on a visit to Alexandria Harbour. A Turkish war-steamer has already been there for nearly a month; one or two may come with Fuad Effendi's mission, and perhaps two or three more may be detached from the Turkish fleet to the same destination. Is the Viceroy, knowing the plan preconcerted for his deposal and the preparations made by the family party at Alexandria, to allow all these vessels of war to enter and remain in the harbour?

If he admits them, what with treachery within and force from without, Alexandria, *i. e.*, Egypt, may be lost to him in a day. If he refuses to admit all or a portion of the Turkish fleet, this will be an excuse for proclaiming him a rebel, and proceeding openly to depose him.

His Highness is sure to ask me my opinion as to how he should act in such a contingency, and before giving it I should be glad to have your Excellency's counsel for my guidance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 199.

Nubar Bey to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

M. le Consul-Général, *Le Caire, le 26 Mars*, 1852.

PAR ordre du Viceroi, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que Son Altesse a appris d'une source digne de confiance, que le Sadrazam Rechid Pacha a pris auprès de M. de Lavalette, dans le cas où le Gouvernement Français voudrait le soutenir, l'engagement de retirer le Gouvernement d'Egypte à Son Altesse Abbas Pacha, malgré l'appui que l'Angleterre pourrait prêter au Viceroi.

M. de Lavalette a accepté la proposition du Sadrazam, proposition qui aurait été confirmée par Sa Majesté le Sultan dans une audience.

Vous concevez bien, M. le Consul-Général, dans les circonstances actuelles, le désir du Viceroi de voir dans le port d'Alexandrie un bâtiment de guerre de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Il vous prie de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour en faire venir un ou deux dans le plus bref délai.

Le fait que j'ai l'honneur de vous soumettre pourrait ne pas être tout-à-fait vrai, quoique tous les indices nous portent à y prêter foi. D'ailleurs dans le doute, et comme mesure préventive, Son Altesse juge la présence d'un bâtiment de guerre Anglais de toute nécessité.

Je vous prie, &c.
(Signé) N. NUBAR.

No. 200.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received April* 13.)

(No. 12.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, April* 4, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 1 and 2, the latter inclosing copy of a despatch addressed by your Lordship to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte. After the explanations given in my despatch No. 11, dated the 2nd of this month, it does not occur to me that there is anything which it is necessary for me to add, excepting that it is not so much from open force on the part of the Sublime Porte that Abbas Pasha has ground for apprehension, but from the intrigues of Mehemet Ali's family, aided and fomented at Constantinople, which, when taken in conjunction with His Highness being deprived of the power of the Khissas, threaten to enfeeble, if not destroy the power of administering the Government and maintaining the public tranquillity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 201.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Seymour.

(No. 49.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 16, 1852.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 31, of the 31st ultimo, reporting a conversation which you had had with Count Nesselrode as to the course which would be pursued by Russia with regard to the question of the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt.

With regard to the middle course which it appears that Count Nesselrode has advised the Porte to take in this matter, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government consider that this suggestion is one of great consequence.

You will perceive by my despatch to Sir Stratford Canning No. 16, of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch to you No. 12, of the 8th instant, that Her Majesty's Government have already furnished his Excellency with instructions which apparently agree with Count Nesselrode's views of the subject.

You will therefore endeavour to obtain the co-operation of the Russian Minister at Constantinople in support of the representation which Sir Stratford Canning may make in pursuance of my instruction No. 16; and you will also ascertain whether, in the event of the Sultan threatening hostile measures against his vassal, Count Nesselrode would not consent to refer the controversy between them to the Powers who signed the Treaty of 1841.

You will be at liberty to read that despatch or to communicate its substance to Count Nesselrode, according to your discretion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 202.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received April* 16.)

(No. 144.)
My Lord, *Paris, April* 15, 1852.

M. DE TURGOT mentioned to me this morning that he had heard with much surprise and sorrow, that it was supposed by the British Government that the French Agents at Constantinople had advised the Sultan against yielding to the wishes of the Pasha of Egypt in regard to the question of capital punish-

ment. He could assure me, he said, that such had not been the case, that although the French Government could not do otherwise than recognize the Sultan's rights in this matter, it was equally convinced that it was a question which must be compromised, "qu'il fallait l'arranger par une transaction." That such had been the advice given by the French Government, and he had reason to think that it was in consequence of this advice that the mission of Fuad Effendi to Alexandria had been decided upon.

As M. de Turgot's opinions appeared to coincide with those of your Lordship, I said that it seemed to me that there was no reason why the two Governments should not act together in this question. That Her Majesty's Government admitted equally with the French, the right of the Sultan to apply the Tanzimat to Egypt, but it might be matter of doubt whether the moment was well chosen to put it in execution; that Her Majesty's Government thought for many reasons, that the application of the Tanzimat might be suspended with advantage for another year or two, or that the Sultan might consent to delegate the power of life and death in respect to certain crimes only to his vassal. I could answer, I said, for the satisfaction which it would give your Lordship to hear that the French Government took the same view of the case, and would be prepared to back it by their advice at Constantinople.

M. de Turgot said that before entering further into the question, he should like to hear the result of the interview which Sir Stratford Canning was to have of the Sultan; but should that not have had the success which from the talents of that able diplomatist I almost venture to anticipate, I do not think it unlikely that the French Government may be induced to send instructions to Constantinople in a spirit analogous to those sent by your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 203.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Cowley.

(No. 75. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 16, 1852.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith copies of three despatches, dated the 22nd, 29th, and 30th ultimo,* from Sir Stratford Canning, together with copies of the instructions therein referred to, which have been given by his Excellency to Mr. Chas. Murray and Colonel Rose, respecting the present state of the question in dispute between the Sultan and Abbas Pasha.

I also transmit to your Excellency a copy of my reply to Sir Stratford Canning.†

I need not point out to your Excellency the ability of Sir Stratford Canning's despatches and of his instructions to Mr. Murray and Colonel Rose. The importance of the subject and of the crisis your Excellency has already appreciated.

I have now to instruct your Excellency to sound the feelings of the French Government upon the Tanzimat question.

When I first came into office Count Walewski hinted to me the expediency of the Great Powers being invited by us to support our arguments in favour of the Pasha, but as France was not a party to the settlement of 1840 I evaded the suggestion.

I am however of opinion, from a conversation I have since had (officiously) with the Count, who expressed at first some of the old jealousy respecting England's influence in Egypt, that his former proposition would still be liked at Paris.

In speaking of Egypt I said that the Tanzimat appeared to me a question of police when divested of the attribute of sovereignty with which the Sultan and his vassal invested it; that the construction of the railway to Cairo was essential

* Nos. 196, 197, 198.
† No. 205. Similar despatches, No. 33, to Lord Bloomfield; No. 52, to Lord Westmorland.

to France as well as to England, although its extension to Suez might not be so; and that if there was any reason to doubt the power of Abbas Pasha to protect the work under the Tanzimat, it was clearly an act of common sense for all those interested to obtain a postponement or modification of the Code until the railway was completed.

When the Count left me he had not only agreed with me, but ridiculed the jealousies of what he called "local officials."

You will state with truth that we have no wish to make Egypt independent of the Porte, and have acknowledged in the most unqualified manner the Sultan's right to exercise the Tanzimat in that country, if he be so imprudent as to do so at the risk of jeopardising English, French, and other foreign property. The object of Her Majesty's Government at this moment is to obtain for the sake of our own transit a postponement or modification of the Tanzimat Code as regards the Viceroyalty, and further, should both Potentates remain obstinate, to invite the Powers who agreed to the settlement, together with France, to prevent an event so fatal to the east of Europe, by persuading the Sultan to adopt that middle course which is the wisest for his own, and the safest for European interests.

You are at liberty, therefore, to state, that in the contingency here described, Sir Stratford Canning has authority to invite his colleagues at Constantinople to assist him in carrying out his instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 204.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Cowley.

(No. 76. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 16, 1852.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 75, of this day's date, upon the Tanzimat question, I have to acquaint your Excellency that I have addressed identical instructions to Her Majesty's Ministers at Vienna and Berlin; and that I have written a special despatch upon this subject to Her Majesty's Minister at St. Petersburgh, a copy* of which is herewith inclosed for your Excellency's information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 205.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 22.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 16, 1852.

I HAVE received your very important despatches of March 22, 29, and 30, giving an account of your audience with the Sultan, and of Fuad Effendi's departure for Egypt.

It is a satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government that the view your Excellency takes of the state of affairs between the Porte and the Pasha, and the suggestions which you make as to our future course of conduct, have been to a great degree anticipated in my last instructions to your Excellency and Mr. Murray.

I have only to add, that your Excellency has carried out Lord Granville's instructions with great ability; and that those which you have given to Colonel Rose are entirely consonant with the opinions of Her Majesty's present Ministers.

Once convinced that the Sultan had an indisputable right of applying the

* No. 201.

Tanzimat to Egypt, it appeared to Her Majesty's Government unwise to press beyond a certain point the demand of its entire suspension, against so decided a will as His Highness had shown on the subject. The practical importance of that code to the security of our passage and commerce in Egypt, remains still a matter of various opinion; but it is of undoubted consequence that we should not throw away our real or supposed influence with the Porte, and publicly prove to Europe that we have failed when most anxious to exert our power.

If we succeed in obtaining a middle course, or an abridgment, however small, of the obnoxious law, we shall save our credit. If we call in the other Powers who agreed to the settlement of 1840 to assist us in our representations, we gain the same result both as to our position and objects. It appears therefore to Her Majesty's Government that neither justice nor policy could excuse them in recommending to Abbas Pasha either "resistance at every sacrifice," or a total abandonment of his demands, should the Sultan remain inexorable.

Her Majesty's Government are strongly of opinion that the Powers I have alluded to would join us in urging a relaxation of the Tanzimat Code in Egypt. Sir Hamilton Seymour's last despatches state that Court Nesselrode, of his own accord, expressed his wish that a middle course shall be followed, and I have instructed him to obtain a practical illustration of the sentiment.

I have had several conversations with Count Walewski on the subject, and he states that France looks upon the question as one of local police, equally interesting to all countries, and that she considers the railway from Alexandria to Cairo an European road, whatever her notions may be of its extension to Suez.

Persuaded, therefore, that, if necessary, we are sure of this auxiliary force in the discussion, Her Majesty's Government give you full power to invite your colleagues to join you in concerting a joint course of proceeding when you find all other means of obtaining a reasonable issue fail. I will meanwhile sound the other Courts upon this contingency.

Your Excellency in the ultimatum you recommend to His Highness' Commissioners has touched an argument which it appears to me might at the proper time be most effectually urged by you on the Sultan. It is that which would assert that he cannot possibly escape from that responsibility which all civilized Sovereigns owe to the subjects and property of other countries with which they are allied.

If the Sultan reigns vicariously in Egypt, his responsibilities may be vicarious, and England, in the event of injury to her commerce, would apply to the Viceroy for compensation; but if he rules so absolutely as to withdraw protection in the face of well-founded remonstrance from his vassal and England, he must be solely responsible for the effect of his absolute acts.

Your Excellency would easily show how universally and impartially Her Majesty's Ministers of all parties have ever defended the rights of Her Majesty's subjects abroad, and how often such controversies have endangered alliances of vast importance, and embittered long-standing relations of international friendship. The Sultan would thus be introducing a risk of creating elements of discord between us, from which he is comparatively safe as long as he permits the Pasha to manage the internal police of Egypt.

You are so completely master of the subject, that I will only express the pleasure with which your very able documents have been perused by Her Majesty's Government, and the approbation which they deserve.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 206.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 23.)

Foreign Office, April 16, 1852.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt will have doubtless acquainted your Excellency that at the request of Abbas Pasha he had communicated to the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's vessels at Malta the wish felt by His Highness for the presence of some of Her Majesty's ships of war at Alexandria; and I have now to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's

Government have this day determined to send two of Her Majesty's ships of war to Alexandria with as little delay as possible.

The Commanders of these vessels will be instructed to remonstrate against any hostile collision between the Turkish and Egyptian forces; and if the French troops should land at Alexandria, to protest strongly, but not to fire.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 207.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(No. 153. Confidential.)

Paris, April 17, 1852.

My Lord,

ON the receipt this morning of your Lordship's various despatches relating to the Egyptian question, I waited on M. de Turgot in order to carry out those parts of the instructions contained in them which prescribed to me to sound the feelings of the French Government upon the Tanzimat question.

Your Lordship will, in the course of yesterday, have been informed that I had on the previous day, during an incidental conversation with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, touched on that question.

I was happy to find that what I had then stated to M. de Turgot coincided so entirely with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government as conveyed to me in your Lordship's confidential despatch No. 75.

Upon my opening the communication which I had to make to M. de Turgot this morning in a more official, though still in a confidential form, I found him, I thought, less well disposed to support the views of Her Majesty's Government, than I had fancied him to be two days ago. I am inclined to attribute this alteration in manner to a conversation which he appears to have had with M. de Lavalette, lately arrived from Constantinople. Be this as it may, M. de Turgot, although still maintaining the opinion which he had given me, that the question should be settled by "une transaction," and assuring me that such was the advice which had been offered by M. de Lavalette at Constantinople, said that he was not surprised at the difficulties made by the Sultan to conferring on Abbas Pasha the powers which the latter claimed at His Highness' hands, seeing that Abbas Pasha was a man of the worst character and disposition, and that the Sultan could not but feel jealous of the interest which seemed to be taken in his vassal.

I replied to M. de Turgot by pointing out to him, as your Lordship's instructions authorized me to do, the object which Her Majesty's Government had proposed to itself, and which it had no desire to conceal, namely, the safety of its transit trade through Egypt. I said that there was no wish to make Egypt independent of the Porte, but merely to obtain a postponement or modification of the Tanzimat as concerned the Viceroyalty in Egypt; that it was in fact only asking the Sultan to prolong a state of things which already existed, and for the alteration of which there was no pressing necessity to the interest of the Porte; while a change might seriously impede an undertaking in the success of which Great Britain was much concerned. I added that from the tone of certain conversations which your Lordship had held with Count Walewski, and which, though unofficial, were on the whole favourable to the views of Her Majesty's Government, you had hoped that the French Government would join with that of Her Majesty in giving advice to the Turkish Government in this matter. M. de Turgot rejoined that Count Walewski's opinion must only be considered as a personal one; that he knew that that opinion, although no official communication had been made to him of Count Walewski's conversation with your Lordship, was that the question of capital punishment in Egypt was of no great importance to the Sultan; that he did not partake that opinion, though he should always recommend the Porte to settle the question in an amicable manner.

M. de Turgot stated further, that he had no objection to tell me, in strict

confidence, that the Turkish Government had shown so much goodwill towards France, that he should be very sorry to take any line that might give umbrage to Reshid Pasha. He instanced the gift of certain buildings round the sacred places at Jerusalem. He said, however, in conclusion, that he could give no positive answer without submitting the question to the consideration of the Prince President, whom he should not be able to see before Monday.

As M. de Turgot had an engagement which precluded any further conversation, I took my leave, impressing upon him in civil terms the duty of explaining well to the President the real bearings of this question, and the satisfaction which it would afford Her Majesty's Government to find that if Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople should be compelled to seek the assistance of his colleagues, that of the French Minister would not be denied him.

Your Lordship's several despatches, and the very able documents emanating from Sir S. Canning's pen inclosed in those despatches, will furnish me with ample arguments to go further into the question, should I find, which I fain hope may not be the case, that the President is not disposed to adopt your Lordship's views.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 208.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 154. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, April 17, 1852.*

IN the copy which your Lordship has been kind enough to transmit to me of your despatch No. 23 to Sir Stratford Canning, informing him that two of Her Majesty's ships of war are to be sent to Alexandria, it is stated in the last paragraph, "that if the French troops should land at Alexandria, the Commander of those vessels is to protest strongly, but not to fire."

As your Lordship has never mentioned to me that Her Majesty's Government had any fears of a French expedition against Alexandria, and as I cannot learn from Mr. Jerningham, that previous to my arrival here any such apprehension had been entertained, I should have been inclined to consider that a clerical error had crept into the above-mentioned copy, had not Captain Claremont stated to me a few days ago, that among the points to which his attention, during a secret mission on which he had been sent by Her Majesty's Government, was to be directed, was the possibility of French military or naval expeditions against Egypt.

He alluded to the French fleet cruizing off Toulon, and to the reinforcements which had been sent to the French army in Algeria, as having given rise to these misgivings respecting the intentions of the French Government.

I have thought it, therefore, my duty to make, without any ostentation, some inquiries on these two points.

With respect to the fleet, being well acquainted with Captain de la Roncière, who is about to join it as its Chef de l'Etat-Major (Flag Captain), I have addressed myself to him, and unless he deceives me, which I have no reason to think, or that he is deceived himself, the fleet appears to be assembled for the usual summer evolutions.

With respect to the army in Algeria, it having been determined to undertake an expedition this spring against Kabylia, the army has been lately increased, more, however, by native soldiers than by troops sent from France. The submission of the principal Kabylian tribes renders this expedition unnecessary, and four regiments have in consequence been ordered home. On the other hand, two fresh regiments are to be sent, so that the permanent diminution will be two regiments.

The army at this moment numbers 120,000 men, of which 65,000 are French troops. The native troops are, as your Lordship is probably aware, formed on the model of our Indian army; the men being natives and the officers French

Such is the information which has been given me, and which your Lordship will be able to compare with that which you receive from the spot.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 209.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 157. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, April 19, 1852.*

PRINCE CALLIMACHI, the Turkish Envoy, called upon me this morning. He said that he had received yesterday from Constantinople, for his private information, copies of the papers which had passed between Sir Stratford Canning and the Porte, as also a despatch from Aali Pasha detailing what had taken place at the interview which Her Majesty's Ambassador had had with the Sultan on the subject of capital punishment in Egypt, and he added that in transmitting to him these papers, Aali Pasha had asked his advice in the present crisis.

I thanked Prince Callimachi for coming to me, telling him that he had but forestalled a visit which I had intended to make to him, in the hopes of inducing him to lay before the Sultan's Ministers an opinion favourable to the views of Her Majesty's Government.

I remarked that it was impossible to add any arguments to the able and lucid reasoning of Sir Stratford Canning; but that advice coming from a distance, and formed, therefore, without reference to local politics or to party intrigues, often carried some weight with it, whether applied to Turkey or to any other country. I added that, without wishing in any way to put myself in the foreground in a question which I had only to treat indirectly, I did flatter myself that after residing in Turkey, and after the intimate and friendly relations which had existed between Reshid and Aali Pashas and myself, my opinion would have some weight with the Turkish Envoy at Paris.

Prince Callimachi interrupted me here, by saying that before I proceeded further, he wished at once to state what answer he proposed giving to Aali Pasha's request for his advice, in order that, if our opinions coincided, I might have the satisfaction of knowing that such agreement was not the consequence of anything I might urge. He then said that he proposed to answer Aali Pasha as follows:

"There are two ways of judging a political question—before it arises, and after it has arisen. If my advice had been asked sooner, I should have repeated what I never ceased counselling since I knew the English Nation—not to touch the Egyptian question. That is too late. I have nothing to do with the past. I must look at the question as it is. You talk of a violation of the Sultan's sovereign rights! Who asks for it? England? certainly not. The whole argument of Sir Stratford Canning is based on the acknowledgment of those rights. He asks you, almost as a favour to the British Nation, to confer temporarily on Abbas Pasha certain powers, which he recognizes your right to recall, should they be abused. Will you risk, upon a false principle of honour, the friendship of the British Nation? for you may depend upon it, public opinion in England will condemn you if you refuse, and no Government in England can long resist the action of popular opinion. Therefore, even supposing the demand made by the English Government to be wrong in principle, my conviction, 'dans mon âme et conscience,' is that you ought not to refuse it."

I told Prince Callimachi that I was very glad that he had interrupted me, for that it would give your Lordship much more satisfaction to learn that he had given such advice spontaneously than as the result of an argumentative conversation. I added that I thought he would do well also to call Aali Pasha's attention to the fact that should the Sultan persist in his present refusal, and that there was any interruption to our transit trade through Egypt in consequence, the responsibility of that interruption would fall upon the Porte.

Prince Callimachi seemed to think that the whole question had been exaggerated in importance on both sides, and had been made, as was too often

the case, a handle for intrigues at Constantinople; and that there was, in fact, but little danger to be apprehended from hostile tribes in Egypt. I replied that this was probably true, but that I feared that nothing would be easier in a country like Egypt than for the Sultan's enemies in that province to get up (if I may use the expression) attacks on our travellers and traders, whether before or after the completion of the railroad; and that Abbas Pasha would, of course, throw the responsibility of such attacks off his own shoulders, although he might even have been the promoter of them. I said further, that it appeared to me that the question might still be arranged with facility, and in a way by no means derogatory to the dignity of the Porte. The Sultan had suspended his final decision until after His Highness had received the report of Fuad Effendi. His Highness might therefore profit hereafter by the return of that officer from Egypt to make some arrangement favourable to the views of Her Majesty's Government.

Prince Callimachi replied that he would not fail to communicate what I had said to the Turkish Ministers. He concurred so entirely, he said, in the propriety of the question being now settled as required by Her Majesty's Government, that as far as his opinion could have any weight with the Grand Vizier or with Aali Pasha, it would be exerted to obtain an early and satisfactory arrangement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 210.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 158.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 19, 1852.*

M. DE TURGOT, upon whom I called this afternoon, informs me that he has not been able as yet to see the Prince President in order to submit to his Highness' consideration the wishes of Her Majesty's Government to be supported by France in the view taken by Her Majesty's confidential advisers of the dispute which has arisen between the Sultan and Abbas Pasha. He is to see the Prince to-morrow morning on the subject, and will give in his answer in the afternoon.

What he intends counselling the Prince is, should it become necessary, to give such amicable advice to the Porte as shall tend to a postponement for the present of the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt, but he thinks that it will be better to take no steps until it is seen whether Fuad Effendi's mission is successful or not.

I told him that I understood such to be the course that would likewise be pursued by Her Majesty's Government.

I then asked him what advice he was prepared to give the Prince on the other point which I had submitted to him, namely, the possibility of Sir Stratford Canning's inviting his colleagues to assist him in carrying out his instructions. Would the French Minister be desired in such a case to co-operate with Her Majesty's Ambassador?

M. de Turgot replied that he wished to keep himself for the present unfettered on this point, and that he had a great dislike to combined action such as had been proposed; that it would only make the Porte more obstinate, and that he had much rather trust to the influence of the British and French Cabinets alone to obtain what Her Majesty's Government desired of the Sultan.

I explained to M. Turgot that the joint action was one of remonstrance and advice, in case all other attempts of reconciling the Sultan and Abbas Pasha failed of success, and that it would consequently be exerted for the purpose of preventing hostilities, and not of exciting them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 211.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Cowley.

(No. 83. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 20, 1852.*

HER Majesty's Government have read with much interest the account which your Excellency gives in your despatch No. 157, of your conversation with Prince Callimachi upon the Egyptian question, and they entirely approve of your Excellency's language upon that occasion.

I have now to instruct you to express to Prince Callimachi the pleasure which his advice to Aali Pasha has given to Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 212.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 162. Most Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 21, 1852.*

AFTER the receipt this morning of your Lordship's despatch, I called upon Prince Callimachi for the purpose of conveying to him the message which your despatch No. 83 enjoined me to deliver. Although I am inclined to hope that Mr. Murray's fears of an understanding between the French and Turkish Government with respect to the destitution of Abbas Pasha and other matters regarding Egypt are exaggerated, I conceived that no harm would arise by my telling Prince Callimachi that reports to that effect had reached me. And speaking confidentially from myself, I added that I was quite certain that nothing would grieve, or, I might say, offend, Her Majesty's Government more than any double-dealing on the part of the Sultan's Ministers; that we had fairly and openly, and without any afterthought or reserve, stated why we wished a suspension of the Tanzimat as regarded Egypt; and that whatever the Sultan's ultimate decision on that point might be, we had a right to expect an equally open conduct in return.

Prince Callimachi assured me that he had no reason to think that the reports to which I alluded had any foundation in truth. He had also heard, he said, that the Porte wished to substitute Said for Abbas Pasha in the Viceroyalty of Egypt; but he affirmed that nothing that he had ever received from the Turkish Ministers themselves would justify him in supposing that they meditated such a step.

Prince Callimachi went on to say that he would tell me in strict confidence, that he had been sent for yesterday by M. de Turgot, who on his arrival had inquired of him the state of the Egyptian question. Prince Callimachi replied that the last news he had had was the departure of Fuad Effendi for Alexandria. "Yes," said M. de Turgot, "but we were assured that it was to be a pacific mission; whereas we now hear that he is to employ threats to obtain his object."

"The character of Fuad Effendi is a sufficient guarantee that his mission is a peaceable one," rejoined Prince Callimachi. "If the Sultan had intended to threaten, he would have employed a man of a different stamp."

"Well," replied M. de Turgot, "we are most anxious to see this question settled, and are ready to employ our good offices, if you wish it, to make up the quarrel between you and the British Government."

Prince Callimachi answered without hesitation, that M. de Turgot was quite mistaken in his premises; that there was no quarrel at all between the two Governments, but that Great Britain had asked, for reasons which had been given in detail, a further suspension of the Tanzimat for Egypt, fully recognizing at the same time the Sultan's right to impose it. So far from there being any quarrel, Turkey was on the best terms with the British Government, and was now inquiring into the possibility of doing what the British Government asked.

M. de Turgot would not, however, abandon his ground. He said that public opinion in England was so much excited on this question, that if the Turkish Government did not meet the wishes of that of Great Britain, a

coolness might arise between Great Britain and Turkey which the French Government would be sorry to see. That in the interests of the two countries, therefore, France wished to recommend some middle course, and that he thought that if the Sultan would consent to suspend the action of the Tanzimat in Egypt for two years, he could engage the British Government to be satisfied with that.

Prince Callimachi again assured M. de Turgot that there was no occasion for the intervention of France. That the Sultan hoped through Fuad Effendi to arrange the whole question amicably with Abbas Pasha, and he must, therefore, as far as he was concerned, decline M. Turgot's offer.

Prince Callimachi observed that M. Turgot's object was clear. He wanted to obtain praise of all parties: of Great Britain, for having procured what the British Government wanted; of the Porte, for engaging the British Government to be satisfied with a two years' suspension; of Abbas Pasha, for having obtained for him these two years.

Without committing your Lordship or any one else, I sounded Prince Callimachi upon the likelihood of Reshid Pasha ever consenting to allow the French to establish themselves on the Red Sea. I do not know that the Prince's opinion is of any great authority, but I am bound to add that nothing could exceed the surprise with which he heard me hint at the possibility of such a transaction, or the ridicule which he casts on such a supposition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 213.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 163. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, April 21, 1852.*

AFTER trying in vain to see M. de Turgot yesterday and this morning, I went to him by appointment at 3 this afternoon, when he told me that the Prince President had accepted the advice which he had offered to his Highness respecting the attitude which should be taken by France on the Egyptian question; that he was ready, therefore, to become the mediator between Great Britain and Turkey to settle the Tanzimat question, but that he wished to act alone in order to show his anxiety to afford his good offices to Her Majesty's Government, and not to have the appearance, by a combined action with the other Powers, of forcing the solution of a question in which the sovereign rights of the Sultan were at stake against the insubordination of one of his vassals.

Plausible as was M. de Turgot's speech, I saw in a moment that he was endeavouring to arrive with me at what I have recounted in my preceding despatch he wished to arrive at with Prince Callimachi; that is, he wanted to have all the glory of the appearance of having settled this question. I observed to him, therefore, that he must have mistaken the proposition which I had made to him from Her Majesty's Government; that there was no question of intervention, for intervention would imply a quarrel between Great Britain and the Porte, which did not exist; that what we hoped was, that France would see equally with ourselves, the prudence of the Porte's suspending for the present the application of the Tanzimat to Egypt, and would consequently give advice to the Turkish Ministers analogous to ours; that there were two distinct questions submitted to the French Cabinet by Her Majesty's Government—the one with reference to the advice to be given to the Porte now, the other with respect to the possibility of such a state of things arising as might endanger the peace of the East hereafter; for the one, we wanted the friendly counsels of France with the Divan, supposing always that France was, as we trusted, almost as anxious as ourselves for the success of the railroad in Egypt; for the other, we asked whether France would be ready, if called upon, to aid Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in his efforts to preserve peace. It would be an useless waste of your Lordship's time, even if I had that valuable article at my own disposal, to recount the various turnings and twistings of the French Minister to obtain my consent to his acting at Constantinople in his own way. The result of our discussion was, that M. de Turgot will write to-morrow to Constantinople to say, that knowing that Her Majesty's Government respect

equally with France the rights of the Sultan, the French Government cannot but advise the Porte to comply with our request in suspending for a limited time the introduction of the Tanzimat into Egypt. M. de Turgot said further, that he would not go into the question of the possibility of future hostilities, because he was convinced that it would not arise, but that we might be sure that all the influence of the French Government would be employed to prevent such a crisis from arising.

Your Lordship must, however, be prepared for the French Government taking the merit of settling this question, if, as I have little doubt, it is settled peaceably. I should myself have been inclined to have withdrawn our proposition altogether, could I have done so without exciting unnecessary anger upon a very secondary question compared to a good understanding between England and France. I therefore left M. de Turgot, thanking him for the friendly assurances which, I must say, he never ceased giving during the whole conversation towards Her Majesty's Government, and expressing the pleasure which it would give me to convey them to your Lordship.

I must beg you to excuse the hurry in which this despatch is written.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 214.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 5.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 22, 1852.*

I HAVE received your despatches to No. 12, of the 4th instant, inclusive; and I have to acquaint you, that in consequence of the wish expressed by Abbas Pasha for the presence of some British ships of war at Alexandria, as reported in your despatch No. 11, of the 2nd instant, Rear-Admiral Dundas has been ordered to send two vessels to that port with as little delay as possible.

The Commander of these vessels will be instructed to remonstrate against any hostile collision between the Turkish and Egyptian forces; and, if the French troops should land at Alexandria, to protest strongly, but not to fire.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 215.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Cowley.

(No. 88. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 23, 1852.*

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch No. 154, I have to state to you that as Her Majesty's Government had received from Mr. Murray and other credible sources, expressions of much anxiety respecting the intentions of the French in Egypt, they thought it their duty to give instructions which would meet every eventuality, however improbable.

Mr. Murray apprehended the possibility of a landing of French troops, and even if such an unfortunate circumstance did not take place, the probability of disturbances against the authority of the Pasha. It was therefore incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to protect British residents and property from this peril.

Should the French Government make inquiries as to the object of our two ships of war at Alexandria, the latter cause will naturally be given by your Excellency in explanation.

Her Majesty's Government repeat that they are anxious to see the Settlement of 1841 between the Porte and Egypt punctiliously observed; and it is with this feeling that they will invite France and the other Powers to join in averting a civil contest in the East, should such a misfortune appear imminent.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 216.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Cowley.

(No. 89. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 23, 1852.

HER Majesty's Government approve entirely of the line which your Excellency followed in your conversations with Prince Callimachi and M. Turgot respecting the Turkish question, as reported in your despatches Nos. 162 and 163.

It is evident to me from many interviews I have had with Count Walewski, that the French Government are most anxious not only to obtain a complete "entente cordiale" with us, but to exhibit it ostentatiously to all Europe. Your Excellency will easily perceive how this feeling may be turned to our profit, should on occasion like the present require it.

Your Excellency will be careful when treating this question with M. Turgot or any other foreign Minister, to follow the line you have adopted, and clearly point out to them that no misunderstanding whatever exists between England and the Porte, and that our only object, whilst we recognize the Sultan's rights, is that the peace and tranquillity of Egypt, so important to our commercial interests and those of Europe, should be maintained.

I had a visit from M. Musurus on Tuesday. He assured me that Fuad Effendi did not take out a firman of destitution, but that the Sultan was determined to exercise the Tanzimat, and that if Abbas resisted he would be "destitué."

I am given to understand that the Pasha will use means known to be infallible in softening Fuad Effendi's severe instructions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 217.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 171. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, April* 22, 1852.

IN order to avoid the possibility of any misinterpretation of the request made by Her Majesty's Government to that of France in regard to the Egyptian question, I thought it advisable to have a translation made of so much of your Lordship's confidential despatch No. 75 as concerned the French Government, which I took an opportunity of placing this afternoon in M. de Turgot's hands.

He told me that he had written to Constantinople in very general terms, advising the Porte to come into the views of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 218.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 58.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 20, 1852.

I HAD an interview this morning with Baron Manteuffel, when I executed the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 33, of the 16th instant, respecting the questions in dispute between the Sultan and Abbas Pasha. I told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were most

anxious to obtain the co-operation of the Prussian Government in endeavouring to prevent a rupture between the Sultan and his vassal; I stated that it was well known to his Excellency, that Sir Stratford Canning and Mr. Murray had used every argument in their power to allay the jealous feeling which had been raised on both sides, and that hitherto their representations at Constantinople and Cairo had been unattended with success; that a temporary suspension of the intention of introducing the Tanzimat into Egypt had, it was true, been obtained, but that we had not yet received any assurance that the Porte would desist from its plan. I then explained to the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty's Government had no wish to make Egypt independent of the Porte, and acknowledged in the most unqualified manner the Sultan's right to exercise the Tanzimat in Egypt, but that the moment was considered inopportune for so doing. I added that Her Majesty's Government were desirous to obtain a postponement or modification of the Tanzimat Code as regarded the Viceroyalty, and proposed, if both Potentates remain obstinate, to invite the Great Powers to recommend the Sultan to adopt a middle course, and have authorized Sir Stratford Canning to ask his colleagues to assist him in carrying out his instructions.

Baron Manteuffel replied that his attention had been some time ago directed to the question of the Tanzimat, and to the serious consequences which might follow from its introduction into Egypt; and that as the views of the Russian Government on the subject appeared to agree with those of Prussia, he had already instructed M. de Wildenbruck, their Envoy at Constantinople, to follow the course of the Russian Legation in the event of any unforeseen occurrences taking place which might render it necessary for him to act without waiting for directions from Berlin.

His Excellency then observed that Prussia had no direct interest in these matters, and wished as much as possible to keep aloof from them, but nevertheless, and at the request of Her Majesty's Government, she would immediately lend her assistance in the way I had pointed out and dispatch an instruction to M. de Wildenbruck to conform himself to your Lordship's wishes.

Baron Manteuffel said further, that he quite approved of the suspension of the Tanzimat in Egypt, that his private opinion on the subject was, that Government would be rendered impossible in that country, if the power of inflicting capital punishment were not invested in the Pasha.

Before leaving his Excellency I urged on his consideration the importance of not losing any time in making known the intention of the Prussian Government at Constantinople, and he told me that he would this very day prepare the necessary instructions to M. de Wildenbruck.

I then said that Her Majesty's Government would learn with great satisfaction the views taken by his Excellency of this question, as well as the alacrity with which he intended to support them; and that as the French Government seemed according to the accounts which had reached London, to be animated with the same sentiments, we might expect that the united advice to be offered to the Porte would not remain without some good result.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 219.

The Earl of Westmorland to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 63.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April* 20, 1852.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 52, instructing me to sound the feelings of the Austrian Government on the Tanzimat question, and to state that Sir Stratford Canning has authority to invite his colleagues at Constantinople to assist him in carrying out his instructions. I waited immediately upon the receipt of your Lordship's despatch upon Count Buol, and I communicated to him the substance of your Lordship's instructions, and I requested he would instruct the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Constanti-

nople to act in conformity with the objects you had explained, and to give his support to the proposal Sir Stratford Canning was prepared to make to the Representatives of the Five Powers his colleagues, in case the mission of Fuad Effendi should not succeed in bringing about a satisfactory arrangement between the Sultan and the Pasha.

Count Buol assured me he would most heartily concur in all your Lordship recommended upon this very embarrassing question, and he would by to-morrow's post instruct the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires to place himself in communication with Sir Stratford Canning, and to act in conjunction with him whenever he was called upon to do so, for the purpose of supporting and carrying out the proposal that Ambassador was prepared to recommend for adoption by the Sultan.

I have communicated to Sir Stratford Canning the result of my interview with Count Buol, so that he will be aware of the general tenor of the instructions which will be forwarded to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 220.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 180.)

My Lord, *Paris, April 26, 1852.*

I TOOK the opportunity I had of seeing M. de Thouvenel this afternoon, to speak to him upon the Egyptian question. Not to take up your Lordship's time with more detail than is necessary, I confine myself to stating that M. de Thouvenel assured me that the instructions for the Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople which are to be expedited to-morrow, were entirely consonant with the policy of Her Majesty's Government. That M. Sabatier was instructed to advise the Porte to settle the question of the Tanzimat in the way suggested by Her Majesty's Government, and at once, and not to prolong a state of uncertainty which might lead to further and more serious complications. M. de Thouvenel added, however, that this advice would be offered in a confidential form, and would not be made the subject of a note.

With regard to instructions for the future, in case the Sultan should have the intention of resorting to hostilities against his vassal, M. de Thouvenel said that the French Government had come to no decision; but that in his opinion it would be better to forestall the chances of hostilities, that is, it would be better to counsel the Sultan now to call himself for the advice of the Five Powers, whenever His Highness should find himself in a position with respect to Abbas Pasha which might lead to hostilities. In this way M. de Thouvenel observed that the object of Her Majesty's Government would be obtained, while the Sultan would be saved the humiliation of having the advice of the Five Powers imposed upon him.

I remarked that I was certain that your Lordship would adopt any course which would reconcile the Sultan's pride with the object which you had in view, namely, the preservation of tranquillity in the East; and that it certainly appeared to me much better that the Sultan should ask for advice than that His Highness should have the appearance of being dictated to.

M. de Thouvenel said that he was very glad to have an occasion of assuring me that the reports which were prevalent of the French Government desiring the destitution of Abbas Pasha, and of its having advised the Porte to that step, were entirely void of truth. On the contrary, the French Government had more than three weeks ago sent instructions to Constantinople in quite a different sense, and had strongly deprecated the idea of the Porte resorting to any such extreme measure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 221.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 79.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 19, 1852.*

THE one remaining point of ostensible difference between the Porte and Abbas Pasha, which though single, operates untowardly on all their relations with each other, is still as far as I am informed unsettled. My latest advices from Egypt only announce the arrival of Fuad Effendi. Advices received elsewhere from the same quarter mention the respectful and flattering reception given to his Excellency, adding that the Viceroy received two visits from him and was preparing to return the compliment in person. Nothing has yet transpired with respect to the purport of their communications. The Porte is in daily expectation of despatches from Fuad Effendi. The Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha assure me that nothing but a private letter has been hitherto received from him. It appears that he acknowledges the considerate attentions paid to him by the Viceroy, and intimates at the same time a belief that under forms of courtesy and respect his movements are carefully watched.

Meanwhile there is a certain degree of improvement in the Grand Vizier's tone when speaking of Egyptian affairs, and I know that Mochtar Bey, who is Abbas Pasha's Kapu Kiaya or official agent at the Porte, looks forward to an amicable adjustment of the existing difference.

Appearances of an opposite character are not however entirely wanting. Umbrage is taken at a late movement of Egyptian troops towards El-Arish and the adjacent frontier; Mehemet Ali Pasha, who returned last week to Egypt only for a short time, and as the Grand Vizier assured me, for some affair of his own, was received with much distinction by the Sultan and dismissed with a handsome decoration. An officer in the confidential employment of Said Pasha has recently visited Constantinople under suspicious circumstances. On the other hand again, has it come to my knowledge that the Sultan's mother has expressed sentiments favourable to the encouragement of a friendly understanding with Abbas Pasha.

Such to all appearance is the general aspect of the Porte's relations with Egypt at this moment of suspense as to the result of Fuad Effendi's negotiation. Whatever may be the ultimate views of the Sultan and his principal Minister, there is no sufficient reason to doubt the sincerity of their repeated declarations with respect to the conciliatory bearing of that mission. I am confirmed in my impression that financial interests constitute a part of the Commissioner's instructions, and if I am correctly informed, the Pasha has intimated a readiness to enter into his proposals should they prove, which is doubtful, to be accompanied with sufficient security. A disagreement between the parties on this point would probably bring the question of capital punishment to a decision on its own merits; but even in that case the Grand Vizier has assured me that Fuad Effendi will not close his mission without waiting for further instructions from Constantinople; and supposing the worst, by which I mean the Sultan's peremptory insistance, and the Pasha's refusal to comply, I reckon, with reference to my despatches by the "Growler," on a sufficient interval of time for the interference of friendly Powers before any hostile decision is likely to be taken.

Your Lordship is probably in possession by this time of Mr. Murray's despatch to me marked secret and confidential.* As he stated his intention of transmitting a copy direct to your Lordship, it is unnecessary for me to do so now. Though I have naturally felt the deep responsibility thrown upon me by that communication, I have endeavoured to take a dispassionate and unbiassed view of the circumstances in question, avoiding on the one side any step dictated by premature alarm, and giving on the other a fair consideration to the Viceroy's grounds of anxiety. His Highness has justly entitled himself to our sympathy and moral support so long as with reference to the present dispute he keeps within the bounds of duty towards his Sovereign. The delicate nature of his position warrants, it must be allowed, a more than usual susceptibility, and British interests connected with Egypt might be compromised by any appearance of inattention to his anxiety on the part of Her Majesty's Embassy. But we also are delicately situated towards the Porte in this matter; and while every exertion

* See Inclosure 1 in No. 199.

on our side in the Pasha's favour excites a feeling of jealousy, if not of suspicion, here, so marked a demonstration as the appearance of a British naval force at Alexandria would, if uncalled for by any real danger, operate unfavourably on His Highness' cause, and perhaps even hasten that mutual exasperation which for European as well as for Eastern interests there is so much reason to deprecate.

With these impressions on my mind I lost no time, on the receipt of Mr. Murray's despatch, in making inquiry as to the French correspondence and Said Pasha's letter, on which Abbas Pasha's requisition to Mr. Murray was principally founded. It was not to be expected that any positive certainty would result from my inquiries, nor indeed was there much urgency that it should, since both letters might exist without inculpating the Porte, or proving more than the readiness of Said Pasha to supplant his relation, and that of the French Government or of its Minister to extract some advantage from the present juncture in favour of French influence. On the whole it appears most probable that the letter ascribed to Said Pasha has really reached Constantinople, and that the Egyptian ladies residing there afforded a secret channel for its conveyance to the Sultan. It is also by no means improbable that some one having access more or less confidentially to the French Embassy, has written to Egypt in the sense described by Nubar Bey in his note to Mr. Murray. But nothing which warrants a belief that the Pasha's letter was written by instigation from the Porte or the Seraglio, or that his alleged offer of unlimited subserviency is accepted in those quarters, has hitherto come to my knowledge. And with respect to any eventual understanding between France and the Porte as to Egyptian affairs negotiated by M. de Lavalette on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, I venture to avow my complete incredulity. No acquaintance with any such agreement is professed by those whom I have felt myself at liberty to sound confidentially on the subject; and I am informed by an intelligent and trustworthy person, who was able to draw M. Sabatier into conversation on the same topic, that he, the French Chargé d'Affaires, not only denied peremptorily the existence of such an agreement, but disclaimed on his own personal knowledge any overture of the kind on M. de Lavalette's part, and even asserted that the language of the latter in taking leave of the Turkish Ministers was decidedly favourable to an adjustment of the existing differences between the Sultan and his vassal.

These assurances, however strong, being received by me at second hand, I did not feel myself entirely at ease without applying directly to the Turkish Ministers themselves. Considering the terms of habitual confidence on which I have long been with the Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha, I thought that by stating to them the facts as they had reached me, I should either elicit a disclaimer so positive as to clear away every shadow of suspicion, or an answer of that evasive character which it would not be difficult to interpret. It seemed to me, that in the latter case their knowledge of my being correctly informed would make them less ready to give effect to their intentions, and justify me in resorting to that precautionary measure for which Abbas Pasha had applied to Mr. Murray.

I saw the two Ministers separately, without preparation, and I am happy to assure your Lordship that their language coincided in an utter denial of the supposed agreement, accompanied with an unflinching repetition of all they had said before us to the friendly character of Fuad Effendi's mission. The Grand Vizier affirmed, moreover, that he had no knowledge whatever of the letter ascribed to Said Pasha, and that he believed it to be an invention like that of the agreement with France. He assured me that although his opinion differed from ours on the particular question urged by Abbas Pasha, such difference did not extend to any other questions or affect the general character of the Porte's relations with Great Britain. This assurance was partly given in reply to my observations on certain symptoms of Turkish antagonism to British interests, which had been brought under my notice by Her Majesty's Consul-General at Cairo in his secret and confidential despatch, as having of late appeared in the language and proceedings of the Porte's Representatives on the coasts of the Red Sea.

My desire to place the subject matter of this despatch in a full and clear light under your Lordship's consideration, has led me into greater length than I anticipated. It remains for me to complete the explanations which I now submit to your Lordship, by forwarding herewith in copy my answer to Mr.

Murray, and the communication which I have since addressed to the Commander of Her Majesty's squadron in the Mediterranean. In writing to Egypt I thought it advisable to express the result of my inquiries and communications in that tone of conviction which appeared to me best calculated to allay the Viceroy's anxiety, and to discourage the prevailing disposition to entertain exaggerated grounds of suspicion and alarm.

It cannot, however, be necessary for me to remind your Lordship that unwilling as I am to suspect the Porte of harbouring an intention to remove Abbas Pasha without just cause, His Highness' ultimate refusal to comply with the Sultan's pending requisition might be construed into an infraction of the conditions on which the hereditary tenure of Egypt by Mehemet Ali's family expressly depends, and in that case that a simple declaration of the Pasha's forfeiture might supersede the necessity of enforcing the Sultan's decree by active hostilities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 221.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(Most Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April 15, 1852.*

MY inquiries and communications with the Turkish Ministers respecting those circumstances of suspicion and alarm which form the subject matter of your despatch marked secret and confidential, have resulted in a settled impression that there are no sufficient grounds of apprehension in the sense expressed to you by Nubar Bey in the name of His Highness Abbas Pasha.

The Grand Vizier has denied personally to me the existence of any special understanding between the Porte and the late French Minister at this Court, relative to our pending discussions on the subject of Egypt. His denial extends emphatically to what passed at M. de Lavalette's audience of leave. Aali Pasha, with whom I have conversed separately on the subject, holds precisely the same language as the Grand Vizier, who has also disclaimed the receipt of any proposal similar to that which has been ascribed to Said Pasha.

That M. de Lavalette may have endeavoured before he left Constantinople to ascertain the sentiments of the Ottoman Ministry, for the information and eventual guidance of his Government, is by no means improbable; but the idea of his having succeeded in establishing any kind of alliance or agreement with them on the subject of Egypt, besides being repelled by the positive disclaimer of Aali Pasha and the Grand Vizier, is unsupported by any evidence obtained, or indeed by any general probability.

Under these circumstances I must decline assuming the responsibility of calling upon the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces in the Mediterranean, to detach any considerable part of his squadron to the protection of the Egyptian coast; any movement of the kind at this moment would not only to all appearances be superfluous, but it might be attended with additional hazard to the Viceroy's interests, to say nothing of other contingencies still more objectionable and embarrassing.

I am assured, confidentially, that Hair-ed-deen Pasha agrees with me in this view of the subject, though he has been made acquainted by the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires with M. Huber's report relating to the same apprehensions which were conveyed to me in your despatch, and which the Austrian Consul appears to have derived partly from his conversation with you, and partly by direct communication from the Viceroy himself.

Reshid Pasha has informed me confidentially that Fuad Effendi is not to leave Egypt without exchanging communications with the Porte, and that the object of Mehemet Aali Pasha's temporary visit to that country is the settlement of some private interest of his own.

Upon the whole I trust that a perusal of this reply to your despatch will enable you to allay the Viceroy's alarm; His Highness may be assured that however open to the risk of being deceived or misinformed, I am by no means

indifferent to his fair rights and interests, nor should I hesitate a moment to apply for the means of giving him the fullest practicable effect of our moral support, in case of his being unjustly threatened with any serious danger.

I am, &c.

(Signed) S. CANNING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 221.

Sir Stratford Canning to Rear-Admiral Dundas.

(Secret.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April* 17, 1852.

HER Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt has lately submitted to me on behalf of His Highness Abbas Pasha, the expediency under present circumstances of applying to you for a demonstration in his favour, by the presence at Alexandria of a part of the force under your command. I have written in reply to Mr. Murray, that I do not conceive the circumstances to be such as to call for the proposed measure, which in other respects might be attended with objections.

I think it right at the same time to apprize you of the critical state into which at any moment the relations of Egypt with the Sultan's Government may be placed in the event of Fuad Effendi's mission to Abbas Pasha terminating, as very possibly it may terminate, without any adjustment of the pending difference, nor would I endeavour to dissuade your Excellency from affording His Highness the satisfaction which he might derive from the presence of Her Majesty's flag at Alexandria, if the occasional detachment of one of the vessels under your command in that direction happened to coincide with the general plan of your arrangements.

I have, &c.

(Signed) S. CANNING.

No. 222.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 80.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 19, 1852.

CONCEIVING with reference to the position in which Her Majesty's Government have been placed towards the Viceroy of Egypt, that His Highness' appreciation of the support which he has received from them by means of this Embassy should be placed on record, I forward herewith in copy and translation a Turkish instruction addressed by His Highness to the Egyptian Commissioners here, and by them communicated to me.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 222.

Abbas Pasha to the Turkish Commissioners.

(Traduction.) 19 *Djemazi-ul-Evvel*, 1268. (10 *Mars*, 1852.)

VOS dépêches en date du 4 Djemazi-ul-Evvel, 1268 (24 Février, 1852), expédiées par le "Rechid," me sont dûment parvenues, et j'ai pris connaissance de leur contenu. La confiance que j'ai toujours placée en vous est justifiée par le zèle et la manière d'agir dont vous faites preuve, et pour lesquels j'ai tout lieu d'être content.

Je suis on ne peut plus reconnaissant pour ce que vous me mandez au sujet de l'intérêt que prend à nos affaires l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique, son Excellence Canning Bey, et je suis satisfait au-delà de toute expression,

de la bonté qu'a eu son Excellence d'envoyer au Mabein le Drogman de l'Ambassade, M. Pisani, pour l'obtention de la prérogative du Khissas, prérogative si essentielle pour Egypte, et d'avoir en outre entretenu et particulièrement recommandé, lui-même, cette affaire au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Aali Pacha.

En présentant mes respects à M. l'Ambassadeur, vous ne manquerez pas de lui réitérer l'expression de ma gratitude et de lui faire savoir à quel point je suis redevable, et que j'ai la ferme conviction, et je me flatte qu'avec son assistance amicale je réussirai à obtenir ce que je sollicite.

Je vous charge de faire aussi connaître d'une belle manière à son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur, que Kiamil Pacha et Artin Bey ne cessent d'ourdir les intrigues de toutes espèces, qui arrivant ici produisent un mauvais effet et donnent lieu à de faux bruits qui passent de bouche en bouche.

Je prie donc son Excellence de vouloir bien prendre en considération les menées de ces Messieurs, et de trouver moyen d'y mettre fin. Ce que je vous ai déjà écrit, et ce que je vous recommande encore très fortement, c'est d'être bien sur vos gardes de ne rien accepter dans le Tanzimat ou dans son préambule qui puisse compromettre la position de l'Égypte ou détourner les esprits de ses habitans. Je vous recommande surtout d'être bien attentifs pour ce qui regarde la peine capitale.

(L.S.) ABBAS HILMI.

No. 223.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 14.)

My Lord, *Cairo, April* 16, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in obedience to the instructions contained in your despatch of March 18 (Separate), I have made the requisite arrangements for postponing my departure from my post, until the termination of the important negotiations now pending between the Sublime Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

I can sincerely assure your Lordship that when I applied to Lord Granville for leave of absence, I had no reason to anticipate the serious crisis that has since supervened. Had I done so, no considerations of a private or personal nature, however interesting they might be, should have induced me to absent myself from my post at such a period, and I feel much gratified at the confidence reposed in me by your Lordship, as evinced in your instructing me to remain here until the solution of the complication now involving the Turco-Egyptian question.

I have much pleasure in stating my hope that the mission of Fuad Effendi may bring about this solution, for although nothing definitive is settled, the discussions between the Envoy and the Viceroy are carried on in a tone of courtesy and conciliation.

The first step in concession was made by the Viceroy entirely of his own accord, and without consulting myself or any other of my colleagues; although it may have been somewhat hastily taken, it proved His Highness' desire to bring the pending discussions to an amicable termination.

In the general question of Khissas, the right of demanding the blood or of pardoning a murderer is vested by the Mahomedan religious law not in the judge, or the Governor, or the Sultan, but in the heirs of the murdered man. Supposing the criminal's guilt to be proved, they may demand his execution, and neither judge nor Prince can pardon him, or they may accept the price of blood and forgive him, in which case neither judge nor Prince can execute him, however atrocious may be the nature of his crime.

The royal privilege of executing or remitting a capital sentence can therefore only be exercised in cases where no heirs or near relations of the murdered man can be found, and this privilege heretofore exercised by all the Governors of Egypt, His Highness has agreed to concede to the Sultan, reserving to himself the right to carry out or commute the capital sentences legally

pronounced on murderers, according as the heirs of the victim accept or refuse the price of blood.

If I have made my meaning clear, your Lordship will see that the Viceroy, keeping strictly to the religious law of Islam, has apparently conceded the only point in dispute, by admitting the Sultan's right to determine all such cases of Khissas as are not already definitely determined by that law.

On the other hand His Highness says that practically the concession is not calculated seriously to affect his administrative power or authority, inasmuch as the cases are extremely rare in which a man leaves in dying no heirs or relatives to demand justice on the murderer.

In return for this concession on the part of the Viceroy, I understand that Fuad Effendi is now intimating to His Highness the readiness of the Sublime Porte to allow him the ordinary exercise of the Khissas for a term of years. His Highness stipulates for eight years, and the Turkish Envoy proposes six. The remaining difference being therefore only a term of two years, there is every reason to expect an early and amicable settlement of this troublesome question.

I cannot help thinking that the Viceroy has shown considerable shrewdness in debating this matter on the ground of the religious law, for however much the Turks may in practice disregard both its injunctions and observances, they dare not in theory slight or disobey its fundamental tenets, as they would thereby run the risk of alienating all the Arab tribes that swarm in the southern and eastern parts of the empire.

I am not aware of the secret instructions that may have been given to Fuad Effendi to open up other questions with the Viceroy, but it is surmised that he may be commissioned to act as mediator in respect to the differences that have arisen between the Viceroy and the junior members of the family, and it is also more than probable that he will signify to His Highness that some proof of his loyal feeling towards the Sultan, in the shape of a pecuniary subsidy, would be highly acceptable in the present embarrassed state of the Turkish finances.

If the Ottoman Envoy proves himself just and sincere in the former of these objects, he may partially succeed in the latter, but if his secret intentions be to foment the discord and insubordination which he ostensibly endeavours to check, complications of a very serious kind may follow at no distant date.

It must be admitted that it requires no small amount of effrontery on the part of the Sublime Porte to demand pecuniary advances, beyond the tribute authorized by the Firman of investiture, from a man to whom the Imperial Treasury already owes upwards of 300,000*l.*, whose relations they have encouraged in intrigue and insubordination, whose avowed calumniators and enemies they have treated with marked distinction, and who is already engaged in an undertaking so expensive as the railway.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 224.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 16.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 17, 1852.*

SINCE I had the honour to address to you my despatch No. 14 of yesterday's date, I am happy to be able to inform your Lordship that the period for which the right of the Khissas (as modified in the manner stated in the above-mentioned despatch) is to be exercised by the Viceroy, has been definitely settled, and Fuad Effendi has agreed on the part of the Sultan to extend it to seven years.

The remaining points in discussion have not yet been mooted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 225.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 17.)
My Lord, *Cairo, April 20, 1852.*

I HAD hoped that the satisfactory arrangement of the Khissas question, which I had the honour to announce to you in my despatch No. 16 of the 17th instant, would have been allowed to remain undisturbed, but it seems that a misunderstanding had arisen upon one important point, the mention of which had been omitted both by Fuad Effendi and the Viceroy, each considering it as being understood in his own favour.

The point was a demand on the part of the Sublime Porte that the Viceroy, in exercising the right of Khissas for the seven years conceded to him, should, in every instance of the execution of a criminal, transmit to Constantinople a copy of the sentence delivered by the Egyptian court, and an abstract of the evidence and proceedings.

To this the Viceroy objected, on the ground of the discussions and disputes to which it might give rise between the Turkish and Egyptian tribunals; if the former should arrogate a right to revise and reconsider the sentences pronounced by the latter, then the privilege of Khissas, nominally conceded, would be virtually withdrawn, and a hostile or corrupt judge of appeal at Constantinople might easily find some flaw or pretext on which to charge the Viceroy himself with illegal homicide; if, on the contrary, no such right of revision was arrogated, the transmission to Constantinople of the sentence and abstract of proceedings was obviously superfluous.

Notwithstanding these objections on the part of the Viceroy, Fuad Effendi declared that this was a point upon which his instructions left him no discretionary power. He assured His Highness that there was no intention on the part of the Sublime Porte to revise or reconsider the Egyptian capital sentences, but that the Sultan could not waive this demand, because His Majesty had, in the irrevocable stipulations of the Firman of Gulhané, taken a solemn vow that none of his subjects should suffer capital punishment without his cognizance of the justice of the sentence, and his sanction for its being carried into execution.

The Viceroy, in this dilemma, sent Nubar Bey to me to ask my opinion and my advice whether he should resist this demand and make an appeal to the Foreign Powers, or concede it, or endeavour to find some modification of its inconveniences.

I replied that I could only recommend His Highness to apply to the Foreign Powers as a last resource, for that one of the chief motives for the mission of Fuad Effendi had been the extreme jealousy of foreign interference entertained by the Sultan, who considered this question as belonging exclusively to his own royal privileges.

I pointed out to him that none of the foreign Ambassadors, however friendly to His Highness' interests, had been able to advocate this claim as one of legal right, but had supported it upon the same ground as that upon which his own letters to his Sovereign had rested it, namely, that of a favour to be conceded, in order that his own administrative power might not be unduly crippled, nor the tranquillity and security of Egypt be rendered liable to disturbance.

I further observed that in bringing forward this demand Fuad Effendi had obviously convicted himself of inaccuracy both as to the extent of the powers with which he was intrusted, and as to the violence offered to the Sultan's conscientious scruples; the extension of the proposed term from two years to seven, without reference to Constantinople, sufficiently proved the former, and with respect to the latter, if it were true that the Sultan had taken the oath or vow above referred to, it was quite clear that His Majesty could not, without perjuring himself, delegate to his Viceroy for a term of years, the power of hanging or beheading criminals, under the mere reservation that he was subsequently informed for what crimes and under what sentence they had been executed.

As a means of escaping from the new dilemma that had arisen, without breaking off the negotiations hitherto amicably conducted, I recommended that the Viceroy should offer one of two alternatives for Fuad Effendi's acceptance:

Either that the Sublime Porte should content itself with demanding the transmission of a simple notice of every infliction of capital punishment, unaccompanied by any abstract of proceeding, for which concession His Highness might agree (as a guarantee for the justice and humanity with which he intended to exercise the Khissas) to reduce the proposed seven years to five; or secondly, as Fuad Effendi had declared that there was no intention on the part of the Sublime Porte to "revise or reconsider the sentences of the Egyptian tribunals," I recommended that His Highness should agree to transmit the abstract of proceedings required, provided that the Sublime Porte should consent to the formal insertion in the Firman of a stipulation to the same effect as the assurance above given by his Excellency Fuad Effendi.

Nubar Bey returned to the Palace, and the remainder of the day having been occupied in the discussion of this matter, he came to me late yesterday evening to tell me that His Highness would not hear of reducing the term of seven years to five, but that he had acceded to the demand made by Fuad Effendi, without even mentioning the stipulation which I had proposed for His Highness' protection against the future evils and inconveniences which he had anticipated from the measure to which he has now acceded.

Your Lordship will find in this detail a confirmation of what I have before written, that our Viceroy is of too hasty a temper and of too unstable a mind to cope with an experienced diplomatist like Fuad Effendi.

His Highness listens to counsel, but it frequently goes in at one ear and out at the other, and his decisions are more often the result of the impulse of the moment than of mature reflection.

It is no easy task to attempt to guide such a man through a labyrinth of intrigue so complicated as that in which Abbas Pasha is now involved; and my fear is, that Fuad Effendi having now discovered the weak point in his character, will get the better of His Highness in the questions which remain to be discussed in respect to family and financial arrangements.

In so far as regards myself, I trust that the advice which I offered to the Viceroy with a view to extricating him from the dilemma in which he found himself, will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 226.

Colonel Rose to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May 3.*)

(Separate and Confidential.)

Cairo, April 14, 1852.

My Lord,

MR. MURRAY informs your Lordship of the state of affairs here in detail. I shall therefore merely have the honour to submit a few impressions which I derive from a perusal of the entire correspondence, and the local information which I have acquired in Egypt respecting the Turkish and Egyptian question.

I have much satisfaction in stating that I feel persuaded that no collision will occur between the Viceroy of Egypt and the Porte; for the first will not withhold any just right from his Sovereign, and the prudent consent of Fuad Effendi to delegate to His Highness the power of life and death for six years in cases where a murdered man has no heirs, proves that the Porte's determination to withhold the Khissas from the Governor of Egypt is not immutable.

Abbas Pasha asks for eight instead of six years. I have no doubt that negotiation will shortly terminate this now purely arithmetical difference, and with it the main and most serious cause of misunderstanding between Turkey and Egypt. Abbas Pasha may therefore now, I think, be said to enjoy with the consent of the Sultan, the important right which indisputable evidence has proved to be indispensable for public, private, and commercial security in Egypt. I apprehend that in return for this concession the Porte will appeal to Abbas Pasha for assistance in its financial embarrassments; and I have no doubt he will give it, in so far as it is compatible with his means and the construction of the railroad. For I venture to think that no consideration should interfere with that most important work.

Your Lordship will also be glad to learn that my relations with Abbas Pasha, and the concurrent testimony of the foreign Agents and other parties here, convince me that the Viceroy has not an idea of raising the standard of independence. So little aggressive is he that the earnest counsel of his supporters cannot even induce him to repress by the law, the intrigues and continued acts of insubordination of his relatives against him, who, I must observe, always met with kindness at his hands till they entered into a league to overthrow him.

With much intelligence and a fair share of reasoning powers, His Highness is far too mistrustful often of his best friends; too inactive and unstable of purpose to play the dangerous game of ambitious revolt, and throw down the gauntlet to his own Sovereign and the Powers who have guaranteed Turkey's rights.

Abbas Pasha is not a Mehemet Ali, and moreover he cannot forget that even that superior genius, defeated and humbled, was forced to sue for mercy.

The rule of Egypt, according to the stipulations of the Firman of 1841, will fully satisfy His Highness' ambition, which is subordinate to his predilection for ease and luxury.

But better motives than fear are guarantees of Abbas Pasha's fidelity. The archives of this Consulate and of the Embassy at Constantinople contain more than one proof that whatever Abbas Pasha's faults may be, the commencement of his career was distinguished by a good and generous feeling towards the Sultan, and that in one instance the ardour of his loyalty made him disregard the dictates of discretion, and entailed on him the animosity of a formidable interest.

If late events have at all altered these early feelings, I feel convinced that a prudent policy would revive them. For even when His Highness' differences with the Porte were at their height, he made advances to the Turkish Treasury to the amount of 300,000 pounds, and instead of repaying himself out of the tribute of Egypt, he in compliance with a request from the Grand Vizier, so late as a month ago promised to pay, and has actually remitted an instalment of the tribute for this year to Messrs. Sina of Vienna, as a guarantee for the loan which the Government Bank at Constantinople has contracted with that house, for the purpose of extricating itself from its financial dilemma; a satisfactory disproval of the accusation that Abbas Pasha meditated independence, for if that had been his object, he would not have deprived himself of the sinews of war in order to extricate the mother-country from financial embarrassments.

Should, as many of the Porte's best friends believe, projects have crept into her councils of establishing Turkish direct rule in Egypt, and thoughts have arisen how advantageous the revenues of Egypt would prove to the relief of the Turkish Treasury, it would be wise in the Porte at once to renounce designs which must put her wrong with the Powers who in concert with the Porte decided the principle, although not the details, of hereditary, that is, indirect, Government in Egypt, and which would moreover transform a rich and generous vassal into an embittered opponent.

The same evidence which I have already quoted confirms all that has been said in favour of the satisfactory state of public security in Egypt. As I came up the Nile I saw the banks covered in many places with bales of cotton and other valuable produce of the country; an unarmed peasantry had brought it there for shipment, and neither store-houses nor guards were required for its protection.

Can a clearer proof be required of order and security, remarkable anywhere, but peculiarly so in a country like Egypt, to which nature has certainly granted a noble river, fertilizing and enriching all within its reach, but with the drawback of a desert running along each bank, the abode of wild Bedouins, whose revenue is plunder, and whose law is that of the strongest.

Would it be prudent to weaken the hands of a Government with whom lies the responsibility of protecting such wealth against such neighbours? But there is another stream of paramount importance to Great Britain, the stream of British subjects, wealth, and commercial enterprise, western and eastern, which is continually passing through Egypt. Despatches at times of the greatest importance respecting the affairs of our Indian Empire are forwarded by the same route. All these interests have ample protection.

That protection is not due to guards, for there are none, but to Abbas

Pasha's authority, which hitherto has been so efficient, that the transit passes through the heart of the Desert with more security than it would through the centre of many European capitals. I venture to think that your Lordship's far superior judgment will agree with mine that it would be a perilous experiment to curtail the authority of a Governor who protects so well such all-important interests, more especially as official documents prove that that authority is maintained by a sparing use of punishment.

I have the honour to inclose confidentially to your Lordship, a letter in copy, addressed to me the day of my departure from Constantinople by the principal British merchant of that city. It affords a proof of the credit which the Viceroy enjoys amongst the commercial interest, even out of Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HUGH ROSE.

Inclosure in No. 226.

Mr. Hanson to Colonel Rose.

Galata, March 30, 1852.

My dear Colonel Rose,

WISHING you a pleasant voyage to Egypt with a continuance of your health during your residence in that country, I have a great favour to ask of you.

You are aware that at present the bills of the bank at Constantinople are in great discredit in consequence of the very large amount owing in England, and the impoverished state of the Government finances.

To remedy this state of things and to enable the Government to put the bank on a better system, a loan has been arranged with the bankers Messrs. Rothschild of Paris and Messrs. Sina of Vienna, they receiving as guarantee, among other revenues, the engagement of the Pasha of Egypt to pay to their bankers direct annually for the next three years, the tribute of Egypt, instead of paying it to the Turkish Government. As soon as this be acceded to by the Pasha of Egypt the position of the bank here will be immediately improved, and we as merchants can then safely venture to take their bills and renew our transactions with the Government.

You may thus easily conceive how anxious I should be to learn that the Pasha had consented to this arrangement, and should you consider it strictly compatible with the official capacity which you will be in, I should consider it a very great favour if you would kindly let me know when such a decision takes place.

It will be a public and notorious act on the part of the Pasha and known to everybody around him, otherwise I should not venture to ask you to say a word to me on the subject. However, should I have asked what you do not feel in a position to grant, pray forgive the liberty I have taken and think nothing more of the request, but still believe, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. HANSON.

No. 227.

Colonel Rose to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

(Confidential.)

Alexandria, April 21, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to state to your Lordship that in compliance with your instructions of the 18th of March to Mr. Murray, I go to-morrow in the Austrian steamer to Constantinople, where I shall carry out the instructions with which your Lordship has honoured me.

Mr. Murray informs your Lordship of the unfavourable turn which the question of the Khissas unexpectedly took after Abbas Pasha had informed us on the 13th instant that it had been most satisfactorily settled.

Mr. Murray has stated so clearly all the disadvantages of prejudicing that

right by compelling Abbas Pasha to send the Ilam, religious sentence of death, to the Porte, that I shall merely state a few additional facts which confirm his view of the case.

The Ilam of the Egyptian Mekkemé will be inspected by the Sheik-ul-Islam; if he finds an error in it he must acquaint the Sultan with it. His Majesty cannot possibly abstain from taking notice of the error; for if he did he would be a party, as it were, to the illegal execution of his subject, and he would have neglected the means of preventing a repetition of it. The Sultan must therefore disapprove the sentence, and immediately the Viceroy and the Mekkemé of Egypt stand convicted of homicide; and further, Fuad Effendi's promise to Abbas Pasha, "that the transmission of the Ilam was a mere formality, and that there could be no revision of it," becomes unredeemed.

It cannot be said that there is no chance of the Sheik-ul-Islam or the Ulemas of Constantinople differing in opinion with the Ulemas of Cairo, for even in the best administered countries the best lawyers are constantly seen taking opposite views not only of the laws but of evidence also.

But if this be the case in Europe, it is far more so in Turkey, where the law is often so vague that frequently fetwas diametrically different as to the same point in law are obtained from different Kadis, and at times from the same Kadi.

Besides, in Turkey, civilization has modified the practice, although religious feeling has maintained the letter of the law in its pristine bigotry. The same is the case as to evidence.

The consequence of all this is that there is constantly a clashing in Turkey between the letter of the law and of evidence, and the practice of them. But how much more will not such conflicts of opinion occur between Turkish and Egyptian lawyers, always nationally, but now politically jealous of each other? What hope is there that such discordant elements can meet in harmony in the mazes of the Turkish law and in the difference of its letter and of its practice?

Endless bickerings and discussions must ensue between the Ulemas of Cairo and Constantinople; but the latter will always prevail, because they will be backed by the Court, the Ministry, and the Sheik-ul-Islam, who is in Turkey very much what the Pope is in Rome; as frequent as these discussions will be embarrassing appeals for aid from the Viceroy to the British Agency and Embassy, when he is accused at Constantinople of having illegally put into execution a capital sentence.

The result will be, that Abbas Pasha morally, although not physically timid, and rendered far more so by recent events, will be afraid to carry sentences of death into execution, lest he should be declared guilty of innocent blood, and consequently unfit to govern. The Egyptian populations and the Arabs of the Desert will quickly perceive a change which they daily expect, the curtailment of their Viceroy's authority; anarchy will ensue to the immediate prejudice of the greatest of British interests, those of its eastern and western empires.

Another unfavourable result may also occur: Abbas Pasha betrayed by his relations, circumvented by his Government may at last, seduced by high-sounding promises of aid, throw himself into the arms of an anti-British interest.

I ought not to conceal from your Lordship the unfavourable impression as to the Porte's policy which has been caused by Fuad Effendi's declaration to Abbas Pasha, "that the transmission of the Ilam to Constantinople was a mere formality, but required by the oath of the Sultan to his people, that *no subject* should die without his sanction." And yet in the same breath his Excellency had promised Abbas Pasha that he *might* execute sentences of death for seven years without the Sultan's sanction, the Ilam only being sent to Constantinople *after the criminals' heads were cut off*.

All who have heard of this extraordinary declaration have come to the painful conclusion that Fuad Effendi's object in making it was to render the concession of the Khissas quite illusory, and to afford an occasion for compromising the Viceroy.

Under all the circumstances of the case I venture to submit my most respectful opinion, founded on local knowledge, that it would be most expedient that Her Majesty's Government should not sanction Fuad Effendi's late arrangement with Abbas Pasha, inasmuch as, far from being in accordance with the Firman d'hérédité, which as his Excellency Sir Stratford Canning says in his unanswerable note of the 23rd of February to the Porte, "tient compte des exceptions requises spécialement pour l'Egypte," it, Fuad Effendi's arrange-

ment, must produce vacillation in the mind of the ruler, insubordination in the feelings of the inhabitants of Egypt, as well as a feeling of insecurity in the vast British commercial and other interests dependent on the administration of Egypt.

Treaty binds the Porte to protect British merchants trading in Turkey.

The British Government advised and approved the modification of the Firman d'hérédité of 1841 in the sense quoted above, because the state or good administration of Egypt required that exception. The Grand Vizier in a letter to Mehemet Ali, of which a copy was communicated to the Representatives of the Powers at the Porte, says that the Sultan in accordance with the Powers, had decided on granting those exceptions to the Hatti-Sheriff of Gulhané,—the Tanzimat,—to him, Mehemet Ali.

I venture to think further, with the most profound respect, that the delicate and difficult Turkish-Egyptian question might be set at rest, and all future complications be avoided, if Her Majesty's Government were pleased to tell the Porte that they were of opinion that security of British commerce in Egypt, and a fair construction of the Firman d'hérédité with which Her Majesty's Government was concerned as is known, required that the Governor of Egypt should enjoy at least a delegated power of life and death; and that the minimum of this exception to the Tanzimat, allowed by the firman, and necessary for the good administration of Egypt, was a term of seven years; that if the Porte did not concur in this opinion, Her Majesty's Government would move the Porte to refer the question to the Powers concerned in it.

The Porte will then I feel persuaded concede the term of seven years, because she will never refer the question to the Powers, and thus admit them into her affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH ROSE.

No. 228.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 207.)
My Lord, *Paris, May 3, 1852.*

THE Paris papers publish news under date of the 22nd ultimo, from Alexandria, stating that the Egyptian question had been settled by conferring on Abbas Pasha the power of life and death for a period of seven years.

I have inquired at the office of Foreign Affairs whether any official intelligence of the kind had been received, and have been told that although the latest accounts from Cairo give hopes of an amicable arrangement, it is thought that the present news is premature.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 229.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Cowley.

(No. 110.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, May 4, 1852.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 207, respecting the mission of Fuad Effendi to Egypt, I have to call your attention to the information which is conveyed to you upon this subject by my despatch No. 109, in which are inclosed copies of despatches from Mr. Charles Murray, stating that the right of capital punishment is given to Abbas Pasha for seven years, subject to his sending to Constantinople the particulars of the trials of offenders after their execution.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 230.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.

(No. 37.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, May 7, 1852.*

I INCLOSE for your Excellency's information a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Murray in reply to his reports of the manner in which the question of capital punishments has been arranged between Fuad Effendi and Abbas Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 231.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 9.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 7, 1852.*

IT appears from your despatches Nos. 14, 16, and 17, of the 16th, 17th, and 20th ultimo, that an arrangement has been entered into between Abbas Pasha and Fuad Effendi, whereby the right of executing capital sentences without previous reference to Constantinople in cases in which the heirs or relatives of a murdered man may refuse to accept the price of blood and instead thereof demand justice on the murderer, is to be conceded to the Pasha of Egypt for seven years, on condition that in every instance of the execution of a criminal the Pasha shall transmit to Constantinople a copy of the sentence delivered by the Egyptian Court, and an abstract of the evidence and proceedings.

It further appears that Abbas Pasha has agreed to desist from claiming the privilege enjoyed by his predecessors and up to the present time by himself, of executing or remitting a capital sentence where no heirs or near relatives of a murdered man can be found.

I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government have received with great satisfaction the intelligence that the difficult question which has been so long under discussion between Abbas Pasha and the Porte has been settled so advantageously for the Pasha; and Her Majesty's Government earnestly hope that the Pasha having now obtained an arrangement satisfactory to himself of this important point, will henceforth be able to administer the Government of Egypt in such a manner as to secure the full development of the resources of that country, and afford increased facilities to the commerce of all European nations.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 232.

Count Buol to Baron Kubeck.

M. le Baron, *Vienne, le 24 Avril, 1852.*

CES jours derniers, Lord Westmorland, d'ordre de sa Cour, m'a entretenu du différend existant entre la Porte et le Gouverneur d'Egypte, relativement à la sanction des condamnations capitales dans ce Pachalic.

D'après le désir que m'en a témoigné à cette occasion l'Envoyé d'Angleterre, je me suis empressé de transmettre au Chargé d'Affaires à Constantinople des instructions qui lui enjoignent pour le cas où Fuad Effendi, envoyé par le Gouvernement Central auprès d'Abbas Pacha afin d'amener un arrangement de l'affaire dont il s'agit, dût échouer dans sa mission, de s'entendre avec les Représentans des autres Grandes Puissances sur des démarches combinées qui pourraient être faites auprès de la Porte dans le but d'aplanir ce différend.

Voici les points de vue qui, selon nous, pourraient servir de boussole aux Représentans des Cours, en tâchant d'amener un accommodement.

Les rapports du Gouverneur de l'Egypte avec la Porte ont pour base le Firman d'investiture que la Sublime Porte a dans le tems porté à la connaissance des Puissances alliées.

Un dissentiment ayant éclaté entre le Grand Seigneur et le Pacha d'Egypte à l'égard de l'exécution des sentences capitales, et ce dissentiment pouvant, s'il s'envénimait de plus en plus, amener une rupture entre Abbas Pacha et le Divan, et même finir par compromettre la paix générale, les Grandes Cours gardiennes de cette paix, se trouvent appelées à réunir leurs efforts pour obvier à d'aussi fâcheuses éventualités. En se prononçant vis-à-vis du Gouvernement Ottoman sur la question en instance elles sont loin toutefois, de contester que le droit de vie et de mort, fait partie des prérogatives de la souveraineté. Tout ce qu'elles désirent, c'est que sur ce point important, de même que pour l'application à l'Egypte de toutes les autres lois de l'Empire, le Divan veuille bien prendre en juste considération les circonstances locales de cette province, ainsi que cela est d'ailleurs stipulé en termes généraux dans le Firman même. En suivant cette ligne de conduite il ne sera pas difficile, il faut l'espérer, de tomber d'accord sur une combinaison, qui, toute en sauvegardant le droit inaliénable du Sultan, fût de nature à assurer au Pacha les moyens de maintenir dans le pays comme par le passé, la sécurité publique qui intéresse à un si haut degré tous les Gouvernemens dont les sujets ont des établissemens de commerce en Egypte. Peut-être pourrait-on atteindre ce double but, soit en laissant au Gouverneur au moins pour quelque tems encore, l'exercice du droit de vie et de mort par voie de délégation, soit, s'il était impossible de décider la Porte à y consentir en fixant certains cas auxquels serait limité le droit du Gouverneur de faire mettre à exécution la sentence capitale, sans être tenu de la soumettre préalablement à la ratification du Sultan.

Telles sont les instructions que nous venons d'adresser à M. de Klezl. Vous voudrez bien, M. le Baron, les porter à la connaissance de M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) BUOL.

No. 233.

Sir H. Seymour to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 72. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 24, 1852.

I RECEIVED this morning a private note from Count Nesselrode to acquaint me that the Emperor invited me to dinner to-day. I had of course the honour of obeying a gracious order, which is given very rarely to the foreign Ministers at this Court, and went to the Palace with the determination (if I found an opportunity) of endeavouring to secure His Majesty's favourable reception of a suggestion which Her Majesty's Government appears anxious to see adopted.

In reply accordingly to the Emperor's inquiry as to whether a second English messenger had not arrived yesterday, I replied that this was the case, and that he had been sent in consequence of the apprehensions entertained by your Lordship of some serious misunderstanding breaking out between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt.

I added that it appeared to your Lordship that the interference of the friends of the Sultan might be very useful in preventing mischief, should the danger become more imminent, and that this idea immediately suggested the expediency of applying to His Majesty, who was known to be always ready to exert himself in the cause of peace and tranquillity.

I refrained from entering into details, as several persons were within hearing.

The Emperor replied in the most gracious manner that upon this as upon all other occasions, it would be highly agreeable to do anything which might be acceptable to Her Majesty's Government, but that he would at the same time

observe, that the right in this case was clearly on the Sultan's side; "we must not forget, either," the Emperor further observed, "that we have to do with sick man; great precautions (ménagemens) are necessary, or we may kill the patient whom we are endeavouring to keep alive."

I rejoined that these sentiments both as regard the right and the delicate manner in which any interference with it was to be exercised agreed entirely with the opinions of Her Majesty's Government.

Count Nesselrode was present at the dinner.

I had a very short opportunity of speaking to him, but it was sufficient to enable me to state to him the friendly assurances which had been given me by his Imperial master.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 234.

Sir H. Seymour to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 75.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 28, 1852.

I HAD the honour of receiving by the messenger Ball your Lordship's despatch of the 16th instant, marked No. 56.

On the 26th instant I waited by appointment upon Count Nesselrode, and endeavoured to give effect to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government respecting the joint intervention (in case of need) of the Representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople, upon the Tanzimat question.

Count Nesselrode, who received me with his usual cordiality, observed that before going into any details, he would read me a despatch which he had addressed to M. de Titoff, on the 13/25rd ultimo, and which he had postponed communicating to me before.

The despatch, as far as a hasty perusal of it enabled me to judge, appeared to be such exactly as I could at the time have desired, its substance being that Her Majesty's Minister having been ordered to ascertain the opinion of the Imperial Government upon the Tanzimat, that opinion was, that laws promulgated in Turkey were, in virtue of the Treaty of July 1841, equally applicable to Egypt; but that while the right was clear, it was manifest that existing circumstances might render its relaxation with regard to Egypt desirable even in the Sultan's interests.

I remarked that the despatch was a very satisfactory one as far as it went, and that all I would ask was, that it should be enlarged upon, and that M. de Titoff should be empowered to join his efforts to those of Her Majesty's Ambassador for the purpose of obtaining some middle course in the event of the disputes between the Sultan and his vassal becoming more serious.

Upon my remarking that the suggestion once made by his Excellency as to the classification of crimes, the punishment of which might be left in the hands of Abbas Pasha, had appeared to Her Majesty's Government to be very judicious; but that whilst Her Majesty's Government appeared to be more intent upon some middle course being struck out, that upon its following any particular line it might be suggested that the power of life and death should be vested in the Pasha until the railway was completed.

Count Nesselrode very fairly remarked, that this restriction might be considered to be too limited, as after the opening of the railroad the security of passengers and property must be provided for.

His Excellency after making some memoranda of our conversation, stated that he should see the Emperor upon the subject, giving me at the same time to understand that an instruction in the sense pointed out by Her Majesty's Government would be sent to M. Ozeroff.

I took a fresh opportunity of remarking upon the ability as well as the very conciliatory spirit which had been displayed by Sir Stratford Canning in the various questions upon which attention has lately been turned in Turkey, instancing more particularly the question of the Holy buildings, and the misunderstandings between the Sultan and his Egyptian Viceroy.

The press of business at the Foreign Office at the eve of the Emperor's departure is such, that Count Nesselrode's intention may not be acted upon, but from his manner I entertain very little doubt of his intention of communicating to me the instruction which will be sent to the Imperial Mission at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 235.

Sir H. Seymour to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 82.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 28, 1852.

I HAVE only time to acquaint your Lordship that the Chancellor has just had the kindness to send one of the employés of his office to me, who was directed to let me read the copy of the instruction which will be dispatched to M. Ozeroff at Constantinople, and which will be as the date of this day.

M. Ozeroff is directed to refer to the despatch addressed to M. de Titoff on the ½½rd ultimo, and is acquainted that the Government adhere perfectly to the principle laid down in that paper.

M. Ozeroff is further informed that according to intelligence received from various quarters, the indications of an approaching misunderstanding between Constantinople and Alexandria are becoming more alarming; and he is directed, in the event of instructions in the sense above indicated being sent to Sir Stratford Canning, to support the representations which may be made by his Excellency for an adjustment of the differences between the Sultan and his vassal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 236.

The Earl of Westmorland to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 74.)

My Lord, *Vienna, May* 3, 1852.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing a précis of the despatches which have been received by this Government from the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt, and which have been communicated to me by Count Buol.

I think it probable your Excellency may have received the intelligence contained in these despatches by another channel, but as they relate to the progress of the negotiations of Abbas Pasha with Fuad Effendi up to the 8th ultimo, and as they detail the opinion of the Austrian Consul, and the line of conduct which, under the instructions of his Government, he has pursued on this occasion, I think it will be interesting to your Lordship to be made acquainted with them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

Inclosure in No. 236.

Précis of Despatches from the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt.

Cairo, April 13, 1852.

ON the 8th of this month I had a strictly confidential conversation with Abbas Pasha, in the presence only of Edhem Pasha and Nubar Bey. I communicated to him the portions of your despatch of the 30th ultimo intended for

communication; and in accordance with the opinions expressed at the close of the above-mentioned despatch, I drew his attention more particularly to the necessity of bringing these differences to a satisfactory conclusion, by coming to a direct understanding with the Ottoman Commissioner himself, and to the fact that any foreign interference would be more likely to injure than to benefit the cause. The Viceroy listened with the greatest attention to my communication on the subject of the above-mentioned despatch; and the clear and impartial manner in which his situation is therein considered, and the assurances also which I gave him of the friendly and impartial advice and favourable dispositions of the Imperial Government towards him, made the deepest impression on him. With visible emotion he admitted the truth that no advice could be so good for the prosperity both of Egypt and the Porte and his own personal interests as that of a power so far removed from and above all interested motives and party spirit, and repeatedly gave the strongest assurances that he would always give his fullest and most entire confidence to the organs of the Imperial Government.

I advised the Viceroy, for his own sake, to leave nothing undone to dispose favourably Fuad Effendi; to persuade him to observe himself the peculiar circumstances of Egypt; to draw his attention to the fact that the inhabited and cultivated portions of the country in Egypt are confined to the banks of the Nile, which are inclosed on either side by extensive deserts, inhabited only by the half-savage Bedouins, who can only be controled by martial law; and that by abandoning the system of martial law hitherto pursued, the state of the cultivated land would be endangered, and the produce of Egypt lowered, and that thus it would become exceedingly difficult for the Viceroy to fulfil his duties towards the Porte with that punctuality and diligence which, as a true Mussulman, he had always hitherto been ready to show on every order of the Sultan's. He might besides touch on the financial question which Fuad Effendi probably had in reserve. I advised the Viceroy to enter before the Ottoman Commissioners less on the judicial question of the *jus gladii*, and more on the administrative and statistical questions; to throw himself in the former question more on the grace of the Sultan, it being probable that a favourable report of Fuad Effendi would cause the exercise of this right to be secured to the Viceroy, at least for the present, though perhaps not without pecuniary sacrifice on his part. Edhem Pasha supported my opinions. This statesman and Nubar Bey both influence their master to give way and to obtain a definite reconciliation with the Porte. I further advised Abbas Pasha, in his conferences with Fuad Effendi, to dispense with the presence of the foreign Consuls as more agreeable to Fuad Effendi, who always studiously avoided all foreign influence. I therefore offered myself to leave Cairo for Alexandria, and propose to my colleagues the same. We then had some further conversation on the subject of the financial discussion with the Porte in connexion with the Tanzimat question. On these subjects the Viceroy will abide by the advice of Edhem Pasha.

The temperate behaviour of Fuad Effendi has entirely thrown over the enemies of the Viceroy, and any *coup d'état* at Alexandria would now have little likelihood of success. Nevertheless I think that the interests of the good cause would be furthered by the appearance of a large Austrian man-of-war in the harbour of Alexandria, especially as to the number of the vessels there (already increased by the arrival of the Russian steamer "Meteor") some English ships are shortly to be added.

Cairo, April 19, 1852.

AN arrangement has been come to between Abbas Pasha and Fuad Effendi on the *jus gladii*, on the grounds put forth by the Viceroy from the Cherif. According to this arrangement, the right of passing sentence of death in cases where the murdered person leaves no heir, remains exclusively reserved to the Sultan; in all other cases the Porte leaves the *jus gladii* for the space of seven years to the country where the sentence of death will be passed as hitherto by the regular tribunals, and immediately executed. Only one point remains unsettled. Fuad Effendi requires the Viceroy to report every execution of a sentence of death to Constantinople, which Abbas Pasha resists as a restriction

of his authority, and because in the final conference on the *jus gladii* no mention of this clause was made.

I wished Abbas Pasha joy of this arrangement, and expressed the hope that these important difficulties being brought to a conclusion, the question regarding the heritage of Mehemet Ali, on which Fuad Effendi is also to treat, may be as satisfactorily terminated. Abbas Pasha hopes that this determination regarding the *jus gladii* will be simply put into the judicial code of the Tanzimat, and no separate Firman promulgated.

In accordance with your Excellency's despatch of the 30th ultimo, I informed him that the Imperial Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople had been directed to support his cause, which new proof of protection afforded him by the Imperial Government gave him great satisfaction.

In a few days Fuad Effendi will send in the arrangement come to for ratification, and in the meantime the question of Mehemet Ali's heritage will be discussed.

It is to be hoped that Abbas Pasha may now have leisure to attend exclusively to the Government, and to reform whatever may be amiss in the administration, although the machinations and intrigues of Artin Bey at Constantinople will always be dangerous to him, and for his sake the removal of Artin Bey from Constantinople would be very desirable.

Abbas Pasha manifested the greatest sorrow at the news of the death of his Highness Prince Schwarzenberg, in whom he feels that his good cause has lost a powerful protector. He was gratified at learning through the circular despatch addressed to me by your Excellency, that the foreign policy of Austria, and consequently her relations with the Porte and friendly feelings towards Egypt and the person of the Viceroy remain unchanged.

(Signed) C. W. HUBER.

No. 237.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Brunnow.—(Communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury by Baron Brunnow, May 11.)

St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{18}{30}$ *Avril*, 1852.

M. le Baron,

SIR H. SEYMOUR s'est acquitté ces derniers jours d'un message pressé de son Gouvernement au sujet du démêlé actuel de la Porte avec Abbas Pacha. Nous devons croire d'après son langage, que les inquiétudes étaient fort sérieuses à Londres sur les conséquences possibles de ce différend, qui, bien que réduit aujourd'hui à la seule question si le Pacha conserverait ou non sur ses administrés le droit de vie et de mort, que le Sultan désire se réserver, menace néanmoins de prendre les proportions d'une rupture ouverte entre le Souverain et son vassal, et par là même devenir la cause d'une nouvelle et grave perturbation des affaires de l'Orient.

Les informations que nous avons eues jusqu'ici de Constantinople ne nous présentaient pas les choses sous un aspect aussi alarmant. Nous avions même lieu de croire que l'envoi de Fuad Effendi à Alexandrie était plutôt une mission de rapprochement que l'intimation d'un ultimatum contre lequel Abbas Pacha devait nécessairement se révolter. Cependant nous n'hésitons pas, conformément au désir que le Ministère de Sa Majesté Britannique vient de nous manifester, d'enjoindre à notre Chargé d'Affaires à Constantinople d'appuyer de son côté auprès des Ministres du Sultan le langage de modération et de conciliation que Sir Stratford Canning devait leur renouveler en leur conseillant la concession temporaire qu'Abbas sollicitait.

Votre Excellence trouvera ici la copie de l'instruction que nous venons d'adresser à M. Ozéroff, et qui n'est d'ailleurs que la répétition de ce que nous avions chargé précédemment M. Titoff de communiquer à la Porte de notre part sous la forme d'un conseil amical.

Notre impartialité sur cette question ne saurait assurément être révoquée en doute ni à Constantinople ni ailleurs; mais plus nous la jugeons avec calme, et plus nous devons désirer que la médiation des Puissances conserve ce caractère; des instances trop vives, des démonstrations irritantes, nous éloigneraient du but que nous avons tous sans doute en vue, celui de maintenir les arrangemens conclus de commun accord en 1841, et qui, ce nous semble, ne sont aujourd'hui troublés que par des questions d'amour-propre et des inimitiés personnelles, plutôt que par quelques motifs impérieux et inattendus.

Veuillez, M. le Baron, donner lecture de la présente dépêche et de ses annexes à Lord Malmesbury.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) NESSELRODE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 237.

Count Nesselrode to M. Ozeroff.

St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{18}{30}$ *Avril*, 1852.

PAR une dépêche du 11 Mars dernier nous avions fait connaître à M. de Titoff l'opinion du Cabinet Impérial sur la contestation qui s'était élevée entre la Porte et le Pacha d'Egypte au sujet de l'application du Tanzimat. Nous recommandions en même tems à notre Envoyé de ne pas laisser ignorer au Ministère Ottoman les considérations qui, selon nous, étaient de nature à pouvoir déterminer le Sultan à suspendre pour un tems limité son incontestable droit de vie et de mort sur ses sujets de l'Egypte, afin d'accorder à Abbas Pacha durant un petit nombre d'années le pouvoir discrétionnaire qu'il sollicitait à titre de confiance, et dans l'unique but de mieux maintenir la sécurité publique et le bon ordre dans la contrée placée sous son administration.

Nous apprenons aujourd'hui par des informations qui nous parviennent de différens côtés, que cette regrettable discussion continue entre Constantinople et Alexandrie, qu'elle s'envenime même tous les jours davantage, au point de faire craindre quelque complication sérieuse qui remettrait en question les arrangemens conclus en 1841. Nous avons dit plus haut, et nous le répétons ici, qu'il n'entre aucunement dans nos intentions d'engager le Sultan à se désister d'un de ses droits de souveraineté en faveur de son vassal. A cet égard toutes les Grandes Puissances nous semblent être du même avis; mais pour notre part, en apprenant la tournure que cette affaire menace de prendre aujourd'hui, nous ne saurions ne pas renouveler aux Ministres de Sa Hautesse le conseil amical et assurément très impartial, de ne pas brusquer une décision qui, quand même elle aurait pour elle le bon droit, pourrait faire naître par la suite des événemens dont il serait prudent d'éviter les chances. Nous ignorons le but de la mission qu'on vient de confier à Fuad Effendi, mais nous aimons à croire que ce fonctionnaire habile et éclairé tiendra à Alexandrie un langage ferme et conciliant à la fois, et que tout en éclairant Abbas Pacha sur les présomptueuses illusions qu'il se fait peut-être quant à sa puissance et à ses droits, il tâchera en même tems de le rassurer contre les craintes qui l'agitent sur les machinations que ses ennemis à Constantinople trament pour sa perte.

Vous tâcherez, Monsieur, d'avoir une conférence avec Aali Pacha, et de lui donner lecture de la présente dépêche. Vous y ajouterez des développemens plus amples que vous pourrez puiser dans notre dépêche précitée du 11 Mars. D'après les informations que nous recevons de Londres, Sir Stratford Canning doit avoir reçu de son Gouvernement des instructions qui l'invitent à insister auprès de la Porte sur le moyen-terme que nous venons d'indiquer nous-mêmes, c'est-à-dire, sur le maintien des droits du Sultan et la délégation temporaire à Abbas Pacha du pouvoir qu'il réclame.

Si tel est le langage que Sir Stratford Canning se propose de tenir à la Porte, vous voudrez bien vous associer à ses démarches, et les appuyer après en avoir conféré au préalable avec cet Ambassadeur.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) NESSELRODE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 237.

Count Nesselrode to M. de Titoff.

St. Pétersbourg, le ½ Mars, 1852.

LE dissentiment qui s'est élevé dernièrement entre la Porte et Abbas Pacha au sujet de l'application du Tanzimat dans le Gouvernement de l'Egypte a dû nécessairement fixer l'attention et les regrets du Cabinet Impérial. Nous nous sommes néanmoins abstenus de nous prononcer sur un différend qui était et qui est encore à nos yeux une question de régime intérieur et de fixation plus ou moins précise des rapports qui doivent exister entre le Souverain et son vassal.

Nous devons même plus; nous trouvons que la contestation actuelle serait facile à résoudre sur la base des stipulations de 1841 et du Firman émané à cette époque pour la réinstallation de Méhémet Ali dans le Gouvernement héréditaire en Egypte, vû qu'il est dit dans l'Article IV de cet Acte et en termes très explicites, que toutes les lois réglementaires établies ou à établir par la Porte auront aussi leur pleine et entière valeur en Egypte.

Abbas Pacha ne saurait par conséquent refuser avec quelque apparence de droit à l'application de ces lois désignées sous le nom collectif de Tanzimat, que le Sultan réclame aujourd'hui de lui.

Resterait à examiner si pour des raisons qui tiennent aux localités, aux mœurs des habitans et surtout aux fréquents brigandages auxquels les populations nomades de la contrée se livrent, le pouvoir discrétionnaire à accorder au Pacha d'appliquer la peine de mort à certaine classe de malfaiteurs ne serait pas une nécessité pour le maintien de la sécurité publique et du bon ordre dans le pays.

Cette dernière considération mérite selon nous l'attention de la Porte, et nous pensons qu'en examinant avec la maturité requise les raisons qu'Abbas Pacha lui a soumises à l'appui de sa demande, le Sultan décidera sur le plus ou le moins de latitude qu'il jugera opportun d'accorder à son vassal dans l'administration de la haute justice.

Nous ne saurions, Monsieur, avoir une autre opinion sur cet objet. C'est celle que vous voudrez bien exprimer au Ministère Ottoman dans le cas où il désirerait connaître la manière dont nous considérons la question qui s'est agitée dernièrement entre Constantinople et Alexandrie.

Sir H. Seymour nous ayant exprimé le désir de son Gouvernement de connaître notre opinion à ce même sujet, c'est dans ces termes que nous nous proposons de la lui communiquer.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) NESSELRODE.

No. 238.

Colonel Rose to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 15.)

(Separate.)
My Lord,

Smyrna, April 27, 1852.

ON looking over my despatch of the 21st instant, I find that there is an error in it; and I therefore have the honour to request that the paragraph which contains the error, beginning "The British Government advised," and ending "to him, Mehemet Ali," may be withdrawn, and replaced by the following:

With respect to the exceptions to the Hatti-Sheriff of Gulhané, that is, the Tanzimat, required specially for Egypt, on which turns the question of Khissas, the amount of British connexion with those exceptions (it is for your Lordship's superior judgment to decide whether that connexion assumes the form of responsibility or engagement) is determined by the following facts.

1st. In the paper signed on the 22nd of February, 1841, by Her Majesty's Ambassador, and the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian Representatives at the Porte, it is said that their Excellencies having taken into consideration the draft of the new Firman of Investiture, into which those exceptions as well as other modifications of the first Firman had been introduced, had "not found

therein anything" which it appeared to them "ought to give occasion for any objection whatever on their part." And their Excellencies asked the Porte to send the Firman to Mehemet Ali "as soon as possible."

2ndly. In the letter from the Grand Vizier to Mehemet Ali, communicated by the Porte to the Representatives of the Allied Courts, May 28, 1841, it is said that the Sultan, "having had regard to the kind representations and sincere demands of the friendly and allied High Courts, has graciously deigned to grant, among the demands which Mehemet Ali had made to him," the exceptions in question to the Tanzimat, or, as the letter calls them, "the concessions," which are, that the "principles" of the Tanzimat are to be "put in practice in Egypt, reconciling them in the best way possible with the local circumstances."

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH ROSE.

No. 239.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 18.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 3, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 3 and 4, dated April 8, 1852, respecting the introduction of the Tanzimat into Egypt, and the recall of the Egyptian Commissioners from Constantinople. A reference to the late despatches sent from this Mission as well as from the Embassy, will prove to your Lordship that the question of the Tanzimat has been for some time arranged between the Sublime Porte and the Egyptian Commissioners, with the single exception of the point of Khissas.

This last has now been settled between the Viceroy and Fuad Effendi upon a basis which is explained in a despatch lately addressed by me to Sir Stratford Canning, copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith.

It is scarcely to be expected that the Sublime Porte will re-open the whole question by refusing to ratify the agreement made by Fuad Effendi, the Sultan's Envoy.

I consider that Abbas Pasha acted precipitately in agreeing, without taking advice, to forward the particulars of all proceedings in capital sentences to Constantinople, as I feel convinced it will lead hereafter to much dispute and difficulty; but I have before mentioned to your Lordship that our Viceroy has neither the patience, skill, nor experience requisite to conduct a negotiation of this kind personally with a practiced diplomatist like Fuad Effendi.

So far as the Commissioners are concerned, all the points of the Tanzimat have now been debated and settled, so that it only requires the drawing up and sealing of the official documents which are about to be promulgated; to complete this part of the transaction, Edhem Pasha, the senior Egyptian Commissioner, is expected to return this day to Constantinople.

Should the Sublime Porte reopen discussions on points already settled, or refuse to ratify the terms agreed to by Fuad Effendi, it will be an instance of bad faith so glaring as to open the eyes of all Europe to its mischievous and ulterior designs upon Egypt; but this I do not anticipate, for by introducing the Tanzimat, by encouraging the intrigues of the family, and abetting their claims on the Egyptian Treasury, the Sublime Porte has so completely succeeded in weakening the authority and exhausting the resources of the Viceroy, that unless it is prepared to throw off the mask and avow its intention of deposing him, it can scarcely take any further steps against him at present.

The question touching the pretensions of the family is still under discussion, but I cannot better explain to your Lordship the nature and extent of their claims than by sending you a copy of my last despatch to Sir Stratford Canning upon that subject, which I inclose accordingly herewith.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 239.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 10.)

Sir, *Cairo, April* 21, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch which I addressed yesterday to the Foreign Office, announcing the final arrangement entered into between Fuad Effendi and the Viceroy, respecting the exercise of the Khissas.

Notwithstanding that His Highness has conceded the last point under discussion, namely, the transmission to the Sublime Porte of the capital sentence and the abstract of proceedings, it seems to me that your Excellency would render a great service to Egypt if you could persuade the Sublime Porte to exonerate the Viceroy of its own accord from this last condition, and to content itself with demanding a simple announcement, not exacting the abstract of proceedings.

I do not offer this suggestion with the slightest wish to augment the privileges of the Viceroy at the expense of those of his Sovereign, but simply with a view to prevent the disputes and inconveniences which are likely to arise from this arrangement.

Your Excellency is aware how easy it is in all countries for one lawyer to find a flaw in the opinion of another, and how often it has occurred that a judge has differed from another brother judge on a sentence; if such cases are of frequent occurrence in civilized countries, where the laws are most accurately defined and the rules of evidence most strictly observed, how much more likely is it to be the case in the instance before us, in which, though the fundamental religious law is one and the same, the usages and language and even the nationality of the tribunals are different.

I am sorry to say that in both countries they are more or less corrupt; and at whatever time it might suit the purposes of the Sublime Porte to harass and annoy the Viceroy, it might always find a convenient weapon in the shape of a Fotwah,* declaring that a criminal had been condemned in Egypt either upon illegal grounds or insufficient evidence. I fear that the Sublime Porte will not cede the vantage-ground it has obtained in this particular, nevertheless it is my duty to bring it under your Excellency's notice.

With respect to the discussion now about to take place on the inheritance claimed by the members of the family, it is one, I fear, almost as undefinable in right as the claim is enormous in amount. I have not yet seen any document produced on either side, but I am informed that the family claim their right of inheritance in all the property belonging to or administered by Mehemet Ali Pasha, including villages, factories, palaces, steamers, &c. If such a principle be admitted, the Viceroy for the time being must in the course of two or three generations be a beggar and his Government bankrupt, for the whole of the property enjoyed and administered by Mehemet Ali Pasha for public purposes would have passed into the hands of his kindred in the first and second degree.

Ibrahim Pasha carefully separated his private property from that which he administered for public purposes during his short Viceroyalty, but Mehemet Ali never did so: he took originally by no law but that of conquest; he gave lands to his sons, relatives, and officers, by no law but his own pleasure, and without inquiring to whom they may have belonged in the times of the Mameluke Beys whom he had driven out.

He seems to have assumed as a principle, that all the lands not actually possessed by a proprietor, with a title, belonged to the Government; and these lands he either farmed out, or distributed, or cultivated on his own account, as he found most advantageous to the revenue.

It was from these general revenues that he built his palaces, factories, steamers, and other establishments, to a right of inheritance in which the junior members of the family now lay claim; were it to be admitted, it is obvious that the portion remaining in the hands of the Viceroy would be reduced to so small an amount as to render it highly improbable that he could pay the tribute to the Sublime Porte, much less could he carry on the railway or any undertaking requiring a considerable capital.

* Religious sentence issued by the Sheik-el-Islam.

The chance of a disagreeable disputation on this question will be much enhanced, if a report that I have heard proves to be true, namely, that the members of the family have secretly promised to give the Sublime Porte, as aid or subsidy, a large moiety of whatever amount they may be able to extract from Abbas Pasha by the exertions of Fuad Effendi; but I have not as yet any means of ascertaining whether this rumour has any foundation in fact. It is my opinion that Fuad Effendi, while ostensibly disclaiming all European interference in the objects of his present mission, has in reality a secret understanding with the French party, and what confirms me in this belief is, that although he brought with him, besides his private physician, a suite of several attendants, he is now sending back the former with despatches to Constantinople, and takes in his stead a French physician recommended to him by the French Consul-General, one too who attends upon some of the junior members of the family, and who comes and goes to the palace occupied by Fuad Effendi at all hours, both in the day-time and after dark.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 239.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 12.)

Sir, *Cairo, April* 24, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information copy of the official claim presented by the family against Abbas Pasha for what they term their right of inheritance. This copy (translated) has been furnished to me by His Highness' First Interpreter, Nubar Bey; and I have seen the original in His Highness' hands.

It is needless to add that this preposterous claim fully bears out what I had the honour to state to your Excellency in my last despatch; and could it be enforced, the Viceroy would remain a beggar and the Egyptian Government bankrupt.

It arrogates a right to divide among the family all the resources from which the greater part of the tribute, the military, naval, and civil establishments have hitherto been paid; and if it be supported at Constantinople, it will be a clear indication of a determination to ruin the Viceroy and the hereditary Government guaranteed to his family.

The arrears alone, included in the demand will require for their liquidation three or four years of the net revenue of Egypt.

I presume that your Excellency will not think it advisable to moot the subject officially with the Turkish Government, until I am enabled to inform you whether the attempts now making at a compromise have or have not been successful.

Meanwhile it is, I believe, an undoubted fact, that Fuad Effendi has obtained from the Viceroy a relinquishment of the debt of 50,000 purses (250,000*l.*) now due to His Highness by the Imperial Treasury.

Such is the process by which, under the garb of protecting the privileges of the Sovereign and the rights of the family, the hereditary Viceroy of Egypt is being gradually despoiled, not only of a large portion of the administrative powers exercised by his predecessors, but also of those pecuniary resources which are requisite for the maintenance of the public undertakings and establishments. Yet at the very time that these inroads are being made upon the Viceregal authority and revenues, enjoyed unchallenged by his grandfather and uncle, the Sublime Porte does not hesitate to complain to the European Powers of the threatening attitude and disloyal bearing of Abbas Pasha. His Highness, with more semblance of truth, complains that the hereditary Firman of 1841, issued with the cognizance and consent of the Allied Powers, seems, according to the construction now put upon it, to be a sheet of waste paper in so far as regards his hereditary rights, and to leave him entirely at the mercy of the designs and exactions of the Sublime Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 239.

Claim presented against Abbas Pasha.

(Traduction.)

1. LES Chifliks* et les bestiaux et le matériel et les produits et tout ce qui existe dans ces Chifliks, de plus les taxes de ces Chifliks depuis le jour de la mort de Mehemet Ali jusqu'aujourd'hui. Et tout cela suivant les registres du Divan des Chifliks et du Rouznamé† de l'Egypte.

2. Les bestiaux, les produits et le matériel des villages dont notre père était tenancier.

3. Les diamants, les services de table, soit en or ou en argent et autres effets, et les meubles et tout ce qui se trouve dans les daïrés‡ intérieures et extérieures de notre père, et tous les arrérages du trésor Vice-Royal et des succursales de ce trésor.

4. Les immeubles, les palais, les châteaux, les jardins, qui se trouvent dans les villages au Caire ou à Alexandrie, les maisons, les bâtisses, les magasins, les terrains à bâtir, les marchandises à vendre, les créances et les autres arrérages.

5. Les fabriques, et tout ce que contiennent les fabriques, les machines à vapeur, les fabriques à riz, et les arrérages.

6. Les animaux, et tout ce qui se trouvait à la mort de notre père dans les écuries de Chibine, de Chubra, de l'Esbekié, suivant les registres.

7. Les bâtimens de commerce, les caïques et bateaux qui servent à transporter les produits du Gouvernement, les bateaux à vapeur, et tous les autres objets de commerce.

Comme nous l'avons déjà soumis à Sa Majesté, nous consentons à faire passer en compte les Chifliks, et les bestiaux donnés déjà à la famille, soit par Ibrahim Pacha, soit par Son Altesse Abbas Pacha.

No. 240.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 16.)

(Separate.)

Cairo, May 3, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch marked Separate and Secret, dated 8th April, 1852.

In reply I venture to offer my opinion that the French fleet is not likely to come to Alexandria at the instigation either of the Porte or the Viceroy. The former is playing a much surer and easier game by encouraging the claims and intrigues of the family and by exhausting the pecuniary resources of the Egyptian Treasury.

The latter has never shown the slightest tendency or leaning towards France, neither is there any recusancy on his part for which he could invite her support.

The third eventuality mentioned in your Lordship's despatch is one respecting which your Lordship (receiving frequent information from all parts of Europe) is able to form a far more correct opinion that I can pretend to; I hope and trust, however, that no such movement is in contemplation, for our interests here would be in immediate peril if a French fleet of eight sail of the line had orders to make a descent upon Alexandria, while the British squadron in the Mediterranean at the disposal of Admiral Dundas numbers only three ships of the line.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

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* Villages. † Register, Record. ‡ Property.

No. 241.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 19.)

Cairo, May 5, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE just received private intelligence from Alexandria that the Sheik of a village belonging to Saïd Pasha (the eldest member of the family, and next in order of succession) is collecting men apparently for some insurrectionary movement.

He is said now to have assembled about 300 indifferently armed, and he has ten pieces of artillery, which must have been supplied by Saïd Pasha himself.

This body of men is now daily drilled and exercised at the guns.

The other members of the family are also collecting men from their villages, though none that I have heard of with the same open contempt of the viceregal authority as at Saïd Pasha's villages. The fact that this movement is commenced at the time that the Sultan's Envoy is present in Egypt, and is in constant communication with the family, tends to throw a grave suspicion on the Porte as being its secret instigator.

However this may be, I trust that Abbas Pasha will take vigorous measures for repressing it, and the Sublime Porte will be ashamed to own any complicity.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 242.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 21.)

Cairo, May 19, 1852.

My Lord,

IN confirmation of the information which I had the honour to convey to your Lordship in my despatch No. 19, dated May 5, 1852, I forward herewith inclosed copy of a despatch which I addressed yesterday to Lord Stratford.

It is fortunate that notwithstanding the reprehensible lenity and timidity evinced by the Egyptian Government on the occasion, this first puerile attempt at an open insurrectionary movement on the part of the family has terminated without any consequences more serious than throwing deserved shame and ridicule on its authors.

It is to be feared, however, that impunity may encourage them to ulterior and more dangerous attempts, and I see little prospect of tranquillity in Egypt unless the Sublime Porte can be compelled by the influence of the Representatives of the Great Powers to send a stringent order to these wrong-headed and turbulent youths, to the effect that they must either return to Constantinople, or if they choose to reside in Egypt, that they must show a due respect for its laws and its Governor.

It is probable that the Sublime Porte will make no objection to send ostensibly such an order, but that they will act up to it by ceasing to foment and encourage these intrigues in secret is more than I can venture to expect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY

Inclosure in No. 242.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.

(No. 11.)

Cairo, May 18, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose you copy of a despatch which I addressed by the last mail to Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary.

Considering it to be my duty to ascertain the accuracy of the reports in question, I sent an employé of the Cairo Consulate on a secret mission to the villages of Saïd Pasha, desiring him to bring me an exact report of everything that he could see or hear.

He has lately returned, and I regret to say that he confirms the truth of the contents of the inclosed despatch.

It seems that a forced conscription of men has been made in the villages belonging to Saïd Pasha and Ahmed (son of Ibrahim Pasha), to which levies have been added a few of the slaves and a considerable number of the Mamelukes of the two Pashas above named.

The place of assemblage was near the house of an Arab Sheik named Masri, where Saïd Pasha often went to visit him, and around his house were posted eight small brass cannon. Here the new levies were daily drilled with fire-arms, and the farce of artillery-exercise was regularly gone through.

Had such an insane attempt at insurrectionary movement taken place in the time of Mehemet Ali, the men, guns, and arms would have been instantaneously seized, and Saïd Pasha (if his life had been spared) would long ere this have been on his way to exile in Sennaar.

But Abbas' energies seem to be all paralyzed by the intrigues of the family and the presence of Fuad Effendi. He took his measures so slowly and with so much preliminary inquiry that they got wind, and by the time that the irregular cavalry sent to the village arrived, Saïd Pasha and the brass guns were safe in Alexandria, the levies dispersed, and the Arab Sheik had escaped to the Desert. An inquiry is now going forward on the spot, but its result is not yet known.

It is with extreme regret that I add my belief that Fuad Effendi must have been privy to this most foolish and mischievous attempt; I can have no proof that such is the case, but I infer it from the fact that several of the members of the family assembled at Saïd Pasha's villages were constantly during this manœuvre coming up to consult Fuad Effendi, and then returning immediately to Saïd Pasha.

The latter, who must be, I presume, heartily ashamed of the part that he has taken in this transaction, had the effrontery to come up to Cairo yesterday to pay a visit to the Viceroy, and to inform His Highness of his wish to go to Malta to see a steamer lately built for him in England, to proceed from thence to Naples, Toulon, and to pay a visit to the French and English fleets. His Highness gave the permission required, and made no allusion whatever to the discreditable attempt in which Saïd had so recently been engaged.

It is most probable that Fuad Effendi in writing to Constantinople will endeavour to make light of this matter, and to treat it as a trifling squabble between the Bedouins and the villages, but your Lordship may depend upon the accuracy of the facts that I have mentioned to you, and you may thence draw your own inferences from them.

It now becomes a very grave question how is Abbas to treat the claims of the family to their inheritance, as they term it?

I had the honour of stating to your Lordship in my despatch No. 12 of April 24, 1852, the nature and extravagant amount of those claims. Can Abbas Pasha be justly called upon to surrender to the family villages and lands comprising many hundred thousand acres, and peopled by many thousand inhabitants, together with the majority of the public establishments and an enormous sum of ready money, when he has before him such recent and palpable evidence of the use to which these resources will be turned.

The solution of this question would have been very simple five or ten years ago, when the practical construction of the settlement of 1841 was that, under a reservation of the tribute and the seigneurial rights of the Sovereign,

the whole administration of the internal affairs and revenues rested in the Viceroy and the Egyptian Government. Then, the Grand Council, composed of the principal Pashas and Ulemas, would have given their judgment as to the legal rights of the claimants, the Viceroy would have confirmed it and there would have been an end to the matter; but under the new light which has broken in upon the Sublime Porte during the last two years in respect to the construction of the Firman of Investiture, in which the rights of the Sultan over Egypt are paramount, and those of the hereditary Governor nothing beyond what His Majesty chooses to permit, this question may assume a very different aspect; and however convinced the Viceroy and the Egyptian Council may be that the pretensions of the family are extravagant or unfounded, still if they are supported by a Power whose limits are indefinite, a new complication may arise which may cripple all the administrative powers of the Viceroy, and leave him a mere puppet in the province of which he is nominally the hereditary Governor. Let the principle be once admitted and applied, that the Sultan, as lord of the soil in Egypt, is at liberty to give away its lands as he pleases, then His Majesty may not only confirm the claims of these members of the family, rendering them more wealthy and powerful than the Viceroy, but he may with equal justice assign an Egyptian farm in one place and a village in another to any of the Turkish officers whom he may desire either to enrich or to remove from Constantinople.

I place these possible future results before your Lordship in order that you may form an idea of the mischief that may hereafter arise to the prosperity of Egypt, if the Sublime Porte show a disposition to countenance the extravagant claims of these wrong-headed and insubordinate members of the family.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 243.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May* 31.)

(No. 22.)

Cairo, May 20, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch (Confidential) No. 6, dated April 23, 1852, inclosing copies of the correspondence that has passed between the Foreign Office and several of Her Majesty's Principal Missions in Europe, on the subject of the Turco-Egyptian question.

It gives me great satisfaction to observe the general coincidence of opinion and unanimity of action that seems to pervade the Councils of the Great Powers upon this important question, although it is evident from the contents of the correspondence, that some of the Ministers whose sentiments are quoted, have not studied with much care the question of the Tanzimat and Khissas as applicable to this province in particular as well as to the Eastern countries in general.

Here the sword of justice is the emblem of authority, and the prompt punishment of crime is the only practicable method of repressing disorders and outrages among a wild, lawless, and wandering race such as the Arabs dwelling on the deserts which flank the valley of the Nile on both sides.

It is a matter of history that from time immemorial the Ruler of Egypt, whether by might or by right, has always exercised a power of life and death, and those who imagine that it can now be taken away to gratify an experimental legislative caprice of the Sublime Porte, without endangering the public tranquillity and the security of life and property, can have very little practical knowledge of the Arab character.

I observe in your Lordship's despatch to Lord Cowley No. 88, April 23, 1852, that you mention to him an apprehension originating with me to the effect that the French might contemplate landing troops in Egypt. I imagine that in your Lordship's voluminous and multifarious correspondence you must have inadvertently attributed to me a suggestion which reached you from some other source. A reference to the archives will remind your Lordship that you indicated to me the possibility of such a design in your Lordship's despatch

(Separate) of April 8, 1852, and that I in my reply (Separate) of May 3, 1852, ventured to offer my opinion that the French fleet was not likely to come to Alexandria at the invitation either of the Porte or the Viceroy. My apprehensions for some time past have been, and they still remain the same, that the Sublime Porte will endeavour by fomenting and encouraging the intrigues of the family, to undermine the authority and weaken the resources of Abbas Pasha to such an extent that it may be impossible for him to administer the Government, and that a pretext may thence be sought to raise Said Pasha to the Viceroyalty. If this can be brought about by intrigue or by a *coup de main* it will doubtless be a result so agreeable to France that she would in all probability be disposed to support it as a *fait accompli*. That she would be glad to have an opportunity of so doing can scarcely be doubted from the significant observation which escaped the French Minister in conversation with Lord Cowley, in which he designated Abbas Pasha as a man of the "worst character and disposition."

If, as there is every reason to expect, the Sublime Porte ratify the agreement entered into by Fuad Effendi in respect to the Khissas, it would be a great benefit to the tranquillity of this country if he were to be recalled as soon as possible to Constantinople; his ostensible mission will have been accomplished in a manner highly creditable to his skill as a negotiator, for the clauses and conditions with which he has fettered the right of Khissas accorded to the Viceroy for seven years are such as to render it very doubtful whether it would not have been better for Abbas if the privilege had been taken from him altogether.

If the proceedings and capital sentences of the Egyptian courts are all to be transmitted to Constantinople, it will be easy in revising them to find some flaw or informality, and from thence most serious disputes and recriminations will probably arise.

It must nevertheless be admitted, that whatever evil may spring hereafter from this proviso (supposing that it cannot be cancelled), the blame of it will rest with Abbas Pasha, who agreed to it without consulting myself or any of my colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 244.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May* 31.)

(No. 96.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 1, 1852.

THE messenger Fendal arrived this morning, overland, with your Lordship's despatches of the 16th ultimo.

We are waiting with some degree of anxiety for advices from Egypt. Nothing whatever has come in from that province, in so far as I am informed, since the departure of the Peninsula steam-packet with my despatches of the 19th ultimo. The Porte appears to be equally ignorant with myself of whatever may have passed in negotiation between Fuad Effendi and the Pasha of Egypt.

I shall avail myself of the messenger to acquaint your Lordship with the result of such communications as I may have with the Turkish Ministers or my colleagues in pursuance of your Lordship's instructions.

I am not entirely without hope that the Sultan may be persuaded to render an appeal to the European Powers unnecessary, should Fuad Effendi's mission have failed in effecting a satisfactory adjustment of the point in discussion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 245.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May* 31.)

(No. 102.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 4, 1852.

DESPATCHES from Fuad Effendi have at length reached the Porte. The person to whom they were entrusted being detained at the Dardanelles in

quarantine, they were not received here till this morning, and I question whether I shall be able to learn their contents, though I have taken measures for that purpose, before the departure of the messenger for Malta.

Mr. Murray's despatches to me are missing, from what cause I know not.

The Egyptian Commissioners were also without official advices when they communicated with me a few hours ago.

What information I have obtained on the subject of Fuad Effendi's negotiation with the Pasha of Egypt is derived by word of mouth from Colonel Rose, who returned suddenly to Constantinople on the 1st instant, and from the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, who obligingly read to me the leading passages of M. Huber's report from Cairo.

I learn from these sources that Fuad Effendi has agreed to leave the power of life and death, according to Mussulman law, with Abbas Pasha for seven years; that the Viceroy objects to sending an *ilam* or judicial report to Constantinople, after each execution of a capital sentence, as urged by the Sultan's Commissioner; that it is uncertain how far this objection may unsettle the whole agreement; and that other disputed matters, relating to family claims, are in course of discussion at Cairo.

It is to be observed that the only information they conveyed to me proceeds originally from the Viceroy himself, and must therefore be taken as an *ex parte* statement. The Grand Vizier, whom I saw yesterday in private, assured me that Fuad Effendi was not authorized to make any conclusive settlement with the Viceroy; and when I stated, at his request, that the number of years to which the Sultan's indulgence had been extended was seven, he observed that Her Majesty's Government would have been contented with two.

Upon the whole I venture to hope that, if the question be not entirely settled, it is at least detached from those dangerous contingencies with which it was lately connected, and should it be otherwise, that your Lordship's promptitude in appealing to Her Majesty's Allies will enable me to act in concert with their Representatives for the discouragement of any exaggerated pretensions on either side. The Austrian Chargé d'Affaires is already provided with the necessary instructions, and taking into account the friendly communications which have passed between your Lordship and M. Walewski, I see no reason to apprehend any difference of opinion in other quarters.

It would be idle to trespass further upon your Lordship's time under the present circumstances. I retain the messenger Fendal with a view to the conveyance of more conclusive advices.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 246.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May* 31.)

(No. 103.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 5, 1852. 3 P.M.

I HAVE learnt this moment from the Egyptian Commission, that the question at issue between the Sultan and his Viceroy is virtually settled by the assent of the latter to Fuad Effendi's conditions, as explained to your Lordship in my preceding despatch.

I am still without any despatches from Mr. Murray or any communications from the Porte, and it remains to be seen whether the Sultan will at once confirm Fuad Effendi's agreement, or wait to be consulted either by Her Majesty's Representative or by those of the principal European Powers acting together.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 247.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May* 31.)

(No. 104.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 6, 1852.

THE French steam-packet having been detained for twenty-four hours, I am able to inform your Lordship, without waiting for the return of Queen's messenger Fendal, who is at present ill, that the Grand Vizier appears to be satisfied with Fuad Effendi's proposed arrangement of the Egyptian question. Inclosed herewith, for the more complete information of Her Majesty's Government, is the dragoman's report of his conversation with Reshid Pasha on that subject. It remains to be seen what final determination will be taken by the Council, and also by the Sultan himself. I have endeavoured to give a right direction to the Grand Vizier's counsels on this occasion, by making his Highness sensible of the false policy involved in his mistrustful conduct towards me at the time of Fuad Effendi's departure, and apprizing him of the useless embarrassment to which he would expose the Porte, by making it necessary for me to execute your Lordship's instructions in concert with those of my colleagues whose just representations, together with mine, on behalf of Abbas Pasha, would necessarily assume the character of an European intervention.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 247.

Mr. Stephen Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

(Extract.) *Pera, May* 5, 1852.

THE Grand Vizier informed me that the despatches which reached him this morning contained a contemplated arrangement of Fuad Effendi's, which seemed to answer Abbas Pasha's views. Fuad Effendi proposes that in cases of murder, where the heirs demand according to the holy law the execution of the murderer, then Abbas Pasha shall have to carry it into execution without previous reference to the capital. But after the execution, all the proceedings of the court accompanied by the sentence, are to be transmitted to Constantinople. This arrangement is however to remain in force only for seven years.

In cases where the victim has no relations to prosecute for him, the Pasha shall be obliged to refer to the Sultan, who alone has the right of condemning, or commuting the capital punishment.

With regard to capital offenders, who by an old custom in Egypt were confined in the Bagnio for life, they will now, with Abbas Pasha's consent, have their sentence mitigated by imprisonment for a certain number of years according to the crime. The Viceroy, however, wishes that this clause be inserted in the Tanzimat as a right belonging to him.

This and the other proposals appear to meet with the Grand Vizier's approbation; but it now remains to be seen what the opinion of the other Ministers will be at the Council which is to be held to-morrow, when the question will be discussed, and probably decided in favour of Fuad Effendi's proposed settlement.

There is also, says the Grand Vizier, a question of an old debt due by the late Mehemet Ali Pasha to the Porte for arrears arising from revenues collected by him in Syria; but this matter seems to meet with no serious objections on the part of Abbas Pasha, who has also to receive about 20,000,000 of piastres which he advanced for the payment of the Porte's troops, &c., at Djedda; and Fuad Effendi seems to think that the one will be set off against the other.

No. 248.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May* 31.)

(No. 105.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 6, 1852.

REFERRING to your Lordship's instruction No. 23 of this year and to my despatch No. 79 of this year also, to your Lordship, I venture to express a hope that the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces in the Mediterranean will have received information of Fuad Effendi's arrangement with Abbas Pasha in time to suspend the detachment of two ships of war from his squadron to Alexandria. Besides that such a demonstration appears to be no longer necessary, it could hardly take place without giving umbrage to the Porte and exposing our influence here to a further check.

I trust that your Lordship will on these grounds approve of my having addressed the letter, of which a copy is herewith inclosed, to Admiral Dundas.

I find that the Egyptian Commission agrees with me in thinking that the appearance of a British force at Alexandria under present circumstances would be not only superfluous but prejudicial to the Viceroy's interests.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure in No. 248.

Sir Stratford Canning to Rear-Admiral Dundas.

Sir, *Constantinople, May* 6, 1852.

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform you that there is every appearance of the Porte's confirming the amicable arrangement of the Egyptian question as resulting from Fuad Effendi's negotiation with the Viceroy of Egypt; and I am the more anxious to afford you the earliest information of this improvement in His Highness' prospects, as it may perhaps appear in your judgment, as I confess it does in mine, to render unnecessary at present the execution of an instruction which, as I learn by a despatch from the Earl of Malmesbury, was sent out to you under other impressions, about the month of April, for the detachment of two ships of war from your squadron to the Port of Alexandria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 249.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received May* 31.)

(No. 106.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 6, 1852.

IN Lord Cowley's report of a conversation between his Lordship and M. Turgot, on the subject of Egyption affairs, copy of which was transmitted to me with your Lordship's No. 29 of this year, I observe that the French Minister is described as having intimated that Fuad Effendi's mission to Cairo was the consequence of advice offered by the French Government.

Having occasion in the course of my last conversation with the Grand Vizier to express some regret on account of the mistrustful reserve with which I had been treated by his Highness at the time of Fuad Effendi's appointment, the supposition of a previous understanding between the Porte and M. de Lavalette on that subject was thrown out by me, and rejected in positive terms by Reshid Pasha.

I will not take upon myself to decide on whose view of this matter reliance ought chiefly to be placed; but I think it advisable to record the Grand Vizier's disclaimer at a moment when so many suspicious appearances are but imperfectly cleared away.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 250.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 111.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 12, 1852.*

I HAVE received an official message from Aali Pasha confirming my former statement that the Egyptian question is definitively settled.

For your Lordship's more complete information I inclose herewith a copy of M. Pisani's report.

I hold it to be a subject of congratulation that the necessity of recurring to an European intervention has been avoided; and I retain my impression that your Lordship's prompt and successful appeal to the Four Cabinets, including that of France, has powerfully contributed to the ratification of Fuad Effendi's agreement.

The Viceroy's Commissioner appears to be completely satisfied; and I hear of nothing to warrant an apprehension of any revived discussions on the subject of the Tanzimat.

I forward herewith a copy of my last despatch to Mr. Murray. Your Lordship will observe that I have received no despatches from that gentleman since the commencement of Fuad Effendi's negotiation with Abbas Pasha.

Colonel Rose, who left Cairo after the arrangement had been made known to Mr. Murray, brought me no despatch. Some objection appears to have been still entertained at that moment by His Highness to the proposed transmission of the judicial documents to Constantinople in every case of execution for murder, pursuant to law.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 250.

Mr. E. Pisani to Sir Stratford Canning.

Sir, *Pera, May 11, 1852.*

I HAVE the honour to report that Aali Pasha acquaints me for your Excellency's information, that the Sultan has accepted the arrangement entered into between Fuad Effendi and Abbas Pasha, and that a Vizierial letter conveying the Imperial sanction will be addressed to the Viceroy. Another letter will be forwarded to Fuad Effendi, informing him of the foregoing, and ordering him to come back to Constantinople. As soon as the letter to Abbas Pasha is drawn up, Aali Pasha promises to communicate a copy of it to the Embassy.

Moreover, his Excellency apprizes me that when the modifications in the Tanzimat, as proposed by the Egyptian Commissioners, are finally adopted, that document will be transmitted to Abbas Pasha, accompanied with an Imperial firman confirming Fuad Effendi's present arrangement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ET. PISANI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 250.

Sir Stratford Canning to the Hon. C. A. Murray.

(No. 10.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 11, 1852.*

I AVAIL myself of the earliest opportunity to inform you that since the commencement of Fuad Effendi's communications with the Pasha of Egypt, I have received no despatches from you, not even by Colonel Rose, who appears to have left Cairo just after the conclusion of an arrangement which was still liable to discussion here between His Highness the Viceroy and the Commissioner.

I am indebted for what I know upon the subject to my colleagues, who

received reports from their respective Consuls in Egypt, either by the regular Austrian steam-packet or by the express-boat dispatched by order of Abbas Pasha with Fuad Effendi's correspondence and its bearer Doctor Servani.

Fortunately, the Porte, influenced more or less by its apprehension of European interference, makes no objection to Fuad Effendi's arrangement, and though no formal decision has yet been announced to me, I have reason to believe that the affair is virtually settled.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD CANNING.

No. 251.

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 118.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 19, 1852.*

THE Sultan's formal ratification of Fuad Effendi's arrangement in Egypt has been received at the Porte.

The Viceroy's Commissioners are engaged in settling the definitive composition of the code of Tanzimat as intended for application to Egypt. There are some points of difference occasioned by His Highness' desire to exclude any superfluous introduction of the Sultan's name. The Egyptian Commissioners, though they may fail in their endeavours to carry every one of those points, appear not to apprehend any serious difficulty.

As matters now stand I think it advisable to abstain from any direct interference without an application from one of the parties. No such application has been hitherto made, either before or since the return of Edhem Pasha to Constantinople.

A vessel will be dispatched to Alexandria in two or three days with a letter to Abbas Pasha accepting His Highness' arrangement with Fuad Effendi, who will at the same time be allowed to return.

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires has read me a despatch from Petersburgh, authorizing him to act with me in the sense of your Lordship's instructions. M. de Ozeroff, in making the communication, observed that he made it only for form's sake, now that the occasion which had originally suggested the instruction no longer existed.

From the French Chargé d'Affaires I have received no communication subsequent to the arrival of the last advices from Paris.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

No. 252.

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 119.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 19, 1852.*

THE Viceroy of Egypt's principal Commissioner, Edhem Pasha, returned to Constantinople on the 15th instant, and from him I received Mr. Murray's despatches relative to Fuad Effendi's negotiation. It is needless to remark that they arrived too late for any practical or useful purpose. I inclose herewith a copy of Mr. Murray's despatch explanatory of the delay. It is for your Lordship to decide how far the explanation is satisfactory. For my own part I do not understand why Colonel Rose, who did not leave Cairo till the 20th ultimo, should not have been made the bearer of Mr. Murray's communication, he having been the bearer of my preceding despatches to Mr. Murray. It is fortunate that Fuad Effendi's arrangement was so well received. Had it been otherwise I should have experienced as much embarrassment as the absence of

information from Mr. Murray was able to produce. It does not appear that Colonel Rose was charged with any verbal communication calculated to supply the deficiency of the correspondence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

Inclosure in No. 252.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Sir Stratford Canning.

(No. 13.)

Sir, *Cairo, April* 24, 1852.

I FEAR that the delay which has occurred in the transmission of my latest despatches must have occasioned to your Excellency no little surprise and displeasure; but I can assure your Excellency that the fault does not lie with me: they were sealed and made up in time and would have been sent by the last Austrian steamer, if the Viceroy had not distinctly told me that the Egyptian steamer was to leave for Constantinople on Thursday last, and that it would consequently reach its destination several days before the Austrian indirect.

It was therefore my wish to give your Excellency the latest information that prevented me from sending my despatches by that steamer.

His Highness subsequently detained his own steamer in order that it might convey Edhem Pasha, who is expected to return to Constantinople forthwith to terminate the arrangements which have been under discussion.

I complained to the Viceroy to-day of this change and of the disappointment which it would cause to your Excellency, and His Highness disarmed me by saying, "it is not your fault, you must throw all the blame on me, and beg his Excellency to excuse me."

I understand that an Egyptian steamer left to-day for Constantinople, having on board Fuad Effendi's physician bearing despatches. He had arrived too late for the Austrian and proceeded as soon as the Egyptian could be got ready for sea, but this information only reached me a few hours ago.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 253.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 24.)

My Lord, *Cairo, June* 2, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador, in reply to one received from his Excellency respecting a delay that had taken place in the transmission of my correspondence to the Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 253.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.

(No. 16.)

My Lord, *Cairo, May* 30, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's despatch No. 11, dated May 21, 1852, containing copy of a despatch No. 119, addressed by your Excellency to Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary on the subject of the delay that had taken place in the transmission of my despatches of the 17th and succeeding days of April.

It has been with equal surprise and regret that I have learned from your Excellency that you have thought it necessary to bring the matter under the

notice of Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary, adding remarks tending to induce his Lordship to believe that the public service had suffered detriment by my negligence on this occasion.

Even if in the matter in question I had committed a fault, I could have done no more than I did in my despatch of April 24, 1852, namely, expressing my sincere regret at the disappointment to which your Excellency had been exposed by an accident which was not a neglect of mine, but a detention of a steamer over which I had no control.

My despatches were written, sealed, and delivered in due time to the Viceroy's chief dragoman; and His Highness assured me in person that his steamer should reach Constantinople before the Austrian indirect which conveyed Colonel Rose. My object on this, as it has been on every occasion, was to send your Excellency the earliest information; and I confidently appeal to your Excellency, whether there is any one political Agent of a foreign Power in Egypt who has sent to his chief at Constantinople information so full, early, and accurate as I have supplied to your Excellency since I have had the honour of being in correspondence with you.

Your Excellency concludes a despatch (the too obvious intention of which is to criminate me in the eyes of Her Majesty's Government) with the following words:—"It does not appear that Colonel Rose was charged with any verbal communication calculated to supply the deficiency of the correspondence." Your Excellency cannot be surprised that I should not charge Colonel Rose to tell your Excellency verbally what I thought you would have received and read three or four days before his arrival. But, my Lord, I do not see how it is possible in this case that the public service could have suffered any detriment; for Colonel Rose was competent to communicate all the intelligence contained in my detained despatches.

In obedience to your Excellency's instructions I had put into his hands the whole official correspondence. I had taken him with me repeatedly to converse with the Viceroy. He had seen both His Highness and Fuad Effendi just before his departure, so that he was in a condition to give your Excellency the fullest and the latest intelligence of the progress of the negotiation.

Your Excellency does not mention either to Lord Malmesbury or to myself the circumstances which prevented you from obtaining this information from Colonel Rose; and I am unable to conjecture them.

With respect to the Ilam Sheriah,* as a corollary on the subject of the Khissas, it is now accepted by Abbas, and forms part of the code for Egypt; so it is unavailing to discuss its merits further.

The Viceroy, though aware of the objections to which it was liable, ceded the point hastily; and Edhem Pasha is too anxious to conclude his laborious task to moot any subject likely to prolong the negotiation.

I have expressed to your Excellency my belief that it will hereafter be a subject of disagreeable disputes and recriminations; and although I still entertain that belief, I sincerely hope that the future will prove that I have been mistaken.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 254.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 25.)

My Lord, *Cairo, June* 2, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch which I have lately addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador, reporting the capture of some soldiers, guns, and ammunition collected by Said Pasha at his village.

I am well aware that Fuad Effendi, the Turkish Envoy, and the French party here, who are the supporters of these insubordinate and wrong-headed Princes of the family, are endeavouring to make light of this foolish movement, and to accuse of exaggeration those who, like myself, look upon it in a more serious point of view. But notwithstanding the insignificance of the military

* Abstract of legal proceedings.

preparations hitherto made, I do not think that it is a matter which should be lightly passed over, when we reflect that these youths are encouraged by the Sublime Porte; that they have belonging to them in different parts of Egypt villages containing a numerous population; and that in addition to these means of creating serious disturbance, they are about to receive, in liquidation of their claims of inheritance derived from Mehemet Ali, a sum probably not less than 700,000*l.*

They all retain a numerous suite of armed followers in their palaces, and parade the streets with a retinue more considerable than that which accompanies the Viceroy. In addition to this, they are, as might be expected, the patrons of all the discontented Turks, who from misconduct or from any other cause have been dismissed from the Government service.

I regret to say that the number of the latter class is very considerable; and I have frequently remonstrated with the Viceroy on the imprudent caprice that he has too often exhibited, both in his promotion of untried men and his dismissal of others for trifling or supposed offences.

It is an Oriental custom, which, although prevalent at Constantinople and in Persia, as here, is peculiarly prejudicial and even dangerous to a man situated as Abbas is with reference to his own family and to the Sublime Porte.

I have repeatedly made representations to Her Majesty's Ambassador on the subject of the encouragement given by the Sublime Porte to these Princes; and his Excellency's remonstrances have been met by assurances that they should be warned, checked, and reproved; but there is not a word of sincerity in these assurances, and the young Princes continue to be as they have been from the first, the intimate associates of Fuad Effendi, Kiamil Pasha, and others of the Vizier's party at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 254.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.

(No. 17.)

My Lord, *Cairo, May 31, 1852.*

IN confirmation of the intelligence contained in my despatch No. 14, I beg to inform your Excellency that a few days ago a small detachment of cavalry was ordered to make a sudden descent upon the village belonging to Said Pasha, where he and other members of the family had been carrying on their military preparations.

The measures of the Government had been so dilatory that Said Pasha himself had gone off *vid* Malta to France; the Mamelukes who had been under drill were recalled to their respective quarters; and the Bedouins had time to escape to the Desert.

Nevertheless the detachment above mentioned, when it came upon the village, found within the precincts of Said Pasha's own farm sixty recruits in uniform going through musketry exercise, and with ball-cartridges on them. All these they seized and brought them up prisoners to Cairo, together with some boxes of ammunition, round shot and grape, and six brass cannon found on the premises.

It is certain that other members of the family were implicated in this mischievous and insane attempt at creating a disturbance, as they were frequently present at the village with Said Pasha when the drill was going on.

Fourteen men had been conscribed from a neighbouring village belonging to Ahmed Pasha; but it would seem that he had intelligence of the suspicions of the Government having been awakened, and had withdrawn them before the arrival of the cavalry detachment.

The Sublime Porte has stated to your Excellency that it would take proper measures to curb the arrogant and insubordinate habits of these youths of the family; but I see little reason to credit the assurance, from the behaviour of Fuad Effendi respecting them. For during the time that these conscriptions and military exercises were going on, they were constantly visiting and in consultation with him; and when the Viceroy mentioned to him this last indisputable proof of Said's misconduct, the Turkish Envoy made very light of it, and spoke of it as a trifle and an amusement not worthy of serious attention.

It may suit the policy of the Sublime Porte to encourage such amusements in Egypt; but no one knows better than your Excellency what would be the fate of the Sultan's brother at Constantinople, if he were to levy and arm a few hundred labourers and Mamelukes, and exercise them in one of his farms at musketry and artillery-practice.

The French party here are so disconcerted at this overt act of mischievous folly on the part of the Prince whom they wish to see Viceroy, that they have endeavoured to find excuses in palliation; but the only one they have been able to advance, namely, that he was exercising men for his steam-yacht, is disproved, not only by its self-evident absurdity, but by the fact that Said, before going to Malta, asked of the Viceroy and obtained leave to take with him twenty sailors from the fleet to man his steamer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 255.

The Hon. C. A. Murray to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 26.)

My Lord, *Cairo, June 2, 1852.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that intelligence having arrived from Constantinople, that the Sultan has approved of the arrangement made between Fuad Effendi and the Viceroy respecting the Khissas and the modification in the Tanzimat, the Turkish Envoy is ordered home, and leaves Cairo on his return on the 5th instant.

The question of the family inheritance is settled with the exception of some of the minor details.

They will receive about 700,000*l.*, but I have not yet heard specified the term of years within which the payment is to be made.

I have before explained to your Lordship that this has been a most difficult and embarrassing question, owing to the fact that neither party had any legal rights, documents, or titles to produce.

The Princes with their advocate, Fuad Effendi, have been endeavouring to obtain as much as possible, and the Viceroy striving to make the best bargain he could in getting a release in full from these vast and indefinite claims.

Although the transaction may be said to be closed, the vital question as to the ownership of the soil is as far from settlement as ever, each party having their own reasons for avoiding to moot it.

The Ulema, or Wise Men of the Moslem Law, hold an opinion equally remarkable for its practical wisdom and for its historic synchronism, namely, that the whole soil of Egypt is "Wakf," i. e., church property, having been purchased by Joseph, as Prime Minister of Pharaoh, during the years of famine, and made over to the church by him.

On my suggesting to one of these learned men that Joseph lived more than 2,300 years previous to the institution of the "Wakf" by the Prophet, and that during those years the soil of Egypt had been possessed by Egyptian heathens, Persians, Roman Emperors, &c., he replied, that my observations might be very true, but that they could not impair the validity of arguments founded on the authority of the Koran and the traditions.

My reasons for mentioning these absurdities to your Lordship are, that you may understand from them the tedious and interminable discussions that might have arisen had this question been referred to the Moslem law.

As the objects of Fuad Effendi's mission are now accomplished, and there remains no important negotiation between Egypt and the Sublime Porte, I propose after the arrival of the next mail on or about the 21st of this month, to avail myself of your Lordship's permission to visit England on my family affairs.

The duties of this Consulate-General will be carried on as heretofore, by Mr. Consul Gilbert, during my absence from my post.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 256.

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 128.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June 5, 1852.*

I AVAIL myself of the present opportunity to forward herewith copies and translations of a correspondence between Abbas Pasha and the Grand Vizier. I think your Lordship will agree with me, that the deference displayed on the one side and the courtesy expressed on the other could hardly be surpassed.

I have also to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information, in translation, a letter of thanks addressed to me by the Viceroy of Egypt. This letter affords me the gratification of believing that I have succeeded in making the degree of support given by the Embassy to His Highness during the late discussion agreeable and satisfactory to his feelings.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 256.

Abbas Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

Le dernier jour du mois de Djemazi-ul-Akhir, 1260.

(Traduction.) (20 *Avril* 1852.)

SON Excellence Fuad Effendi, Moustechar de votre Altesse, nommé et expédié par Sa Majesté Impériale avec une mission spéciale, et porteur d'une lettre de votre Altesse, est arrivé ici. J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir la lettre par l'entremise de son Excellence, et j'ai compris les points qu'elle renfermait. J'ai aussi saisi le sens de ce que son Excellence m'a dit et communiqué. Que le Très Haut veuille maintenir sur le Trône Impérial, tant que le monde existera, le Très Majestueux, Très Puissant, et Très Grand Padichah, notre Auguste Maître, ainsi soit-il!

Moi, votre humble serviteur, en même temps que je me fais une gloire d'être une créature particulière du Sultan, je fais tout mon possible, ainsi que ma qualité de sujet soumis l'exige, de maintenir la sécurité et la tranquillité dans la Province d'Egypte dont le Gouvernement m'a été confié, bien que je n'en sois pas digne; d'administrer si bien cette province que tous bénissent Sa Hautesse; de me rendre agréable à mon Souverain; de rendre de nombreux, de bons et loyaux services à l'Empire; de prouver ainsi ma fidélité et ma soumission; et de mériter par là de plus grands honneurs. Voilà où tendent tous mes efforts, et Dieu m'est témoin que lorsque dès le commencement de la question qui a donné lieu à la mission de Fuad Effendi, j'ai pris la liberté d'entrer en discussion là-dessus, mon but n'était point d'outrepasser les bornes de ma soumission ou d'obtenir quelque chose au-delà de l'honneur que j'apprécie le plus, savoir, ma qualité de serviteur fidèle et dévoué; mais c'était que je craignais, qu'en me privant tout à coup de la confiance du Souverain, confiance nécessaire au gouvernement du pays, on n'affaiblit l'autorité et l'influence souveraines.

L'envoi cette fois-ci de Fuad Effendi auprès de moi est une faveur et un effet de la bonté de Sa Majesté Impériale, dont je suis extrêmement reconnaissant et dont je me glorifie. Je n'ose pas du tout demander autre chose sinon ce qui est en tout point conforme aux ordres du Sultan. Mais d'après ma manière de voir, les motifs qui m'ont fait prendre la liberté jusqu'à présent de faire une demande à cet égard, demande que j'étais honteux de faire, existent toujours, et je n'espère l'obtenir que de la magnanimité de Sa Hautesse. C'est pourquoi, j'ai exposé ces motifs à Fuad Effendi, qui a vu de ses propres yeux les lieux et l'administration, et nous sommes entrés en matière là-dessus.

Et d'abord sur l'application de la peine capitale: si la personne assassinée ne laisse pas d'héritiers, le sang ou le deyet sont les points dont la solution est dévolue au Sultan. Ainsi le cas échéant, l'Ilam juridique et le Mazbatá, qui renferment les vérifications loyales qui ont été faites, seront mis sous les yeux de Sa Hautesse; on prendra ses ordres, et sa décision pleine de sagesse sera mise à exécution: je commence dès ce moment-ci à m'y conformer.

Dans les cas où il s'agit des droits particuliers, c'est-à-dire, dans les cas où la personne assassinée laisse des héritiers qui demandent le Khissas (la loi du talion ou la peine capitale), si cette exécution, en son temps, sort aussi de mon pouvoir dès à présent, voici ce qui en résultera: des hommes de différentes nations, établis, ou allant et venant dans les environs de l'Egypte et dans les déserts, vû les contestations qui ont lieu depuis près de deux ans, et vû surtout les bruits qui courent d'un changement de système, ces hommes, dis-je, incapables de bien juger de la vérité des faits, prendront de la hardiesse de cette circonstance, ils se livreront, sûrement, à des crimes, à des actes de brigandage, à des pillages au préjudice des voyageurs, et à des meurtres. Or, mon but est de rendre cette possession précieuse, florissante; d'assurer le repos et de consolider la sécurité des habitans, des pèlerins Musulmans, et des voyageurs des différentes nations qui passent et repassent. C'est pourquoi je supplie Sa Majesté le Sultan de daigner m'accorder la permission que lorsqu'il arrive un meurtre sur une personne qui laisse des héritiers, après que l'Ilam juridique et le Mazbata renfermant les vérifications légales et réglémentaires seront donnés, je puisse à présent par nécessité et jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1275, procéder, comme auparavant, à l'exécution de la sentence. Il est à espérer que jusqu'à l'expiration de ce terme, les contestations qui ont eu lieu jusqu'à présent et les faux bruits qui ont couru, auront cessé; que peu à peu chacun reprendra de la confiance, et que la sécurité et la fréquentation seront rétablies; ainsi, à commencer du premier jour de l'année 1276, s'il plait à Dieu, l'Ilam juridique et le Mazbata contenant les vérifications légales et réglémentaires faites à l'égard d'une personne assassinée qui laisse des héritiers seront présentés à Constantinople, et mis sous les yeux du Sultan, et l'on prendra ses ordres pour l'exécution de la peine.

Je ferai présenter les Ilam juridiques et les certificats concernant les individus qui auront subi dans cet intervalle la peine capitale par la loi du talion, et qui auront été condamnés d'après les réglemens d'ici, immédiatement après l'exécution.

Bien que les hommes qui se seront rendus coupables de sédition et de rébellion par les faits, doivent, conformément à l'Article 6 du Chapitre 1 du nouveau Code Criminel, être punis de mort, cependant d'après un système qui a toujours existé en Egypte, les hommes coupables de pareils délits graves politiques n'ont jamais été mis à mort; la peine de mort a été commuée à une condamnation au bagne du port pour un temps déterminé, ou par la déportation à un pays lointain; c'est ainsi qu'ils ont été punis. Je supplie donc, sans la moindre prétention, mais comme une chose digne de la clémence de Sa Majesté le Sultan, clémence sans bornes qui s'étend sur tous, qu'il soit inséré dans le nouveau Code Impérial, que désormais aussi, si les hommes se trouvent coupables par des faits de sédition et de rébellion, ils seront mis au bagne du port pour un terme de dix à quinze ans; ou bien bannis à un pays lointain. Si ma demande est favorablement accueillie, mon influence et la considération qu'on a pour moi resteront intactes, et de cette manière-ci je ferai tout mon possible de bien administrer la province Impériale, d'arranger toutes les affaires qui s'y rattachent, de rendre par là, comme j'espère, de grands services à Sa Hautesse, et parvenir à jouir de ses bonnes grâces.

Mon objet en suppliant que Sa Hautesse daigne m'accorder cette faveur, c'est de faire voir que mon Souverain m'honore toujours de sa confiance. C'est pourquoi je supplie votre Altesse de vouloir bien avoir la bonté de faire insérer cette faveur temporaire dans le commandement Impérial que publiera la Tanzimat Haïriyé. Et comme la faveur que j'ai demandée depuis le commencement est une faveur que je sollicite d'une manière toute particulière, je prie aussi votre Altesse de vouloir bien le représenter comme telle à Sa Hautesse, et de continuer à m'accorder votre entremise dont j'ai toujours senti les heureux effets.

La question de l'héritage, qui fait le sujet des prétentions des membres de la famille, est une affaire qui va être décidée conformément aux saintes lois. Des ordres viennent cette fois-ci encore d'être donnés à ceux qu'il est nécessaire d'arranger cette affaire sans délai. Lorsque les vérifications nécessaires seront terminées, nous en conférerons avec Fuad Effendi, et l'on fera ce qui est nécessaire.

C'est pour faire savoir à votre Altesse tout ci-dessus que je lui envoie la présente lettre. C'est à celui qui peut ordonner à ordonner.

Inclosure 2 in No. 256.

The Grand Vizier to Abbas Pasha.

(Traduction.) 1 *Shaban* 1268. (19 *Mai*, 1852.)

J'AI saisi le sens de la lettre que j'ai reçue de la part de votre Altesse, par laquelle elle annonce l'arrivée de son Excellence Fuad Effendi, Moustechar du Grand Vizirat, et laquelle renferme les pourparlers qui ont eu lieu relativement à la question connue qui faisait l'objet de la mission dont son Excellence avait été chargée de la part de Sa Majesté le Sultan. Des dépêches y relatives sont arrivées de la part de l'Effendi susmentionné aussi; et le tout a été mis sous les yeux de Sa Hautesse, qui a pris connaissance du contenu de toutes ces pièces.

Votre Altesse a compris, par un effet de cette grande sagacité qui la caractérise, ainsi que par les représentations de Fuad Effendi, et la délicatesse de la question dont il s'agit, et l'importance qui s'y rattache sous le rapport des droits sacrés de la souveraineté; et il a été dit en conférant ensemble, qu'ainsi que les droits de la fidélité et de la soumission l'exigeaient.

Désormais, l'Ilam juridique et le Mazbata qui seront donnés après le jugement, conformément aux lois et aux canons, des assassins d'hommes qui ne laissent point d'héritiers, seront, au préalable, présentés à Constantinople pour que leur dispositif soit mis à exécution selon les ordres pleines d'équité qui émaneront du Trône; seulement pour l'espace de sept ans, le jugement juridique qui sera prononcé contre les assassins d'hommes qui laissent des héritiers sera mis à exécution conformément à la demande de ceux-ci; après quoi, l'Ilam et le Mazbata qui ont été donnés dans les cas de cette catégorie seront envoyés ici.

Attendu que votre Altesse a répresenté que cette autorisation temporaire est nécessaire pour la bonne administration de la province Impériale, et vû les bonnes dispositions et la confiance de notre bienfaiteur et maître envers votre personne, votre prière a été gracieusement accueillie par Sa Hautesse; et en conséquence, le firman qui sera écrit sur le code, dont s'occupe une commission dans le Conseil Suprême, en présence de leurs Excellences Edhem Pacha et Haireddin Pasha, vous sera, s'il plait à Dieu, envoyé plus tard.

Quant aux ordres de Sa Hautesse relativement à ceux qui au lieu de subir la peine capitale, seront condamnés au Bagne pour un temps déterminé, votre Altesse les saura de Fuad Effendi, qui les lui fera connaître verbalement.

Et comme il n'y a plus aucune affaire qui retienne l'Effendi susmentionné en Egypte, on lui a fait savoir, par ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale, de retourner ici.

L'heureuse issue de la question qui a donné lieu à ces discussions étant de nature à accroître les bonnes grâces de Sa Hautesse à votre égard, et à couper court à toutes espèces de complications, elle m'a causé, à moi en particulier, comme ami sincère, une très grande satisfaction; et en réitérant à votre Altesse les vœux que je fais pour elle, je lui écris cette lettre affectueuse pour resserrer les liens de l'amitié.

Lorsque par la grâce de Dieu votre Altesse aura su tout ce que ci-dessus, c'est à qui peut ordonner à ordonner.

Inclosure 3 in No. 256.

Abbas Pasha to Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.

(Traduction.) 28 *Réjib*, 1268.

J'ETAIS déjà content et fort reconnaissant du zèle et des efforts que votre Excellence a déployés jusqu'à présent pour la solution satisfaisante de la question Egyptienne, lorsque j'ai appris par les dépêches que j'ai reçues de la part de son Excellence Haïreddin Pacha, par le bateau à vapeur Autrichien qui vient d'arriver à Alexandrie, que, grâce à vos bons offices, cette question a pris une meilleure tournure encore, et que les points qui sont sur le tapis s'arrangent définitivement de la manière la plus satisfaisante; et comme cette heureuse nouvelle est également un effet de votre zèle et de vos efforts, elle a vraiment

redoublé ma joie et ma reconnaissance, et je dois réitérer et exprimer par écrit à votre Excellence, cette joie et cette reconnaissance.

C'est donc pour exprimer ma reconnaissance, pour remplir les devoirs de la reconnaissance, et pour demander l'état de votre santé, que je vous écris et vous envoie cette lettre dictée par l'amitié.

Je prie sincèrement et particulièrement votre Excellence de vouloir bien à l'avenir aussi, et après avoir pris connaissance de tout ce que je viens de lui exprimer, m'accorder, en chaque occasion, les bons offices que j'espère recevoir de sa part.

(L.S.) ABBAS HILMI.

No. 257.

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received June* 27.)

(No. 130.)

Constantinople, June 5, 1852.

My Lord,

I THINK it right to record, however late, that in a conversation which I happened to have not many days ago with the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Sabatier acknowledged his having received instructions that would have enabled him to act with me in the affairs of Egypt, had the turn of Fuad Effendi's negotiation not been fortunately such as to make their application superfluous.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

No. 258.

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received July* 3.)

(No. 145.)

Constantinople, June 17, 1852.

My Lord,

FUAD EFFENDI returned from Egypt yesterday. I learn from the Grand Vizier and also from Aali Pasha, that the Sultan's Commissioner is well satisfied with the Viceroy; that the claims advanced by the late Mehemet Ali's children have been settled by an appropriation, once paid, of 180,000 purses, equal to about 850,000*l*., and that the annual tribute has been spontaneously raised by His Highness to 400,000*l*. sterling, the previous amount having been three quarters of that sum.

This morning I saw one of the Viceroy's Commissioners, and received from him a confirmation of that statement, with some indications of surprise that Abbas Pasha should have made so large a sacrifice of his own accord. I have no explanations on the subject from Egypt, but venture, nevertheless, to congratulate your Lordship on the removal, as it would seem, of every remaining question of difference between the Sultan and his vassal, without the necessity of any European intervention.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

No. 259.

Colonel Rose to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(*Received August* 6.)

(No. 18.)

Therapia, July 15, 1852.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a copy of my despatch No. 1 to Mr. Gilbert.

In a conversation I had with the Grand Vizier I took occasion to tell his Highness that your Lordship had addressed to me instructions on my going to Egypt which proved how fully Her Majesty's Government were impressed with

the justice and necessity of maintaining in all their integrity the Sultan's rights in that country, and of not giving any undue importance to the position of the Viceroy; that Her Majesty's Government naturally desired that His Highness should enjoy rights conceded to his position, but nothing more.

The Grand Vizier thanked me much, said that he was very grateful to your Lordship for those instructions, and that the Porte felt perfect confidence in the policy of Her Majesty's Government as to Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH ROSE.

Inclosure in No. 259.

Colonel Rose to Consul Gilbert.

Therapia, July 6, 1852.

Sir,

THE bearer of this despatch is Hair-ed-deen Pasha, who in consequence of the termination of the matters of difference between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt returns with his colleague Edhem Pasha and Abderrahman Bey to Cairo.

I learn from Hair-ed-deen Pasha that on his taking leave of the Sultan, His Majesty expressed to him the gratification which he had derived from the late communications of the Viceroy to the Porte, and stated that he should confer on him a nishan and a sword of honour.

I saw the Grand Vizier a few days ago and took that opportunity to clear up a matter as to which his Highness conceived that the Viceroy had not acted with consideration towards him.

The Grand Vizier expressed himself much gratified with my explanation, and told me that all causes of misunderstanding between His Highness the Viceroy and himself were now removed, and that he trusted that cordiality and good will would for the future characterize their mutual relations. I expressed my sincere concurrence with these sentiments, and I am sure that in doing so I fully spoke those of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH ROSE.

No. 260.

Consul Gilbert to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 36.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, July* 26, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Hair-ed-deen Pasha, Edhem Pasha, and Abderrahman Bey, the Commissioners who were sent on the part of the Egyptian Government to Constantinople, arrived here on the 11th instant, and proceeded almost immediately to Cairo. During the short interview I had with Hair-ed-deen Pasha, he informed me that he himself as well as his colleagues had received a handsome snuff-box from the Sultan on the termination of their mission. That the bearer of the firman confirming the arrangements made by Fuad Effendi would present Abbas Pasha with a new "nishan," or decoration, and a sword of honour.

Since the return of the Commissioners I have received notice that Edhem Pasha has been nominated Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Hair-ed-deen Pasha Minister of Commerce.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. GILBERT.

No. 261.

Colonel Rose to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 61.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 23, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of a firman and hatti-sheriff sanctioning the arrangement made by Fuad Effendi for the extension of the Tanzimat to Egypt.

Afif Bey has been sent in charge of this firman to Egypt, and it is said he will proceed afterwards to Jerusalem on matters connected with the Holy Buildings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH ROSE.

Inclosure in No. 261.

Firman to the Pasha of Egypt.

(Traduction.)

AU haut de ce Firman il y a un Rescrit Impérial qui ordonne que l'on ait à agir conformément aux dispositions qu'il renferme.

Firman adressé à mon illustre et judicieux Vizir, Abbas Halmi Pacha, actuellement et héréditairement Gouverneur de l'Egypte, avec le rang éminent de Grand Vizir.

Depuis le jour fortuné de mon heureux avènement à l'auguste Trône Impérial, toutes mes pensées souveraines ont été dirigées vers le but d'assurer le bien-être et la tranquillité d'esprit de toutes les classes d'habitans et de sujets qui sont un dépôt que le ciel m'a confié.

Comme résultat salutaire de ces sentimens les Tanzimati-Haïriyé qui renferment les principes d'équité et de justice que la Loi Sainte, dont les bases sont inébranlables, prescrit, ont été institués, j'ai réussi à faire exécuter ces Tanzimat, qui, conformément à mon hatti-shérif, qui a été lu il y a quelque temps sur la Place de Ghiulkhaneh, assurent complètement la vie, la propriété et l'honneur de toutes les classes des sujets de ma Sublime Porte établis dans mes Etats. Tout ce qui en est une suite nécessaire a été successivement arrangé conformément à ce que les institutions exigent et par des règlemens équitables.

Or, ayant fort à cœur que les habitans de l'Egypte et les sujets de ma Sublime Porte qui s'y trouvent, sans excepter aucun d'eux, puissent aussi, en participant à cette faveur insigne, obtenir, à l'ombre de ma justice souveraine, une parfaite sécurité à ces égards, le Conseil Suprême qui est le centre des discussions ayant trait à des institutions, a sur les représentations que tu as faites sur certains points, et en méditant l'ensemble des institutions fondamentales et accessoires de l'Etat, discuté et arrêté un statut Impérial et particulier en le conformant aux exigences locales des Egyptiens et aux mœurs des habitans, et il faut que désormais l'on ait soin de mettre litéralement en pratique toutes les dispositions qu'il renferme.

D'après les lois générales de ma Sublime Porte, l'exécution des criminels qui doivent être mis à mort, soit en vertu de la loi du talion, soit par mesure d'administration, après les formalités nécessaires d'une enquête juridique et conforme aux lois réglementaires, dépend absolument de mes ordres souverains.

Ainsi qu'il est écrit dans l'Article II du statut Impérial susdit, le procès d'un assassinat qui aura été commis sur la personne d'un individu qui n'a point d'héritiers, est de la compétence de ma Sublime Porte. Par conséquent, tu auras à envoyer d'abord à Constantinople le dossier de la procédure concernant l'assassin qui aura subi un jugement sur les lieux, conformément aux lois juridiques et réglementaires; l'Ilam juridique renfermant la sentence légale qui aura été prononcée; ainsi que le *Mazbata* du Conseil Egyptien, après quoi on procèdera à faire ce qui est nécessaire d'après le firman portant mon noble chiffre, qui sera donné et envoyé à cet égard.

Il est dit d'une manière claire et précise dans le second, le troisième et

quatrième Articles, que j'ai jugé à propos de l'accorder comme une preuve de ma confiance souveraine en toi, la permission temporaire, savoir : depuis la date de ce Firman, jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1275, c'est-à-dire, pour le terme de sept ans, de mettre à exécution les sentences légales qui auront été prononcées contre les assassins d'individus qui laissent des héritiers, sur la demande des héritiers des victimes, mais tout en ayant l'autorisation d'appliquer la loi du talion en vertu des sentences légales prononcées dans les cas d'assassinat commis sur des individus de cette catégorie, tu devras envoyer à Constantinople après l'exécution des sentences, les *ilams* qui auront été délivrés par le tribunal, ainsi qu'un certificat de ta part.

Quant aux individus qui auront mérité la peine capitale d'après les lois administratives, j'ai jugé convenable, mû comme je suis par des sentimens de clémence, de commuer leur peine en une condamnation aux galères, ma volonté souveraine est donc que dans l'espace des sept ans dont il a été parlé plus haut, des individus de cette catégorie soient punis par une condamnation aux galères pour un espace de temps qui sera de dix à quinze ans, selon que le cas exigera d'aggraver ou d'atténuer par mes ordres souverains la punition méritée.

Tels sont les ordres que renferme ce noble Firman émané ad hoc de la Chancellerie de mon Divan Impérial, Firman décoré d'un Hatti-Shérif, et qui t'est expédié avec le statut susmentionné par le Kessedar du Beylikjy (Premier Secrétaire de la Chancellerie de l'Empire), Ismail Afif Bey, chargé de la publier. Lorsque tu auras pris connaissance de mes ordres souverains, tu auras, conformément à ta sagacité naturelle et à ton expérience consommée des affaires, à publier les dispositions du présent commandement Impérial aux habitans de la Province d'Egypte, et tu auras soin que désormais aucune autorité, aucun employé n'ait à contrevenir en la moindre chose aux Tanzimati-Haïriyé, et tu mettras en pratique toutes les dispositions et tous les règlemens qui sont contenus dans le statut susmentionné.

Et attendu que tu n'es autorisé, comme il a été dit plus haut, de la part de ma Majesté Impériale, qu'à mettre à exécution la sentence légale qui sera prononcée contre l'assassin d'un individu qui laisse des héritiers et cela pendant sept ans à commencer de la date de ce Firman Impérial, tu auras soin d'envoyer ici, après l'exécution de la sentence légale, *l'ilam* juridique qui aura été délivré par le tribunal, ainsi qu'un certificat de ta part ; tu auras, quand il s'agira d'une personne tuée qui ne laisse point d'héritiers, à prendre mes ordres à son égard après un jugement conforme aux lois juridiques et réglementaires, et tu feras ce que je t'aurai ordonné. Tu auras soin aussi que la peine des criminels qui auront mérité la mort d'après les lois administratives, soit commuée en une condamnation aux galères. Voilà les choses auxquelles tu mettras toute ton attention.

Les Egyptiens, reconnaissans de l'acte de justice et de clémence dont ils viennent d'être l'objet, de cette manière-ci aussi doivent en chaque circonstance se montrer soumis aux règlemens établis et obéir aux ordres que tu es chargé de ma part d'exécuter. Et toi, de ton côté aussi, connaissant les sentimens pleins d'équité qui m'animent, tu auras toujours à traiter tous les habitans avec douceur et bonté, afin qu'ils bénissent mon nom, et à faire prospérer ma province Impériale, et tu chercheras, en agissant de la sorte, à augmenter et à corroborer les bonnes grâces dont tu jouis de la part de ma Majesté Impériale.

Ayes-le pour entendu, et ajoutes foi au noble chiffre dont est orné le présent commandement Impérial, donné dans la dernière dizaine du mois Ramazan, l'an mil deux cent soixante-huit. (Vers la mi-Juillet, 1852.)